

FORCED DISPLACEMENT BY THE BOKO HARAM CONFLICT IN THE LAKE CHAD REGION



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All photos, including cover and interior photos, courtesy of Greta Granados de Orbegoso (Consultant, World Bank), unless otherwise attributed.

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| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A World Bank GSURR team and a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) team worked jointly to produce this Regional Assessment of Forced Displacement by the Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Region. The core World Bank team was led by Paula Rossiasco (Social Development Specialist) and consisted of Paul Francis (Senior Social Development Consultant), Rosa Maria Martinez (Social Development Specialist), Kate Jinghua Zhou (Social Development Consultant), Bernhard Metz (Fragility, Conflict and Violence Consultant and GIS Specialist) and Fanny Hattery (Social Development Consultant). The UNHCR core team was led by Theresa Beltramo (Senior Economist) and consisted of Wendy Rappeport, Annette Rehr (Senior External Relations Officers), and Leon Sebastian Jander (Carlo Schmid Fellow). UNHCR's Division of Programme Support and Management (DPSM) – through Theresa Beltramo, Steven Corliss (Director, DPSM), and Betsy Lippman (Chief of Section, Operational Solutions and Transitions Section (OSTS) – spearheaded the process for UNHCR.

The World Bank and UNHCR teams would like to thank government officials for their extended support, as well as valuable time and inputs for this assessment, including: William Pierre Namvou Nguimatsia (Chef de Service des Missions d'Aménagement in Cameroon), Tahir Oloy Hassane (Secrétaire General of Ministère de l'Administration du Territoire in Chad), Djimnodji Nadjita (NGO Focal Point of Ministère du Plan et de la Perspective in Chad), Ibrahim Malangoni (Director and General Coordinator of CNE in Niger), Abdou Kaza (Former Governor of the Diffa Region in Niger), Mariam Masha (Senior Special Advisor to the President on Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria), and Zara Binta Goni (Head of Programme of the Lake Chad Basin Commission). The assessment team would also like to send sincere appreciation to United Nations agencies, International Rescue Committee (IRC), and Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD) for their valuable inputs in the completion of this assessment, and openness to share their knowledge and innovative solutions.

The team is grateful to UNHCR and WB country teams in Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria, mainly Shannon Kahnert (Assistant Representative, Operations), Diogo Costa Cabral (Durable Solutions Officer) and Solange Beatrice Bindang (Associate Livelihoods Officer), UNHCR Cameroon; Antonio Canhandula (Representative) and Julie Gassien (Energy & Environment Officer), UNHCR Chad; Abdouraouf Gnon-Konde (Deputy Representative) and Rene Octave Goodman (Programme Officer), UNHCR Niger; Allehone Abebe (Senior Protection Officer) and Cesar Tshilombo (Head of Bauchi Sub-Office), UNHCR Nigeria and to UNHCR Regional Bureau for Africa for their consistent support. In particular, we would like to thank Liz K. Ahua (Regional Representative and Regional Refugee Coordinator), Valentin Tapsoba (Director of Regional Bureau for Africa), Millicent Mutuli (Deputy Director of Regional Bureau for Africa), Serge Ruso (Operations Manager of Regional Bureau for Africa) Kristine Hambrouck (Senior Desk Officer for Cameroon), George-Patrick Menze (Senior Desk Officer for Chad and Nigeria), Jorge Holly (Senior Desk Officer for Niger). The team also wishes to thank the UNHCR country team and regional technical specialists who attended the May 2016 workshop in Dakar. These include: Laura Buffoni (Regional Local Integration/ Livelihood Officer), UNHCR Dakar; Riikka Mikola (Regional Cash-Based Intervention Officer), Ibrahim Peghouma (Regional Energy Advisor) and Caroline Schmidt (Regional Education Officer) from the UNHCR Regional Representation in Dakar and Abdou-Salam Savadogo (Senior Regional WASH Officer), UNHCR Regional Representation in Kinshasa. A full list of workshop participants and summary of outcomes is provided in Appendix D.

The assessment team is thankful for having the consistent support of the World Bank Presidency and Vice-Presidency, including Colin Bruce (Senior Advisor at the Office of the President), Lynn Sherburn-Benz (Senior Regional Advisor at the Office of the Africa Regional Vice President), and Vijay Pillai (Advisor at the Office of the Africa Regional Vice President). The team also highly appreciates the continued guidance and support from World Bank management including Jan Weetjens (Practice Manager, Social Development, West and Central), Rachid Benmessaoud (Nigeria Country Director), Elisabeth Huybens (Cameroon Country Director), Paul Noumba (Niger and Chad Country Director), Adama Coulibaly (Chad Country Manager), Siaka Bakayoko (Niger Country Manager), Indira Konjhodzic (Nigeria Country Program Coordinator), Khwima Lawrence Nthara (Nigeria Program Leader), Doina Petrescu (Chad Program Leader) and Gina Bowen (Resource Management Officer, BPSAF). In addition, Country Teams, Task Team Leaders and Team Assistants of the different World Bank offices were instrumental in giving insight of the political economy of displacement in the different countries, and planning and facilitating engagement with Government and key stakeholders in the countries covered by this assessment, including Patrice Rakotoniaina (Senior Municipal Engineer), Manievel Sene (Sr Agricultural Specialist), Emeran Serge M. Menang Evouna (Sr Agricultural Specialist), Abel Bove (Governance Specialist), Bougadare Kone (Environmental Specialist), Halimatou Gambo Illo Daoura (Operations Officer), Ugonne Eze (Program Assistant) *Paulette Zoua* (Program Assistant), Berthe Tayelim (Program Assistant), Leonard Ngumbah Wolloh (Program Assistant) and Jeanne D'Arc Edima (Program Assistant).

The assessment team is greatly appreciative to the technical support and ground inputs received from IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) team in Nigeria and Cameroon, including Stéphanie Daviot (DTM Project Officer), Samaila Chiroma, Amos Garda and Femi Adegbola (IOM-DTM Officers). Particularly, the team is thankful for IOM's collegiality and partnership, which allow us to conduct valuable quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis in Nigeria and Cameroon. This partnership greatly enriched the assessment, giving it depth and soundness that wouldn't have been able to reach otherwise.

Particular appreciation goes to the field qualitative research teams, including: Fanny Hattery (Social Development Consultant); Professor Issa Saibou (Local Consultant, Cameroon); Dr. Souley Adji (Local Consultant, Niger) and Boukary Biri Kassoum (Local Consultant, Niger), Rosa Maria Martinez (Social Development Specialist), Alexandra Burall Jung (Social Development Consultant), Maria Milagros Fonrouge (Social Development Consultant), Samaila Chiroma, Amos Garda and Femi Adegbola (IOM-DTM Officers), and Greta Granados (Visual Anthropologist). The assessment team is also grateful to the different consultants and scholars who authored background papers for this assessment, including: Alexandra Burall Jung, Cara Jones and Marc Sommers (Youth and Displacement); Verena Phipps, Anthony Finn and Kate Jinhua Zhou (Gender and Displacement); Sabrina Roshan and Beverley Mbu (Institutional Framework and Political Economy Analysis); Oliver Enrique Pardo Reinoso (Economic Impact Analysis); Natalie Chwalisz, Michael van der Valk, Juliana Porsani and Martina Angela Caretta (Environmental Degradation, Livelihood, Conflict and Forced Displacement); and Karen Jacobsen and Emily Cole (Mixed Migration). The task team is indebted with numerous colleagues who provided valuable guidance throughout the process, including Varalakshmi Vemuru (Senior Social Development Specialist), Niels Harild (former Program Manager of the World Bank's Global Program on Forced Displacement), Joanna de Berry (Senior Social Development Specialist), Caroline Bahnson (Senior Operations Officer of the World Bank's Global Program on Forced Displacement), Verena Phipps (Social Development Specialist), Jacqueline Marie Tront (Senior Water Resources Management Specialist), Benjamin Steward (Consultant, ITSOP), Giuseppe Manzillo (Senior Economist), Gbemisola Oseni (Senior Economist), Kevin McGee (Economist) and Bledi Celiku (Economist and Young Professional).

The team is grateful for constructive and insightful comments from World Bank peer reviewers, including: Joanna de Berry (Senior Social Development Specialist), Xavier Devictor (Program Manager of the World Bank's Global Program on Forced Displacement), and Holly Benner (Senior Social Development Specialist).

The assessment was made possible by funding from the World Bank's Africa Regional Vice-Presidency, the Global Forced Displacement Fund and the United Nations-World Bank Fragility and Conflict Partnership Trust Fund.

GLOSSARY

AU	African Union
CNARR	National Commission for Refugee and Returnee Assistance
CNE	National Eligibility Committee
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
DIS	Détachement intégré de sécurité (integrated security unit—Chad)
GPDF	Global Program on Forced Displacement
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LGA	Local Government Area
NCFR	National Commission for Refugees
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
PP	percentage points
SEMA	State Emergency Management Agency
S/NEMA	State/National Emergency Management Agency
UASC	Unaccompanied and/or Separated Children
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Program

A young boy is seen from the back, wearing a bright blue backpack and a traditional striped shuka. He is standing in an open, sandy area under a clear sky. The text 'EXECUTIVE SUMMARY' is overlaid in white, bold, uppercase letters, with a vertical yellow bar to its left.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

I. This report presents the analysis and findings of a regional assessment on forced displacement in the Lake Chad region in general, and the population displaced by the Boko Haram conflict originating in North-East Nigeria in particular.¹ Geographically, this regional study covers the four Lake Chad region countries that border Lake Chad—namely, Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria. The study—based on both quantitative and qualitative data—was triggered by a request from ECOWAS in March 2015, and carried out in partnership between the World Bank and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The main objective of this assessment is to understand and analyze the impacts of forced displacement caused by the Boko Haram conflict. It also offers a comprehensive roadmap to address both the complex humanitarian and development needs emerging from the crisis, and to bridge the gap between humanitarian and development efforts. Recommendations focus on facilitating the integration and self-reliance of the forcibly displaced, regardless of the place where they are (i.e. communities of origin, host communities, or third locations), taking into account both the immediate priorities expressed by the affected populations for survival and the requirements for sustainable recovery and development necessary for longer-term regional stability.

II. Three conflict intensity scenarios were considered in the preparation of this regional assessment (high, status-quo and low conflict intensity), the status quo scenario being the one to inform the proposed recommendations. Cognizant of the changing environment in which responses will take place, an incremental implementation approach is recommended. This would allow humanitarian and developmental interventions to build upon opportunities as they arise to support stabilization and move towards sustainable recovery and stability.

FINDINGS

REGIONAL CONTEXT, DYNAMICS OF THE BOKO HARAM CONFLICT, AND FORCED DISPLACEMENT

III. The Boko Haram insurgency is the greatest single cause of displacement in the Lake Chad region with over 2.5 million people becoming a refugee or an IDP as a result of it. This crisis alone accounts for 70 percent of the total number of people displaced in the four countries. Furthermore, most—92 percent—of forcibly displaced people are displaced within their own countries. Forced displacement has had profound, pronounced, and long-lasting impacts in the Lake Chad region, related to the extreme level of violence unique to the Boko Haram conflict and the widespread destruction of private and public infrastructure.² The harm caused to displaced populations and host communities alike determines the way in which return and reintegration processes will have to be conducted, as well as the time and level of resources that will be required. The extreme level of violence has also taken a social and psychological toll by spreading fear and apprehension among the population in the region and exacerbating social divisions and distrust, especially toward those suspected of any association with the insurgency movement. These perceptions have influenced approaches to forced displacement by countries in the region, where displacement is approached from a security angle. As a result, either in camp or in other settlement types such as host communities, displaced population have limited flexibility and few entry points to integrate themselves into local communities, constraining their potential to find sustainable solutions to their challenges, thus affecting their well-being over the long term and wider development outcomes.

IV. At a more localized level, the assessment found evidence of discrimination and limited access to services (education, health care and access to land and livelihoods) linked to displacement. Also, the abruptness of the violence resulted in the displacement of entire communities without distinction of social strata, age or religion and has split many families fleeing in different directions, giving place to the increasing number of “unconventional households” headed by females, children and older persons.

V. Displacement in the Lake Chad region has also given rise to significant, rapid, and unplanned urban growth, presenting significant urban management and development challenges. The population of cities and towns around the region has multiplied, with places like Maiduguri more than doubling its size in the last two years. This is also true for intermediate cities and small towns across the Lake Chad. The urban nature

1 While there are many other drivers of forced displacement in the region, including the conflicts in Sudan, the Central African Republic, and Mali, the Boko Haram conflict is the predominant cause of forced displacement in the Lake Chad Basin countries.

2 The Boko Haram insurgency that has led to the loss of over 20,000 people, affected over 15 million civilians (Humanitarian Country Team—Nigeria 2015) and left widespread devastation in the areas around Lake Chad at a level unprecedented arguably not seen since the Nigerian civil war of 1967–70.

of forced displacement will also impact return dynamics, as observed in many other displacement crises. A higher likelihood of access to services and livelihood opportunities in urban areas affects whether the displaced desire to return.

VI. While the Boko Haram conflict continues to evolve, forced displacement in the Lake Chad region remains fluid and difficult to predict. Over 90 percent of IDPs and the majority of Nigerian refugees interviewed expressed an intention to return home (ACAPS, 2016, UNHCR, 2016e), and have attempted to do so. However, such attempts have been largely unsuccessful due to the volatile security situation. UNHCR and other agencies have reported concerns related to access to asylum across borders. Return to countries of origin should be voluntary, and within an appropriate framework of physical, legal and material safety.

DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES FACED BY POPULATIONS DISPLACED BY BOKO HARAM

VII. People displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency in the region are experiencing a particularly wide range of profound challenges. Their vulnerability is multidimensional, including severe damage to their social fabric, the extensive destruction of property and infrastructure in their places of origin, and significant basic survival and socio-economic needs that remain largely unmet. These challenges can be summarized as follows:

Impacts on social connectedness:

- a. Victims of displacement due to the Boko Haram conflict are particularly likely to report serious disruptions in social connectedness, family, community, and kinship networks.
- b. Social connections was found to be an important factor influencing the choice of destination among displaced people. Those with social connections in the areas of refuge have established themselves in “connected” settlements, and have an easier time finding shelter and re-establishing a livelihood. By contrast, those without such social capital are forced to settle in “unconnected settlements” such as camps and unfinished buildings, have limited possibilities for integrating into the economic, social and political lives of the host areas, and face greater challenges re-establishing themselves.³
- c. Social connectedness emerged as either an amplifier or mitigating factor of broader impacts of forced displacement, making it central to the displaced’ s recovery needs. As such, social connectedness affects the resilience of the displaced and their longer-term development outcomes.

Impacts on basic human needs:

- a. In general, displaced people are living in squalid conditions characterized by overcrowding and limited access to safe, sanitary, and dignified accommodations. The situation is most precarious in “unconnected” settlements.
- b. Housing is a major and persistent development challenge affecting the forcibly displaced and becoming one of the main barriers preventing their ability to return⁴. As such, housing is an important development priority that should be addressed to avoid the protraction of the displacement crisis.
- c. Although there is considerable variation in circumstances, access to food and drinking water as well as overall living conditions remain problematic for most displaced people. Malnutrition has become more prevalent as the quantity and quality of available food has dramatically decreased.⁵
- d. Shortage of water is more pronounced in arid areas where camps are located in Niger, Chad, and Northern

3 “Connected” settlements refer to those in which the displaced are relatively integrated into host communities. Often in towns and major cities, or near main roads connecting them with urban areas, they include urban, peri-urban, and rural settlements that are integrated into host community living areas. In connected settlements, the displaced tend to live with extended family or friends, in rented units, or in make-shift shelters scattered throughout the community. The displaced move freely and interact in a daily basis with host community members, accessing similar opportunities and services. “Unconnected” settlements are characterized by limited integration of the displaced with host communities, and include official internally displaced person and refugee camps, faith based camps, as well as informal camps or camp-like settlements in urban and peri-urban areas. In this case, the displaced have restrictions of movement, are physically separated (by a natural or man-made barrier), and remain disconnected from the people and life of the host community.

4 Over 400,000 housing units have been destroyed during the conflict in Nigeria only

5 United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF). Rapid Nutrition Surveys. 2013. Accessed on June 5, 2016. http://nutritionnigeria.org/admin/downloads/nutrition_in_emergency.pdf

Cameroon, affecting living conditions and livelihoods options. Numerous outbreaks of cholera and other waterborne diseases in displacement-affected areas across the region, particularly in Nigeria and Cameroon, have been linked to this problem.

- e. Limitations in access, availability, and quality have made water the most significant source of conflict between the displaced and host communities in all four countries.

Impacts on protection and physical human security:

- a. Living in temporary settlements and out of reach of formal protection systems, IDPs and refugees are highly exposed to threats to their personal safety. Boko Haram has targeted areas with high concentrations of IDPs, including formal and informal IDP camps, and has threatened to do the same in refugee camps.
- b. Unexploded ordinances have been reported in areas formerly controlled by Boko Haram, predominantly on farm lands, threatening those venturing to return and making the integration of both refugees and IDPs more difficult.
- c. Displaced women and children face particular protection and human security challenges. Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and transactional sex are reported to be significant issues affecting women and children, but the problem is suspected to be greatly underreported. In Nigeria and Cameroon, girls displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency are increasingly likely to engage in arranged early marriages. Very little efforts are being undertaken to prevent and address these issues.
- d. People who fled their homes due to the Boko Haram insurgency are more likely to abuse alcohol and drugs as a coping mechanism to deal with psychosocial impacts and boredom. Young people are particularly vulnerable to this risk.
- e. There is an overarching need to identify and register those affected by displacement. The lack of national ID cards directly affects the safety, conditions, and access to aid of displaced people⁶. Due to lack of legal ID documents, displaced population encounters various obstacles to accessing justice system.

Socioeconomic development impacts:

- a. Conflict and displacement lead to direct loss of property for the displaced, particularly farm land, which then translates into a loss of their livelihoods, assets, rights, and business networks. This not only jeopardizes self-reliance but is destabilizing to the point that it affects survival chances.
- b. In addition to the access to services and employment opportunities, rights to property and freedom of movement are significantly affected by displacement. This is particularly true for refugees (who have no rights of citizenship) and IDPs living in camps. In Nigeria, even movement between states can present disadvantages to IDPs with regard to their rights, for example on property.
- c. Rights to land vary from country to country—and in the case of Nigeria, from state to state—but in general, displaced people report limited access to land due to cost, security conditions, lack of ownership rights, and long distances between their current settlements and available farm land. The latter is a significant barrier to self-reliance, particularly in Cameroon.
- d. With the exception of those with previous experience as seasonal migrants, the displaced have few or no connections that would grant them access to a job or to financing.
- e. Access to education is a major challenge for the displaced (even though there are cases where people gained access for the first time as a result of their displacement). Whether or not education would be available is an important factor in people's decision making whether or not to return.
- f. Displaced people face precarious health conditions and have poor access to health services. The health problems they reported are mostly related to the change in their living conditions (e.g. shelters don't pro-

⁶ According to UNHCR, this is particularly a challenge in Niger's Diffa region where an estimated 90% of the population has no civil registration papers, on which their legal status and rights of residence, movement, employment, and property depend -being this one of the main concerns reported by Nigerian refugees in Cameroon.

tect people sufficiently from the elements, and from insects, rodents and other animals). In Cameroon and Niger, refugees reported various constraints to acquire medicine outside the camps such as lack of supply, financial constraints, and movement constraints.

- g. The psychosocial needs of the displaced population are significant and largely unmet. Loss and fear among the displaced is aggravated by a sense of a loss of dignity as many feel ashamed of their living conditions. Resources for the provision of psychosocial support for the affected population are insufficient and are overstretched by the magnitude of the problem. Faith, engaging in income-generating activities, group discussions, and recreational activities emerged as important sources of mental relief at the individual family, and community levels.

ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT

VIII. While a lack of data makes it hard to quantify, the assessment illustrated that forced displacement had both positive and negative impacts on the economy of affected areas. Negative impacts include increased fiscal pressures to allow local governments to provide food, water, and shelter to displaced populations; and price volatility for specific goods, as a result of an increase in demand (e.g. the demand for food in fast expanding urban areas like Maiduguri in Nigeria) or lack of supply (e.g. the scarcity of water in northern Cameroon). Local wages have also been affected by the presence of internally displaced populations (however, the presence of refugees has less impact on wages). Adverse economic impacts of forced displacement disproportionately affect the poorest, exacerbating preexisting conditions of chronic poverty. At the same time, there are also positive impacts as local markets have emerged in isolated areas to serve the needs of internally displaced persons and refugees. Camps are often surrounded by small make-shift markets that then grow as more displaced people settle in the camps.

IX. At the individual level, displacement has a significant impact on incomes, increasing the chances of having no income by 41 percent.⁷ While displaced people make huge efforts to remain economically active, their capacity to do so is constrained by the loss of their productive assets and by their limited financial means. Indeed, more than 800,000 people stopped receiving a regular income because of displacement, and only 53 percent of the individuals who received some income prior to displacement continued to receive any part of it after it. This is influenced by the type of settlement people find themselves in: the chance of earning some income is 16 percentage points higher when living with a host family rather than in a camp. In Nigeria, income lost due to displacement rose to N90 billion (approximately US\$450 million) in 2015. On the assumption of no return, it would take seven years before a person could earn the same income as before becoming displaced. Assuming that those displaced in 2015 do not return to their places of origin, the accumulated cost of displacement from 2013 to 2022 would rise to N465 billion (approximately US\$2.3 billion)—even if there is no further displacement.

IMPACTS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT ON HOST COMMUNITIES

X. Influxes of IDPs and refugees in need of food, shelter, water, and public services put additional strain on the resources and services of already vulnerable communities, deepening preexisting development deficits. As a result, tensions between the displaced and host communities have arisen particularly around resources such as water supply and, to a lesser degree, education and health services. That said, while significant additional demand for services is apparent in many host communities, the impact on service delivery has not been proportional to the increase in population resulting from forced displacement. There is a large increase in potential demand for services, but this demand has not yet materialized due to the displaced's limited capacity to pay for these services.

XI. Environmental degradation, particularly due to the gathering of fuelwood for cooking, has rapidly increased in host communities. In Cameroon in particular, this has become a significant source of conflict between the refugees and local communities.

XII. Impacts of forced displacement on host communities greatly depend on the level of integration between the displaced and host communities. Where internally displaced persons and refugees have been

⁷ Analysis conducted for Nigeria only, based on IOM's DTM data. Data constraints didn't allowed the team to conduct this analysis in other countries covered by the assessment.

able to integrate with local communities, impacts are less intense and more positive. Displaced persons have brought new knowledge and experience to business, handcrafts, farming, and other areas. The introduction of new crops and farming techniques was reported in areas where both IDPs and refugees are living. New local markets are emerging in areas with high concentrations of IDPs and refugees as the local clientele for multiple businesses have significantly expanded. IDPs are also providing an inexpensive source of labor to host communities. Displaced persons are also generally willing to share with the host community any assistance they receive.

XIII. Forced displacement has also transformed the social tissue of host communities in the Lake Chad region. Experiences of integration of the displaced are mixed. While many communities have been very welcoming and have provided sustained support to the victims of displacement for years, for the most part, IDPs and refugees are not fully integrated into community life. Mistrust of IDPs and refugees inevitably affects the feasibility of their integration into the community. The assessment found little evidence of the integration of displaced communities into local planning processes, with the exception of Niger, where UNHCR is supporting the integration of refugees into urban planning.

XIV. While challenging, peaceful and successful integration between displaced persons and host communities should serve as a basis for long-lasting peacebuilding and development at the local, national and regional levels. As such, programmatic interventions should encourage the inclusion of displaced population into local development planning, enhance open platforms for equal consultation with the displaced and local communities, and ensure that both the displaced and local communities benefit from operational responses. However, the tensions between IDPs and host communities mentioned above should not be underestimated and should be explicitly addressed in any programmatic responses at the community level. More details on such interventions are provided in Chapter 4 of this study. Specific avenues and institutional roles to materialize such programmatic interventions should be explored through dialogues at the country and regional level.

TOWARD A NEW PARADIGM: RETHINKING THE RESPONSE TO FORCED DISPLACEMENT

XV. Forced displacement in the Lake Chad Region is taking place in the framework of a particular type of conflict. The Boko Haram conflict stands out as one of the most violent characterized by the indiscriminate use of violence and significant loss of lives, destruction of social bonds and physical infrastructure. Boko Haram's use of terrorist practices has deeply undermined trust among people. Responses to forced displacement in this context need to be considered in the light of these challenges. Governments, displaced populations, host communities and humanitarian and development actors are challenged to reconsider traditional responses to forced displacement, shifting towards a new paradigm, sensitive to the complexities introduced by violent extremism.

XVI. Guiding principles under a new, holistic and integrated approach include:

- a. Integrating humanitarian and development perspectives and reflecting this in new ways of planning and collaborating;
- b. Addressing the needs and concerns of the displaced, of host communities, and of people in areas of potential return;
- c. Balancing security and humanitarian/development concerns;
- d. Combining multi-sectoral inputs with appropriate sequencing;
- e. Coordinating initiatives to address impacts of displacement across all dimensions;
- f. Restoring both physical infrastructure, institutions, and social relations to "build back better".

XVII. The assessment advised to invest in "catalysts" areas which can generate externalities for the various dimensions that need to be taken into consideration. For example, in conflicts characterized by significant levels of SGBV or resulting in high number of female-headed households, such as is the case in the North East in Nigeria, a focus on women empowerment could become an effective entry point to address multi-sectoral needs including social cohesion, integration of displacement victims in local planning, restoration of livelihoods, and access to and quality of front line and specialized service delivery.

XVIII. Such holistic and integrated approach requires that stakeholders at the international, regional and national levels take on specific responsibilities in addressing challenges presented by the displacement crisis. Figure 1 outlines some outstanding roles to be taken on by key actors of forced displacement in the region.

FIGURE ES.1.

Roles of Regional, national, humanitarian and development actors



RECOMMENDED TRANSITIONAL AND DURABLE RESPONSES TO FORCED DISPLACEMENT

XIX. Proposals for transitional and durable responses to forced displacement in line with the paradigmatic shifts can be divided in three parts, as illustrated in Figure 2. The first addresses cross-cutting challenges that will determine and underpin the sustainability and success of all efforts to be undertaken: social cohesion, governance, and protection and human security challenges. The second involves creating conditions for establishing an enabling environment for action, including creating dedicated policy and institutional frameworks and regional- and country-level partnerships. The third area focuses on programmatic interventions including local development, service delivery, and economic recovery.

XX. Given the damage to the social fabric at all levels caused by the crisis and associated displacement, rebuilding social capital and thus, enhancing social cohesion in areas of displacement as well as host communities will be a challenging but essential element of successful transition. This can be achieved through actions such as supporting joint social, planning and development activities between host communities and displaced persons, adopting conflict sensitive programming, ensuring equity in the provision of public infra-

FIGURE ES.2.

Framework for Transitional and Durable Responses to Forced Displacement



Source: World Bank.

structure and services that benefit both host and displaced persons, fostering community-level reconciliation and violence prevention; and implementing initiatives aimed to address de-radicalization and reintegration. Governance issues also constitute a thread running through the crisis and the prospects for a sustainable response. As such, it would be necessary to implement and strengthen social accountability and mechanisms for citizen engagement in local development planning and service delivery; and support capacity and reconstruction of local governments. Further, protection and human security challenges emerging from the crisis need to be addressed in order to assure the effectiveness and efficiency of recovery efforts as well as the future stability of the region. As such, the protection of separated or unaccompanied children and the prevalence of various forms of gender-based violence—such as sexual assault and early marriage— should be addressed through targeted programming. Finally, registration and documentation of the displaced should be encouraged.

XXI. A functional and enabling environment for effective responses to displacement includes clear and comprehensive policies, legal and institutional frameworks, and partnerships at the regional and national levels. Important gaps still remain in the region in terms of the domestication of international legal standards regarding the forcibly displaced, particularly the Kampala Convention. The further development of national legal frameworks for refugees and the internally displaced is urgently needed. Sound policy and institutional frameworks are also necessary for addressing forced displacement, including the designation of clear roles, responsibilities, and accountabilities for institutions at the country level with regard to policy implementation across different levels of government. Given the nature of the crisis, activity coordination and partnership at the regional level would add value by facilitating synergies of efforts and learning across borders. Existing regional institutions such as the Lake Chad Basin Commission, the African Union and ECOWAS can make important contributions to fulfill this coordination role.

XXII. Finally, necessary programmatic responses can be clustered around three areas: (i) local development; (ii) service delivery; and (iii) economic recovery. Further analytical work in these three areas will also be required, including strengthen mechanisms for data collection at the regional level as to establish a baseline against which measuring progress made with the adopted programmatic interventions. Local development

initiatives should aim to address the integration of displaced people into the planning processes of host communities, enhance durable housing solutions and ameliorate environmental degradation as a result of displacement. Since for many IDPs and refugees access to services is a key precondition for return, it is key to improving service delivery (i.e. education, health, psychosocial support) in places of origin. Given the impacts of the conflict and displacement on vulnerable populations such as women, further analytical work to assess gender disparities in access to services as a way to mitigate gender and sexual based violence is recommended. By the same token, addressing gender gaps in service delivery and establishment of safe spaces for vulnerable population is highly recommended. Economic recovery at the regional and local level is key to ensuring the return and self-reliance of displaced populations. As such, reestablishment of livelihoods based on sound market analysis should be enhanced while focusing on supporting the economic empowerment of women heads of households. Reconstruction of markets and reestablishment of specific programming to incentivize the regional economy and trade are also recommended. *Chapter 4 and Annex E of this study provides further details on possible programmatic responses.*

XXIII. Further prioritization of recommended programmatic responses and identification of specific venues and actions through which such recommendations can be materialized at the country level should take place in the framework of county-level dialogues. These dialogues should involve Governments (both national and local), humanitarian and developmental agencies, and broader stakeholders relevant to the planning and implementation of responses aimed at addressing forced displacement. Given the urgency of the crisis, and the significance of the displacement issue for the stability and mid- to long term development of the Lake Chad region, it is recommended that such country dialogues take place as soon as possible.



| INTRODUCTION

STRUCTURE

1. The assessment provides a contextual overview of the Lake Chad Basin region, examines the dynamics of the Boko Haram conflict in the area, describes the extent of regional forced displacement triggered by the Boko Haram insurgency since 2014, and explains relevant legal and institutional frameworks for forced displacement. The report also identifies affected populations and the development impacts and challenges faced by individuals and communities. Using an integrated and holistic approach emerging from a shift in paradigms on how we conceive and approach impacts of forced, the recommendations proposed in the study are shaped around interventions seeking to create enabling environments to address displacement challenges and programmatic responses to mitigate the development challenges of forced displacement in the region. Proposed interventions take into account both the immediate priorities expressed by the affected populations for survival as well as the sustainable recovery and development efforts needed for longer-term regional stability.

METHODOLOGY

2. The assessment consists of four main components, each using distinct methods. First, as an analytical foundation for the study, six desk studies to assess the following dimensions of forced displacement and mixed migration in the region were undertaken with the following themes: (i) institutional and legal frameworks; (ii) environmental degradation, livelihoods, conflict, and displacement; (iii) gender and forced displacement; (iv) youth and forced displacement; (v) economic impacts of forced displacement; and (vi) the dynamics of mixed migration. These background reviews were based on a substantial body of existing literature on the four countries as well as on other countries facing similar challenges. Desk reviews were also conducted of UNHCR programming and analytical work in the region and of forced displacement in the Sahel and Chad.

3. Second, quantitative data was collected in Nigeria and Cameroon through the International Organization for Migration's (IOM) Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM).⁸ This was complemented by the analysis of UNHCR data for the four countries. Geo-mapping and analysis were carried out using GIS, drawing on open databases such as ACLED and InfoRM Risk Source.

4. To capture the realities and dynamics of displacement on the ground, the team carried out qualitative field research in over 36 sites affected by forced displacement in the Far North Region of Cameroon, the Diffa Region of Niger, and Northern Nigeria.⁹ Interviews were conducted with internally displaced persons (IDPs), refugees, and host community members in formal and informal camps, host communities, and other locations. The fieldwork examined displacement caused by a range of conflicts and natural disasters, allowing it to better characterize the particular features of forced displacement caused by the Boko Haram conflict. An age, gender, and diversity mainstreaming (AGD) approach was applied to the selection of informants. The guiding approach was that of Human Centered Design, focused on understanding the needs, priorities, expectations, and behaviors of the forcibly displaced from their point of view.

5. A joint World Bank–UNHCR workshop was held on May 18–19, 2016, to enhance the cross-fertilization of humanitarian and development efforts and to facilitate knowledge exchange of successful on-the-ground initiatives. The specific objectives of the workshop were to: (i) validate the preliminary findings of the assessment; (ii) take stock of existing initiatives addressing forced displacement in the four countries covered by it; (iii) identify operational gaps in addressing issues relevant to forced displacement; (iv) exchange experiences and best practices regarding programmatic interventions of forced displacement in other countries or regions; and (v) develop specific recommendations and possible avenues to address forced displacement in the region, especially that induced by Boko Haram. This workshop was followed by a second phase of country-specific consultations with Government representatives on May 20, 2016. The aim of these meetings was

⁸ Only in Nigeria and Cameroon. It is worth mentioning that, during the research process, the task team collaborated closely with the IOM DTM team and incorporated tailored questions in the DTM survey questionnaires in Nigeria and Cameroon, which were reflected in the Nigeria DTM Round VII and Cameroon DTM Round II.

⁹ Field qualitative research was then carried out in Nigeria (at 26 locations in and around Abuja, Federal Capital Territory; Yola, Adamawa; Jalingo, Taraba; Gusau, Zamfara; and Maiduguri, Borno), Cameroon (at Kousseri, Logone et Chari; Mora, Mayo Sava; and Mokolo, Mayo Tsanaga), and Niger (Nguigmi, Chetimari, and Sayam sites in the Diffa Region).

to prioritize operational responses to the Boko Haram displacement crisis that would lead to lasting solutions and that could be supported by development partners, including UNHCR and the World Bank.

6. The process of conducting the assessment brought together a range of agencies that are active on the ground addressing displacement challenges. Building on existing collaborative initiatives among the institutions, the research team worked closely with IOM Nigeria and Cameroon, and together were able to broaden the scope of the DTM surveys in those countries to include information on specific development dimensions of forced displacement. The collaboration also extended to joint qualitative field research in Nigeria. These efforts led to the collection of valuable data, and the extension of the coverage of research to inaccessible areas, adding significantly to the value of the assessment.

LIMITATIONS

7. Due to security constraints mainly resulted of the fact that this study was carried out in a context of on-going conflict, field research could only be feasibly conducted in displacement-affected areas in Cameroon, Niger, and Nigeria. The analysis of Boko Haram-induced displacement in Chad was primarily desk-based, complemented by interviews with key informants. Variations in data-collection methods, administrative definitions and classifications, and accessibility to and availability of informants placed limits on extent of comparative analysis that was possible. The data for Niger presents challenges in terms of determining the numbers of those displaced specifically by the Boko Haram crisis as opposed to other reasons. Therefore, assumptions were made based on the available data and the best-informed sources. In conducting the GIS analysis for the assessment, the spatial and temporal boundaries of the region and each of the four countries were applied.

8. Limitations due to security constrains were mitigated by the team by using multiple methods of data collection as per detailed in the methodology section (i.e. extensive literature review, conduct quantitative data collection by partnering with humanitarian agencies with significant presence in displacement affected areas, and conducting qualitative field work in affected areas also with the support of humanitarian agencies with presence on the field).

9. As noted, the focus of this assessment's findings and analyses is forced displacement resulting from the Boko Haram insurgency. In proposing responses and solutions, the report assumes that a gradual improvement in the security situation in the region will be achieved. However, regardless of its direct causes, displacement can be generally linked to underlying common causes, such as poverty, weak governance, and demographic and environmental pressures. Because these factors must also be addressed if sustainable solutions are to be achieved, the recommendations proposed in this report are also relevant to displacement caused by other circumstances.



CHAPTER 1

Lake Chad Region: Regional Context,
Dynamics of the Boko Haram Conflict,
and Forced Displacement

1.1. BACKGROUND

10. **Armed conflict is forcibly displacing more people than at any other time in history.** The number of people around the world who have been forcibly displaced has rose to a staggering 59.5 million compared with 37.5 million a decade ago (UNHCR 2015e). Globally, one in every 122 people is currently either a refugee, an internally displaced person, or an asylum seeker, with an average of 42,500 people being forcibly displaced every day (UNHCR 2015e). In the past five years, at least 15 new conflicts have erupted or reignited in Africa, the Middle East, Europe, and Asia. Many of these conflicts still active and evolving, such as those in Syria, Iraq, and Northern Nigeria. The situations will likely deteriorate further, with the emergence of new displacement situations and the protraction of existing ones. Indeed, in 2014, only 126,800 refugees were able to return to their home countries—the lowest number in 31 years (UNHCR 2015e). The development impacts of displacement are likely to be significant and pronounced because displacement affects education and health outcomes as well as the productive capacity of affected people. One of the most recent and highly visible consequences of the world's conflicts and related forced displacement is the large number of asylum seekers embarking on dangerous journeys across the Mediterranean Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Red Sea in the hopes of finding protection in more peaceful areas of the world.

11. **These situations are taking place against a background of a global economic slow-down, contracting fiscal space, and shifts in policy on the part of donors toward aspects of the crisis that affect them directly and internally.** The significant increase in the scale of global forced displacement is not being matched with a proportional increase in response from the international community.¹⁰ The current funding gap for only humanitarian action is about US\$15 billion (High-Level Panel on Humanitarian Financing 2015). Gaps in funding to address the significant humanitarian and development needs of forced displacement are largely due to the slow-down of the world economy, the constrained fiscal space of some of the world's main donors, and the prioritization by some governments for addressing the impacts of the crisis in their own countries. Governance challenges in many of the countries where displacement originates and where displaced populations are hosted also hamper the efficient use of scarce available resources.

12. **The challenges of this crisis are deep and prolonged, and the need to address both the short-term needs of the displaced and the longer-term prospects of development is urgent.** The crisis poses a substantial threat to development progress, including achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, in areas from which displacement occurs as well as in the hosting countries. An adequate response requires strong partnerships between humanitarian and development actors to address preparation, response, recovery, and prevention under a shared framework that goes beyond financing support. The recent World Humanitarian Summit confirmed the commitment to work together more closely in addressing these challenges by: (i) jointly engaging at the country-level in crisis prevention and response in countries originating and facing acute displacement, (ii) promoting innovative financing mechanisms to strengthen collective engagement, and (iii) improving data and evidence (World Bank 2016b).

13. **This report presents the analysis and findings of a regional assessment on forced displacement in the Lake Chad Region, which is currently one of the world's most significant displacement crises.** The main objective of this regional assessment is to understand and analyze the impacts of forced displacement caused by the Boko Haram conflict. Geographically, the assessment covers the four countries bordering Lake Chad: Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria.¹¹ The report is intended for a broad audience, including country governments, humanitarian and development partners, and the international community, to advocate for an integrated and holistic approach toward addressing the particular development challenges related to forced displacement caused by Boko Haram. This chapter provides an overview of the regional context, the dynamics of the Boko Haram conflict, and characteristics of the forced displacement caused by it.

10 According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres, "We are witnessing a paradigm change, an unchecked slide into an era in which the scale of global forced displacement as well as the response required is now clearly dwarfing anything seen before" (UNHCR 2015e).

11 Because the focus of this assessment is Boko Haram-related displacement, it examines areas in these countries most affected by the conflict: the Far North Region of Cameroon, the Lac Region of Chad, the Diffa Region of Niger, and North-East Nigeria.

1.2. REGIONAL CONTEXT

14. **The Lake Chad Region referred to in this assessment is the border area between Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria around the Lake Chad that has been severely impacted by Boko Haram insurgency and Boko-Haram induced displacement crisis.** This includes particularly the Extreme-North Region of Cameroon, the Lac Region of Chad, the Diffa Region of Niger, and the North East states of Nigeria. In 2014, an estimated 2.2 million people lived directly from resources of Lake Chad on the shores and islands of the Lake itself,¹² and nearly 50 million living within the conventional basin¹³ (LCBC 2015). The lake area has been the direct source of livelihoods for a diverse rural population through fishing, livestock herding, flood-recession agriculture, and hunting and gathering. In addition, the area around the lake has strong agricultural potential and is already a net exporter of food and a source of seasonal jobs because the lake offers a relatively reliable source of water, food, and fertile land throughout the year. In addition, the lake system also benefits about 13 million people in its hinterlands,¹⁴ including the impoverished regions of Borno in Nigeria; Diffa in Niger; the Extrême Nord Province in Cameroon; and Kanem, Hadjer Lamis, and Chari Baguirmi in Chad; as well as important regional cities and trade hubs such as N'Djamena and Maiduguri.

15. **The countries and populations that make up the Lake Chad Region are strongly interconnected.** The region is characterized by a web of economic, trade, historical, political, cultural, ethnic and religious ties, which makes its countries linked and interdependent across borders. Migration is widespread in the region for economic and religious reasons, as is the seasonal transhumance of livestock. Generations of men from Niger, Chad, Cameroon, and beyond, have traveled to centers of Islamic learning in Northern Nigeria to complete their education. A lattice of transhumance routes crosses the region from north to south and east to west, along which cattle herds and pastoralists move with the seasons. Such connections transcending contemporary national frontiers have long unified the Lake Chad Region, and this openness and dynamism shapes both the challenges faced by the region and the coping mechanisms of the people addressing them.

16. **The Lake Chad region has considerable economic potential among areas of the African continent.** In addition to its important endowment of human and natural capital, the region has large oil and other mineral reserves and potential as a major center of agricultural and livestock production and trade. The lake itself is the center of a complex and dynamic ecology, supporting a resilient—albeit increasingly strained—economy and a diverse set of livelihoods. Communities across national boundaries benefit from direct access to resources such as water, grazing, and fisheries, and they depend on the resources provided by the lake to sustain their food security.

17. **While the Lake Chad region is a potential driver for development in West Africa, it's social, economic, and environmental systems are fragile and vulnerable.** The region is subject to significant environmental and socioeconomic pressures and changes that threaten regional stability, and weak institutions limit its capacity to cope with these pressures. The size and level of the lake fluctuate significantly due to water inflows from its tributary rivers, making it an amplifier of rainfall variation. The changing conditions of the lake dramatically alter the environmental, economic, and social dynamics of the zone.¹⁵ In addition, shallowness and extent of peripheral wetlands make the lake highly vulnerable to pollution it is being increasingly exposed to because of the increased exploitation of hydrocarbons and the inappropriate use of agricultural pesticides (Bertoncin and Pase, 2012; Lemoalle and Magrin 2014). While data is insufficient to predict the impact of

12 In an area of nearly 100 km around the border tri-point Chad, Cameroon and Nigeria (LCBC 2015).

13 The Conventional Basin is the area shared by Cameroon (9 percent), Chad (42 percent), Niger (28 percent), and Nigeria (21 percent), expanding across over 427,500 km² (FAO, 1997).

14 The lake hinterlands, or its area of influence through trade and seasonal migration, extends-up to 300 km around the lake and represents an area of about 250,000 km² (Van der Valk et al. 2015).

15 Indeed, a 10 percent variation of the rainfall in the basin leads to a variation of 30 percent in the discharge of the Chari River—the main supplier of the lake. For this reason, the lake has ranged between a “Large Lake Chad” with an open water surface of 24,000 km² during the early 1950s to a “Dry Small Lake Chad,” with a surface area of only 1,700 km² observed in early 1985, and less than 2,500 km² in 2000. The Lake Chad is in a current state of a Small Lake Chad, with a relatively favorable situation in terms of ecosystem services and socioeconomic activities. The stage of Small Lake Chad, observed since 1991, is particularly conducive to the enhancement of recession activities on its banks, such as agriculture and livestock. Since the 1990s and until recently, the hypothesis of a gradual downward trend, suggesting the drying up of the lake as a result of climate change, has spread. But this was not confirmed by the most recent scientific work that considered the current lake as a Small Lake Chad but relatively stable since 1973.

climate change in the Lake Chad Region, a rise in global temperatures and changes in rainfall patterns have likely led to a reduction of the lake area, a trend that will likely continue.

18. Subregional development disparities, limited economic diversification, and high population growth also impinge upon the areas around the lake. The countries bordering the lake are among the least developed in the world, with extremely low development indicators. Chad and Niger are among the bottom three countries in the 2015 Human Development Index, ranking 185 and 188 out of 188 countries, respectively. Cameroon and Nigeria performed better but are still received low rankings of 152 and 153, respectively (UNDP 2015). Furthermore, areas around the lake, including Niger's Diffa, North-East Nigeria, the Cameroonian Extreme North, and Chad's Lac region, are the poorest regions of each country, with marked lags in socioeconomic indicators and in service delivery.¹⁶ Economic diversification of the countries around the lake tends to be limited; there is a heavy reliance on a few commodities, such as oil and cattle, and this makes the area very vulnerable to external shocks. The Lake Chad Region has one of the fastest population growth rates in the world, and it is expected to double in the next 20 years.¹⁷ The population is unevenly spread across the region: it is denser in Nigeria and the vicinity of Lake Chad and sparser in the more arid northern areas. Youth account for most of the population in the countries around the lake, and dependency ratios¹⁸ in the region are high, particularly in Niger and Chad at 113 and 102 percent for 2014, respectively.

19. Migration is an important traditional source of resiliency from economic, political, and environmental shocks in the region; it has been transformed and accelerated by the crisis. For centuries, people in the vicinity of the lake have resorted to migration to mitigate environmental, economic, and social shocks and as a traditional means of livelihood. In recent years, however, migration has changed. Economic migration that is principally from rural to urban areas or to Europe has become more frequent in all countries (Cole and Jacobsen 2015). Rural to urban migration is partly driven by rural deprivation and inequity.¹⁹ The quest for employment and services frequently drives migrants to urban centers, resulting in increasing levels of urban fragility, with migrants being over-concentrated in informal settlements within peri-urban areas.²⁰ These areas do not provide residents with access to basic services, and their growth adds to the increasing sprawl of poorly regulated and serviced peri-urban areas around the denser urban cores (IOM 2015b). Migration from the region to other countries—regular and irregular—is significant in the region, driven by economic motivations as well as by specific shocks such as conflicts (African Development Bank, 2010; Mberu and Pongou, 2007). More recently, Agadez in northern Niger has become a migration hub for mainly West Africans illegally migrating towards Europe. Meanwhile, displaced populations in Niger's Diffa region tend to stay in their region. Nigeria represents one of the main nationalities reported by migrants, refugees and asylum seekers arriving to Europe (BBC 2016).

20. The institutional capacity and presence of the state are limited, hampering resilience to shocks and exposing the region to increased conflict, illegality and crime. Institutional deficits are a shared challenge among many of the countries around the lake. The four countries are ranked between 99 and 147 out of 168 countries in the 2015 Corruption Perceptions Index (Transparency International 2015). A survey conducted by Transparency International in Africa found that police and courts have the highest rates of bribery, suggesting significant weaknesses in the law enforcement mechanisms necessary to protect citizens and mitigate interpersonal conflicts (Uwimana 2016). The presence of state institutions varies widely across the territory of these countries, with areas around the lake significantly underserved in terms of service provision, law enforcement, and access to justice. The limited government presence leaves citizens and communities

16 For example, in North-East Nigeria, 70 percent of the population is below the poverty line. Poverty coexists with inequality: during the period 2012–13, inequality in North East and North West, as measured by the Gini coefficient, increased in comparison to the South West, where it remained static (World Bank 2014).

17 The annual population growth is over 3 percent compared with a regional average of 2.55 percent and a global average of 1.18 percent. Life expectancy in the region ranges from Cameroon at 55 years, Chad at 52 years, Niger at 61 years, and Nigeria at 53 years. Data taken from the Life Expectancy at Birth (database), World Bank, Washington, DC (accessed May 13, 2016), <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN>.

18 *Dependency ratio* is the ratio of dependent youth to the working-age population. Data taken from Age Dependency Ratio (database), World Bank, Washington, DC (accessed June 5, 2016), <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.DPND.OL>.

19 In Niger and Cameroon, for example, rural poverty rates are almost twice that of urban areas (Cole and Jacobsen 2015).

20 *Urban fragility* refers to cities with weak institutions and governance characterized by inequitable development and access to services, inadequate livelihood opportunities, "differently" governed spaces, and subsequent rising levels of crime and violence, more acutely affecting the poorest and most marginalized parts of the city. (World Bank 2015c).

unsupported to cope with negative environmental, economic, and social shocks fostering an atmosphere of impunity. In addition, the uneven presence of the state, particularly the law enforcement and justice systems, increases the risk of conflict and criminal activities. Illegal trafficking of drugs, arms, and persons have been reported by media and local residents, with powerful criminal networks extending across the region into Libya, across the Sahel, and into Europe.

21. **The characteristics of the Lake Chad region make it prone to fragility and conflict.**²¹ In 2015, Nigeria was among the countries with the lowest Global Peace Index in the world, ranking 151 of the 162 countries included. While better positioned than Nigeria, the rankings of Cameroon, Chad, and Niger are still low, and those for Cameroon and Niger experienced a significant deterioration in their scores, partly as a result of the presence of Boko Haram (IEP 2015a). Besides the regional insurgency, numerous conflicts are observed at the community, inter-communal, subnational, and national levels in the Lake Chad countries, including over natural resources and between pastoralist and agriculturalists. It is generally left to local institutions to mediate local conflicts, which they do to varying degrees of effectiveness. Figure 1.1 illustrates different factors that increase the risks of conflict in the region.

FIGURE 1.1.

Risk Factors for Conflict in the Lake Chad Region



Source: World Bank Group.

1.3. THE BOKO HARAM CONFLICT

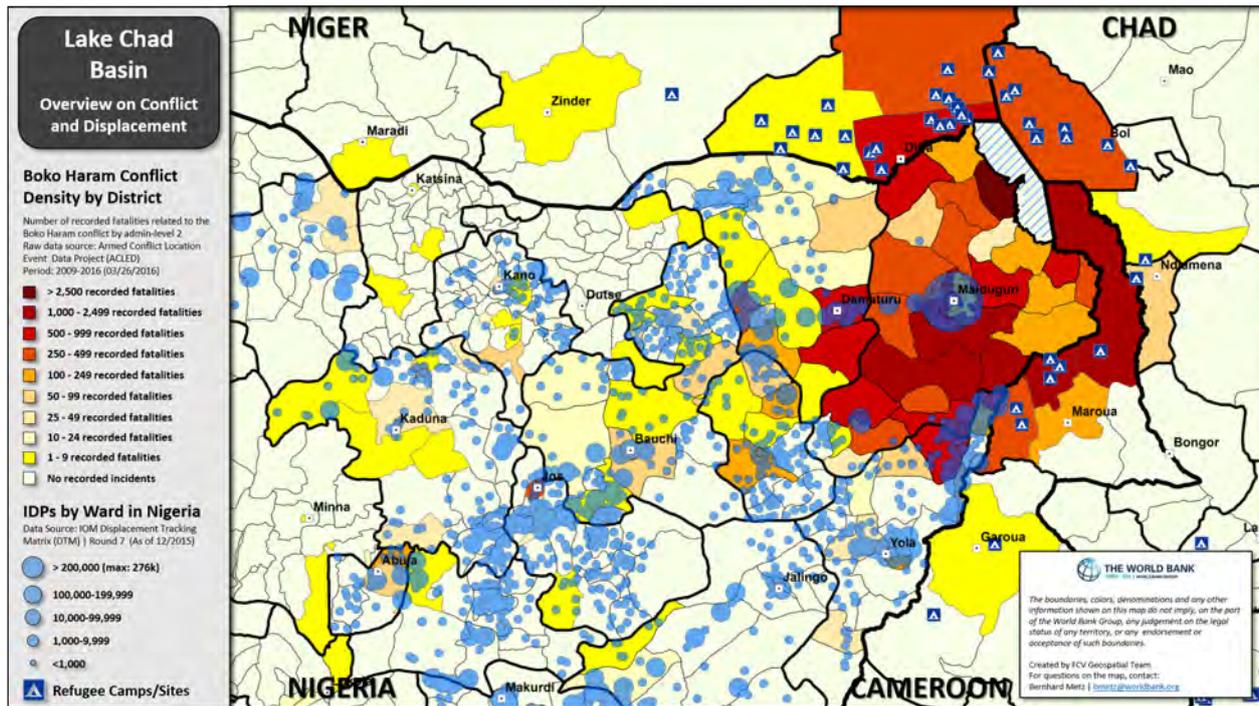
22. The conflict related to Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad, also known as Boko Haram, has affected over 15 million civilians (Humanitarian Country Team—Nigeria 2015) and has left widespread devastation in the areas around Lake Chad at a level unprecedented arguably not seen since the Nigerian civil war of 1967–70. Over 20,000 people have been killed; 2.5 million people forcibly displaced internally in all

21 The 2011 *World Development Report* identifies limited job opportunities, access to services, and justice as being among the key drivers of fragility and conflict around the world. (World Bank 2011b). <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/4389>.

four countries or across international borders; and an estimated 2,000–7,000 people have gone missing, including abducted women and children (Humanitarian Country Team–Nigeria 2015). (See Appendix A for a timeline on the conflict’s development.) The conflict has taken on a regional dimension, with Boko Haram extending its operational area from northeast Nigeria into Cameroon’s Extreme North, Niger’s Diffa Region, and Chad’s Lac Region. The governments of the affected, countries in an effort for concerted action, they have established the Multinational Joint Task Force, and the Nigerian military has successfully regained territory, but serious conflict and insecurity persist. The tactics of Boko Haram have shifted back to those of asymmetrical warfare, with frequent terrorist attacks still taking place across the region.²² Map 1.1 displays the conflict-related fatalities at the lowest administrative level available, as well as the density of host locations for internally displaced persons within North-East Nigeria.

MAP 1.1.

North-East Nigeria Conflict Fatalities and Density of Internally Displaced Persons



Source: Armed Conflict Location and Event Data (ACLED) Project, accessed January 30, 2016 (conflict data); IOM–Displacement Tracking Matrix Round 7 as of December 2015 (displacement data); and ESRI (Geo-data for background map).

1.3.1. DRIVERS OF CONFLICT

23. **As with other intricate crises, the Boko Haram conflict has very complex and long-standing structural drivers.** Poor performance on the Human Development Index, Corruption Perceptions Index, and Global Peace Index reflect structural issues including economic and political marginalization, lagging development, chronic poverty, and poor governance, constituting some of the core drivers of the conflict, by stoking frustration and a sense of injustice among the population. An additional push factor is the vulnerability of the youth. Limited access to education in North-East Nigeria, its very poor quality, and inadequate economic opportunities have made youth particularly vulnerable to chronic unemployment. In addition, the number of mendicant *almajiri*—children separated from their families in the aspiration of improving their future opportunities through Qur’anic education—has increased, constituting a class of indigent and vulnerable young people with scant options for subsistence. The state’s limited presence has given rise to an array of non-state institutions and actors—traditional, community, private, and sometimes criminal—grown to fill the governance

22 *Asymmetrical warfare* consists of “conflicts between nations or groups that have disparate military capabilities and strategies, such as those associated with guerrilla warfare and terrorist attacks. Rand Corporation. “Asymmetric Warfare, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://www.rand.org/topics/asymmetric-warfare.html>.

void in areas such as security, service provision, and justice. A series of triggers short-term and sometimes unforeseen incidents provoking violence - the most pivotal being the detention and death of the movement's leader, Mohammed Yusuf while in custody in 2009—facilitated radicalization of Boko Haram members who started to embark on a path of extreme and retributive violence. Other factors contributing to conflict in the North-East include education, governance and economic disparities. These drivers combine to create conditions for the emergence and spread of conflict. The circumstances and motivations leading to an individual's participation in the Boko Haram-related conflict vary considerably.²³ Factors reported range from ideological to material, and recruitment can also be the direct result of coercion (Mercy Corps, 2016).

1.3.2. DYNAMICS AND OUTCOMES

24. The Boko Haram conflict is characterized by extreme levels of violence and destruction. The group was identified as the single deadliest terrorist group in 2014, surpassing ISIL, the Taliban, the Fulani militants, and Al-Shabaab (IEP 2015b). In the same year, as a result of Boko Haram's actions, Nigeria witnessed the largest increase in terrorist deaths ever recorded by any country, with a rise of over 300 percent to 7,512 fatalities (IEP 2015b).

25. Boko Haram's extremist ideology and its heavy reliance on tactics of indiscriminate terror perpetrated against a wide array of targets have significantly impacted social relations, further dividing and polarizing an already fragmented society. The repeated but unpredictable incidences of violence have created widespread suspicion, mistrust, and apprehension, leading to fragmentation along religious, ethnic, and other cultural fault lines. The insurgency has resulted in a pervasive sense of fear among the population, especially toward anyone who may be or have been associated with Boko Haram, or who just shares a religious or ethnic identity with the group. Thus, to varying degrees, North-Eastern Muslims, people belonging to the Kanuri ethnic group, the forcibly displaced, and victims of forced recruitment and abduction can be open to suspicion. Traditional institutions and community-level conflict management mechanisms (such as local government councils, local courts, and religious institutions) have been undermined by this wider erosion of social capital and by the assassination of leaders, leaving significant gaps in the capacity of these institutions to mediate and manage conflicts.

26. As the conflict has intensified, the prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence (SGVB) has escalated dramatically. Women and girls are now even more vulnerable to rape, exploitation, and forced marriage due to the conflict and resulting displacement, adding to already high rates of domestic violence and child marriage.²⁴ Women and girls abducted by Boko Haram are victims of rape; forced into marriage, labor, and religious conversion; physically, sexually, and emotionally abused; and are highly vulnerable, exposed to sexually transmitted diseases and often forced impregnation by their captors. They and their children are particular subjects of stigma, often rejected by their communities and families, leaving them particularly vulnerable (For more details, see UNICEF and International Alert 2016).

27. While all conflicts entail significant damage to public and private infrastructure, the Boko Haram conflict seems to have caused an exceptionally devastating impact to infrastructure and service delivery. A recent recovery and peace-building assessment determined that a significant number of towns in North-East Nigeria have been reduced to ashes, with over 400,000 housing units destroyed and most of the few schools and hospitals partially or fully destroyed. Similar assessments conducted in other conflict-affected regions exhibit a lesser degree of damage to the infrastructure that is critical for return and reintegration. (See World Bank, EU, and UN 2015b.)

28. The conflict has severely affected trade, food production, and agricultural productivity across the Lake Chad region. The hostilities and conflict have resulted in numerous casualties and continued population displacement, preventing households from pursuing their typical livelihoods and interrupting trade and market functioning. Trade volume severely diminished as borders were closed and all the major trade routes became inaccessible. In North-East Nigeria, the consolidated budget deficit for the region worsened during the crisis;

²³ The Recovery and Peace Building Assessment for North East Nigeria provides a more detailed analysis of the Boko Haram conflict drivers and dynamics (World Bank, EU and UN, 2016a).

²⁴ A survey on gender-based violence in Nigeria revealed that at least one in every three women in the country has been victim of gender-based violence in their life time" (NPC 2014).

it is twice the average precrisis budget deficit (World Bank, EU, and UN 2016a). Physical destruction affected the private sector by undermining the operation of small and medium enterprises and markets.

29. **Despite significant efforts by the conflict-affected countries' armed forces as well as the Multinational Joint Task Force,**²⁵ the security situation in the region remains fluid and unpredictable.²⁶ Terrorist attacks are reported every week. As a consequence, displacement persists and becomes increasingly complex. Many forcibly displaced people have experienced successive episodes of displacement after an initial forced movement, and remain unable to return to their places of origin. New security threats, including unexploded ordnances, have surfaced in recent months, further compromising the conditions for safe return.

30. **While millions of people have been forced to flee for their lives, many others- often the most vulnerable- remain behind, facing extreme humanitarian and security challenges.** In the mist of the Boko Haram attacks, families were often forced to make the difficult decision of leaving some of their members behind, including older persons, the physically challenged and the sick. In other instances, some family members stayed behind protecting their land and property and became unable to leave once the group took control of the community. According to OCHA, an estimated 3 million people remain trapped in areas controlled by Boko Haram in North-East Nigeria only (Humanitarian Country Team—Nigeria 2015). Some of those areas have become recently accessible to a number of humanitarian actors, who have classified the situation of these communities as a “humanitarian catastrophe”. According to Médecine Sans Frontier (The Guardian, 2016), in Bama LGA in Nigeria, as many as 30 individuals who stayed behind died daily due to hunger and preventable diseases.

1.4. OVERVIEW AND DYNAMICS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT DUE TO THE BOKO HARAM CRISIS

“You cannot enjoy somebody else’s country as your own.”

~ Participant of focus group with internally displaced persons, Gullum, Nigeria

31. **Seven major causes of forced displacement can be distinguished in the Lake Chad Region, the Boko Haram conflict is the most significant push factor among them, accounting for about 70 percent of the total displaced population in the four countries.** There are 3.5 million forcibly displaced people in Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria, and Niger, including 2.5 million people who have been forcibly displaced by Boko Haram; 800,000 affected by other man-made crises, such as the conflicts in Mali, Sudan, and the Central African Republic as well as inter-community violence and cattle rustling; and 200,000 forcibly displaced by natural disasters—mainly floods—in the South-South and North-West Nigeria and Northern Cameroon.

32. **Despite the cross-border impact of the conflict, forced displacement in the region caused by the Boko Haram insurgency is primarily taking place within the national borders of the affected countries.** Ninety-two percent of people forcibly displaced by the Boko Haram conflict are internally displaced. Of the 2.5 million people forcibly displaced by the Boko Haram conflict, 1.9 million are displaced within Nigeria, making it 1 of 10 countries with highest population of IDPs in the world. As of May 2016, based on UNHCR and government records, neighboring Chad, Cameroon, and Niger registered 427,000 IDPs and returnees and 210,00 Nigerian refugees due to this conflict. The country second-most affected by the crisis after Nigeria is Niger, which registered 177,000 IDPs and returnees and 138,000 refugees –equivalent to 7.6 percent of the total number of IDPs and 66 percent of the total number of refugees from this conflict.²⁷ Figure 1.3 provides an illustration of the overall displacement situation in the Lake Chad Region.

33. **Like the conflict, forced displacement is taking place in a context of deep poverty and vulnerability,**

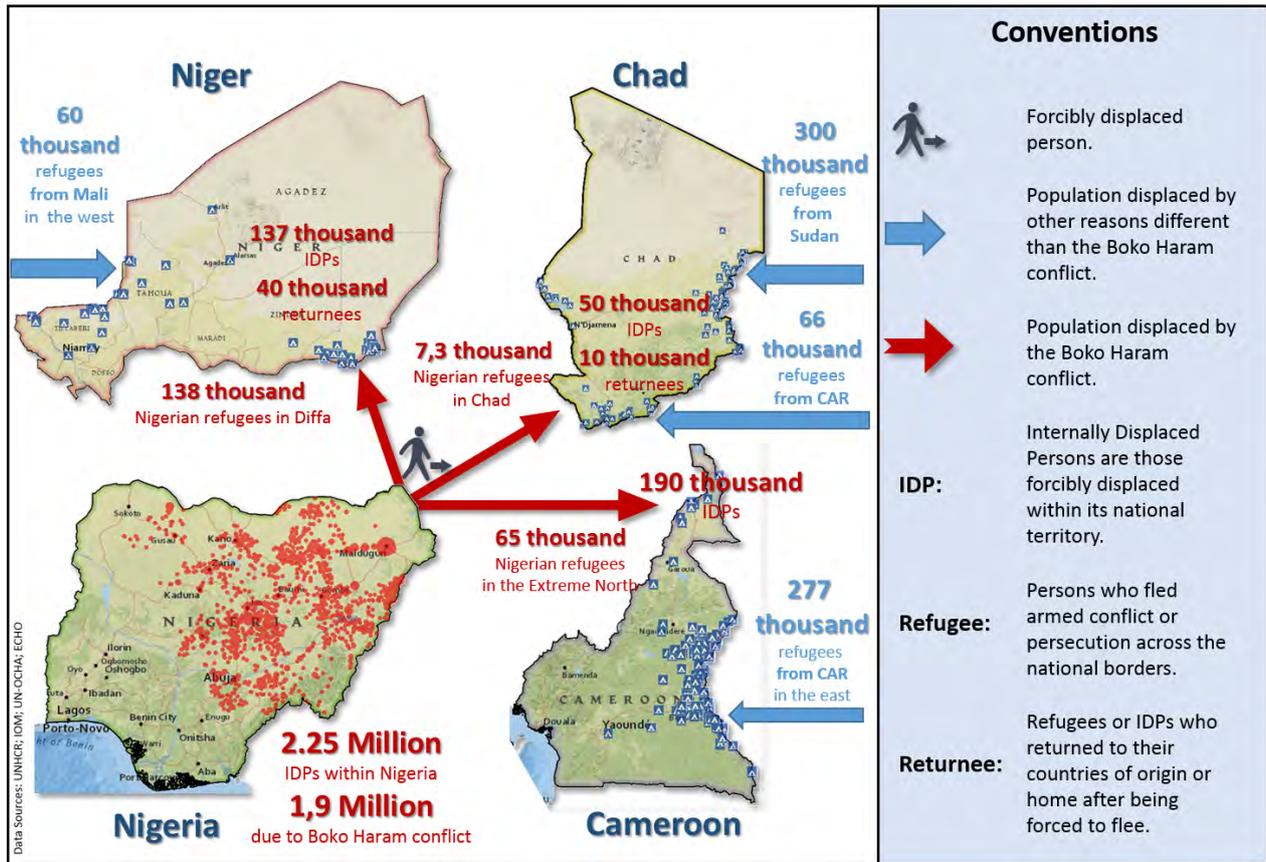
25 The Multinational Joint Task Force is composed by troops from the four affected countries and Benin. It was initially formed in 1994 and solely as a Nigerian force. In 1998, it was expanded to include Chad and Niger. In April 2012, the task force's mandate expanded to include counter-terrorism operations and to thus address the Boko Haram insurgency.

26 ACLED—Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project). Accessed (database), accessed May 2016, <http://www.acleddata.com>.

27 UNHCR. “Operation Sahel. Information Sharing Portal”. Accessed on May 2016. http://data.unhcr.org/SahelSituation/country.php?id=502_

FIGURE 1.3

Overall Displacement Situation in the Lake Chad Region



Source: Data from UNHCR, IOM, and OCHA. Visualizations produced by the World Bank.

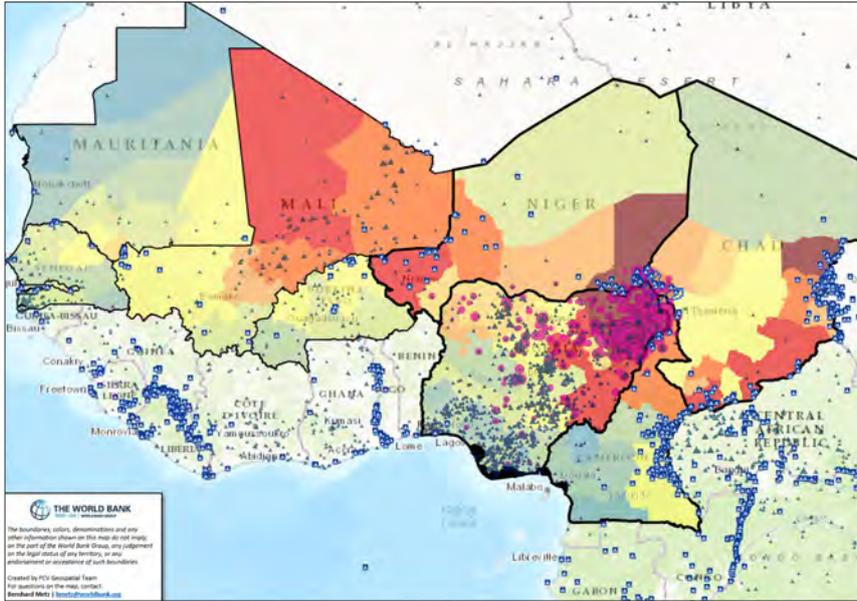
making it a significant development challenge. Map 1.2 provides an overview of the regional context in the Sahel area in terms of violence hotspots since 2011, differentiated according to the involvement of Boko Haram as conflict party; locations of refugee camps; and a rating of “Risk” of subnational areas in political, socioeconomic, and environmental terms, according to the InfoRM methodology and overall rating. The map makes apparent that between 2011 and April 2016, violence and displacement by the Boko Haram conflict in the Lake Chad Region has entailed the most severe density and intensity in West Africa. Moreover, the shading, which implies the overall risk of humanitarian crisis situations of subnational areas in relation to each other, reveals that the Lake Chad Region has also been categorized as the most unfavorable area in the region in this regard. In fact, the Nigerian States of Borno and Yobe, as well as the Niger region of Diffa score on the top of the InfoRM risk indicators list that covers the entire Sahel area. Furthermore, as shown in Map 1.3, Borno State in Nigeria, faces the highest density of Boko Haram-related violence and hosts the majority of displaced people, also features the highest ‘vulnerability’ score in the region²⁸. The analysis also makes obvious that, Diffa (Niger), Lac (Chad) and the Extrême-Nord (Cameroon) -currently hosting the Boko Haram refugees, belong to the most vulnerable regions within their countries.

34. At the regional level, forced displacement also presents an unplanned urban phenomenon. While refugee camps in the Lake Chad Region countries tend to be geographically contained in rural and marginalized areas at a minimum of 50 kms away from the Nigerian border, internally displaced people are more inclined to move to larger towns in the vicinity of their places of origin. In the case of Nigeria, this initial displacement was often followed by subsequent movements as security worsened, towards secondary cities and state capitals. Given that most of the displaced are IDPs, in the aggregate, this process is leading to a significant and unplanned expansion of towns and cities, resulting in unanticipated but massive increase on demand on

28 The sub-national “Vulnerability” rating is based on the methodology and data provided by the Index for Risk Management Project (InfoRM). It comprises sub-indicators on the following issues: Development & Deprivation; Inequality; Aid Dependency; Uprooted people; Health Conditions; Malnutrition; Recent Shocks; Food Security; and Vulnerable Groups.

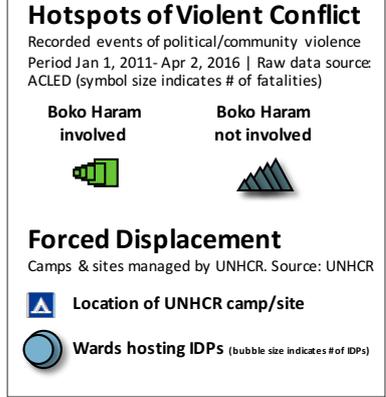
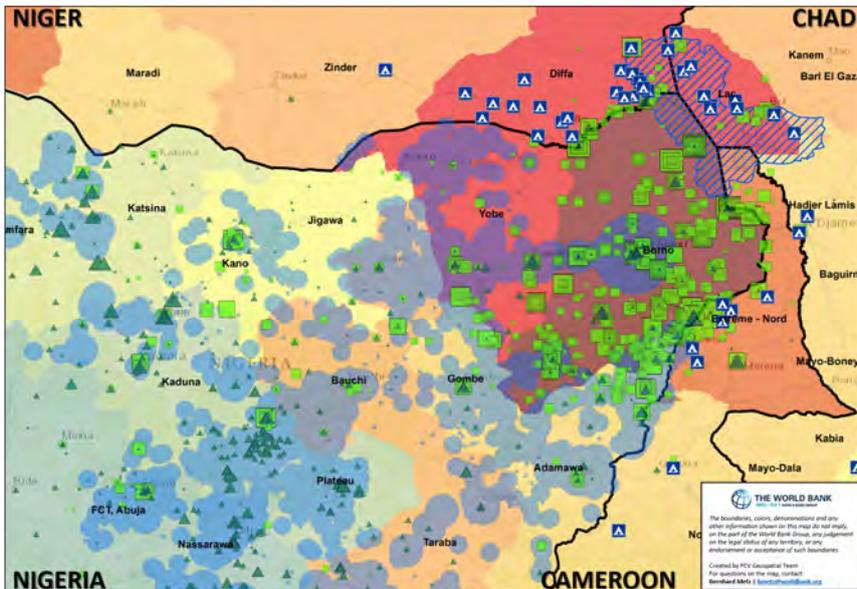
MAP 1.2.

Sahel Overview of Socio-economic and Political Risk



MAP 1.3.

Lake Chad Regional Vulnerability



Source: InfoRM Risk Score, UNHCR, ACLED and IOM. Visualizations produced by the World Bank World Bank.

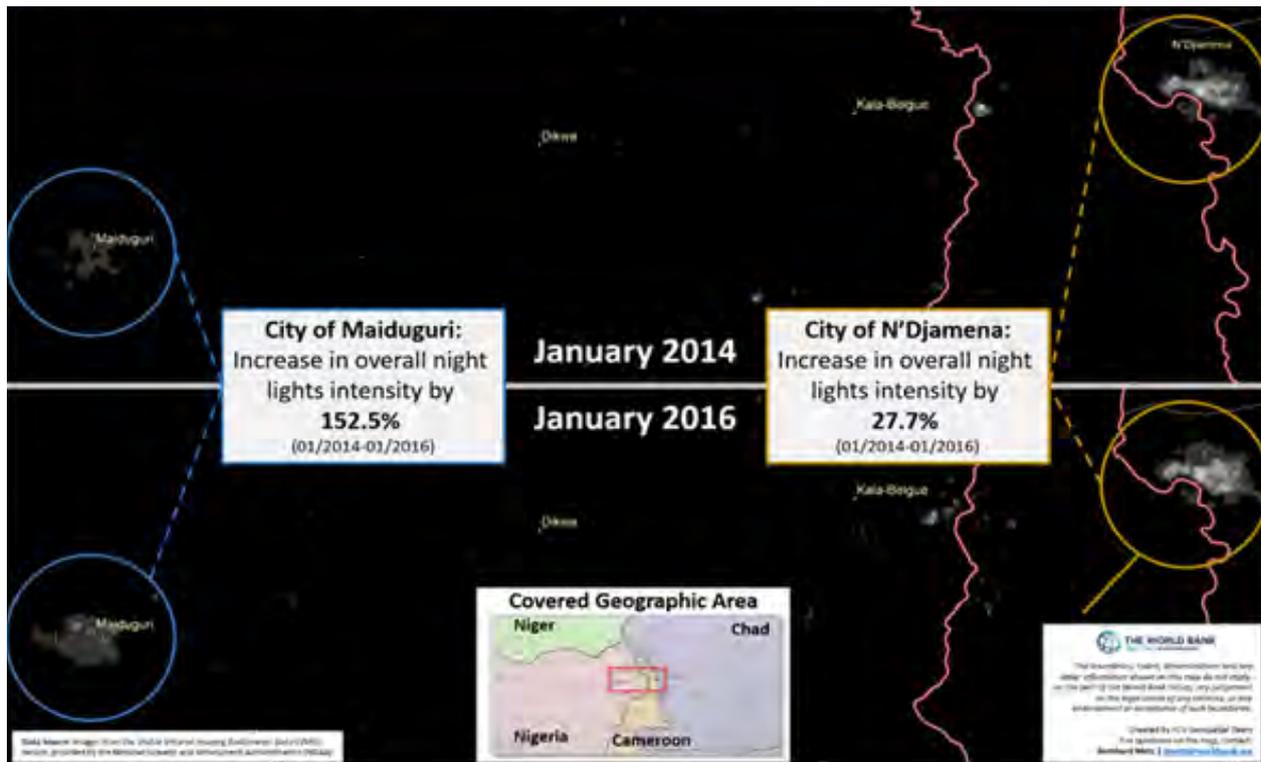
basic services such as health, education, and transport. For example, Maiduguri, the state capital of Borno in Nigeria, currently hosts 825,000 IDPs—36 percent of the people displaced by Boko Haram in the region, has—doubled its population in just two years.²⁹ An analysis comparing the luminosity at night of the cities of Maiduguri and N'Djamena from January 2014 to January 2016 reveals a doubling of night-light intensity in Maiduguri over the two-year period, with a growth rate of 152.5 percent. The night-light intensity in N'Djamena's was only 27.7 percent.³⁰ While the growth of night-light intensity in Maiduguri's was relatively

29 Global Emergency Overview. (Database), accessed March 2016, <http://www.acaps.org/countries>.

30 Night-light intensity can provide a good estimate of the population growth in urban areas. The underlying data on illumination intensity were extracted from Visible Infrared Imaging Radiometer Suite (VIIRS) sensor satellite data provided by the United States National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA --), http://ngdc.noaa.gov/eog/viirs/download_monthly.html. The change in light intensity for these two cities was calculated by analyzing the VIIRS Day/Night Band Composites, relying on a vcmfgr correction algorithm. For the calculation of the total illumination, a brightness threshold of 2 was applied to both years of data to separate urban areas (values > 2) from rural areas (values < 2). Subsequently, brightness values of all contiguous urban pixels around the city centroids were summed up. A brightness threshold of 2 was chosen through comparison with other urban definitions, including the Global Human Settlement Layer or GHSL <http://ghslsys.jrc.ec.europa.eu/> (<http://ghslsys.jrc.ec.europa.eu/>), and other night lights derived urban metrics.

FIGURE 1.4.

Night-light Intensity in Maiduguri, Nigeria, and N’Djamena, Chad—January 2014–January 2016



Source: Visible Infrared Imaging Radiometer Suite (VIIRS) data from National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), accessed 2016, http://ngdc.noaa.gov/eog/viirs/download_monthly.html. Visualizations produced by the World Bank.

low (7.5 percent) from January 2014 to January 2015, it witnessed extreme growth from January 2015 to January 2016. This is a proxy measure for the explosion of population growth in Maiduguri.

35. **Forced displacement is largely shaped by conflict dynamics in the region.** The fluidity of the security situation translates into an equally fluid displacement situation. While the growth rate of forced displacement has fallen in recent months, the numbers are still increasing for both IDPs and refugees, partly due to people fleeing conflict areas after the military forces establishes safe corridors.³¹ Similarly, the high level of violence against civilians that is characteristic of this conflict has resulted in the wholesale massive displacement of entire communities. The displaced are therefore a diverse group in terms of places of origin, ethnic and religious backgrounds, ages, social status, and prior livelihoods and living conditions. These characteristics interact to determine the impacts of displacement across this diverse population, the coping mechanisms available to them, and their level of vulnerability.

36. **Most people who have been forcibly displaced by the insurgency have experienced multiple episodes of displacement.** Typically, people displaced by Boko Haram initially fled to the nearest town or across the border into Cameroon, Chad, or Niger. As Boko Haram drew closer to new areas of settlement or when these towns were also attacked, they were forced to move again, losing additional assets and sometimes perishing in the process. The large size of the displaced population in Niger, Chad, and Cameroon, political pressures and pressures on living conditions, along with fear of potential Boko Haram attacks on camps, have reportedly motivated some Nigerian refugees to return to Nigeria.

37. **At the regional level, displacement is seen from a security point of view, with related shifts in policy toward the displaced.** The terrorist threat associated with this conflict has had a significant impact on how

31 According to OCHA, an estimated 3 million people remain trapped in North-East Nigeria, suggesting a continued upward trend of displacement in the near future. (See Humanitarian Country Team—Nigeria 2015).

the displaced are viewed. Fear of non-locals is widespread and seems toward those suspected to have ever been close to Boko Haram, including the displaced, influencing the approach to forced displacement in the region. Displacement is seen from a security angle, with most countries opting for in-camp settlements to host population displaced by Boko Haram, as opposed to the recommended community-based approach. Some host countries and states have expressed a strong preference for the return of refugees and IDPs to their places of origin, which may increase risks of involuntary and unsafe return.³²

38. While over 90 percent of IDPs and refugees have expressed an intention to return to their places of origin, and many have already attempted to do so, significant security concerns persist as their main impediment.³³ In areas in which the security situation is more stable, initial flows of returning IDPs and refugees have been registered, including Adamawa State, where 389,224 people have been able to return to Mubi North, Mubi South, Michika, Maiha, Hong, Gombi, and Madagali.³⁴ However, a return to most parts of Borno State, where most come of the IDPs are from, appears unlikely in the near future. IDPs and refugees are continually monitoring the security situations, to the extent possible, in their home locations through contacts with family or friends that stayed behind. There are reported cases of people who attempted to return to their home areas and resume farming or fishing who were later killed by Boko Haram or who suffered accidents with unexploded ordinances. Even in cities like Maiduguri, IDPs report that they would not go to the outskirts of the city due to the high risk of terrorist attacks and unexploded ordinances.

39. In addition to security challenges, the lack of provision for basic needs in their destroyed home communities is an important impediment to their successful return. IDPs and refugees and security identified housing as a critical challenge for a return to their places of origin, reflecting the widespread destruction of housing units documented in the region. Food and water to survive the planting season and the reestablishment of markets to sell their products were also mentioned as important barriers to return. Education may also be more accessible in places of settlement than in their communities of origin. The progressive reestablishment of institutions, including local government and traditional and religious authorities are important preconditions for enabling a peaceful return.

40. While the majority of the displaced population indicated that they would like to eventually return when essential conditions are met, many are likely to settle in the locations of displacement. This is particularly true for widows and orphaned teens who feel that they have little or nothing to return to and that access to education, food security, and job opportunities may be better where they currently are. Hence, successful and sustainable return and reintegration depends largely on the availability and durability of crucial preconditions, including the stabilization of the area, the degree in which drivers of conflict are addressed, the provision of basic services and opportunities that may be lacking in their places of origin but are available in their current areas of settlement.

41. Within that framework, the following three scenarios for future displacement dynamics were considered in this assessment. These scenarios shape the recommendations provided as they capture various challenges for future return and settlement. They also clarify demands on both local and international organizations to address forced displacement impacts, including reconstruction efforts, service provision to displaced persons, and activities in general aimed at mitigating the impacts of displacement and ensuring sustainable return or resettlement.

42. Scenario 1- Status Quo: Boko Haram retains the ability to periodically stage attacks in the Lake Chad Region and occasionally in areas further away from their strongholds, or in regional or national/federal capital cities. While under this scenario the return of IDPs and reconstruction would be possible in some areas, the threat and reality of local attacks would continue to undermine the revival of agriculture and economic life, and the establishment of a stable peace. Urban areas and towns are likely to be more secure than rural ones, despite the likelihood of continued bombings, and as such, the displaced population would tend to concentrate in and around these areas. Pressure on the displaced might be brought by the region's

32 UNHCR, 2016d.

33 See IOM and UNHCR return intention surveys in Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria.

34 Data from IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM). Round VIII, February 2016, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/01_IOMDTMNigeria_RoundVIIIReport_20160229.pdf.

governments to encourage returns before security can be assured. Significantly, there would be no stability under this scenario, since it is relatively easy for Boko Haram to regroup and adapt. Hence, in the absence of a peaceful settlement of the country, this scenario may periodically deteriorate into the worst-case scenario, at least for some sub-regions where Boko Haram remains active (particularly areas around the Sambisa forest in Nigeria, and the shore and islands of Lake itself). Operationally, the security situation would constrain the re-establishment of infrastructure, social services, and production, especially in rural areas, and necessitate a flexible and coordinated approach by regional, national and sub-national governments, and humanitarian and development actors to respond to unpredictable threats. Displacement would continue to increase, although at a reduced rate, mostly as a result of large, periodic and localized attacks. Return would be sporadic, and only occasionally successful, and more often than not, the displaced would be forced to go back to host communities or to an alternative location as they would be unable to restart their lives back home. Recovery, stabilization and humanitarian support would take place simultaneously in different locations. Reconciliation and integration efforts would be possible to varying degrees across the territory.

43. Scenario 2- Best-Case Scenario: Working with international and regional partners, through military means coupled with successful negotiations/peace talks with Boko Haram, and increased attention to addressing the underlying socioeconomic factors of the Boko Haram conflict, the frequency, intensity and scope of attacks in the Lake Chad Basin region becomes more limited. Such improved military and political performance on the part of the governments in the region would promote trust in the eyes of communities, including elements that may have previously been sympathetic to Boko Haram. The level of success would determine the geographical areas in which return and resettlement, recovery and peace building efforts could be pursued in a sustained way. This could result in large parts of the areas that are now insecure being accessible for reconstruction and development interventions and the restoration of economic activities, creating a positive cycle of development and peace dividends, which would augment stability and security. Operationally, this scenario provides favorable conditions for the implementation of all the recommendations in this assessment, wider recovery, and a positive spiral of development, reconstruction, peace building, and return and reintegration of the displaced. Displacement would be increasingly resolved through return and/or reintegration of IDPs and refugees, with only a portion of the displaced falling into protracted displacement. The challenging but essential tasks of reconciliation and reintegration would be a priority.

44. Scenario 3- Worst-Case Scenario: Boko Haram is resurgent as the regional and national military forces are unable to contain its spread across the region. A heavy-handed military approach, coupled with weak and uncoordinated political measures among stakeholders at the Regional, National/Federal, State and Local levels would produce further disillusionment from which Boko Haram would benefit. The governments would lose again control over parts of the Lake Chad region, and Boko Haram would increasingly targets areas in the four countries, while a vicious cycle of insecurity, economic decline, social fragility, political uncertainty, and international tension would lead to a descent into chronic violence. Operationally, insecurity would both make physical reconstruction impossible and further exacerbate social tensions at all levels. Displacement would increase and become protracted, and humanitarian needs would predominate.

45. The regional assessment has generally and consistently applied the Status Quo Scenario for its proposed recommendations. However, the recovery and implementation strategies proposed in this assessment also remain cognizant of the risks faced in the potential unfolding of the worst-case scenario. An incremental implementation approach would allow the recovery and peace building process to build upon potential opportunities in case (elements of) the best case scenario would materialize.

1.5. LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR FORCED DISPLACEMENT

46. Several international, regional, and domestic laws and regulations govern the situation of refugees and IDPs in the countries around the Lake Chad Region. International legal frameworks include the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951 Convention); the 1967 United Nations Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (1967 Protocol); the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (1969 Organisation of African Unity Convention); and the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (2012 Kampala Convention). This framework can also include the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons (Convention on Statelessness), the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, and the

1990 African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. Numerous international human rights instruments are also applicable to refugees and internally displaced persons in the region.

47. **In the absence of a convention specific to the protection of IDPs at the international level, the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement draws on international humanitarian and human rights law to identify relevant key principles.** Though not binding, these principles reflect established international legal norms that are applied to the framework of rights and guarantees protecting internally displaced persons. They can apply to the different phases of displacement, providing protection against arbitrary displacement, access to assistance during displacement, and guarantees during return or alternative settlement and reintegration.³⁵

48. **At the regional level, while three of the Lake Chad Region countries have ratified the Kampala Convention, all have yet to domesticate and fully implement the Convention to deal with internal displacement.** Reasons vary from country to country. In Nigeria, several attempts to domesticate the convention were made without success, due to limitations in funding, technical assistance, and coordination challenges (IDMC 2015). In Cameroon, a Decree of Accession was issued and will be registered and published according to emergency procedures, reflecting the legal bound by Kampala Convention.³⁶ In Chad, laws regarding asylum and internally displaced persons have been in the project phase for several years with no progress toward adoption; the reasons for this remain unclear.³⁷ Niger does not have a law addressing internally displaced persons, but a specific law is being developed in addition to legislation to further domesticate the Kampala Convention, particularly in light of the internal displacement caused by Boko Haram in Niger’s southern region of Diffa in February 2015 (Oxfam 2012). Table 1.1 below provides a summary of international conventions on forced displacement signed by the four Lake Chad Region countries.

TABLE 1.1.

Summary of International Conventions on Forced Displacement Signed by the Lake Chad Countries

Country	Signatory Status of Legal Frameworks					
	1951 Refugee Convention	1954 Convention on Statelessness	1961 Convention on Reduction of Statelessness	1967 Protocol	1969 Organisation of African Unity Convention	Kampala Convention
Cameroon	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Chad	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Niger	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nigeria	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

49. **At the national level, a variety of domestic laws govern the situation of refugees.** All Lake Chad Region countries, except Chad, have refugee-specific domestic laws. While these laws primarily regulate the determination process for asylum and refugee status and the setting up of national status determination agencies, many have provisions relevant to the delivery of services such as education, water and health to the affected population.

50. **A number of international laws and principles address the rights and guarantees accorded to refugees and internally displaced persons as they pertain to property rights, freedom of movement, the right to work, and access to services.** The 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, and the Kampala Convention have provisions dealing with these issues. See Table 1.2 below for details.

35 United Nations Commission on Human Rights Resolutions 1998.

36 Based on data from, IDMC database, IDP Laws and Policies, accessed March 2016, <http://www.internal-displacement.org/law-and-policy/country/CM>.

37 Concluding Observations of CERD to the Government of Chad, 2013.

TABLE 1.2.

Summary of Lake Chad Countries' National Legal Instruments Regulating the Rights of the Forcibly Displaced

Legal Instrument	Property Rights	Freedom of Movement	Right to Work	Provision of Services (Health, Education, Water, Sanitation)
1951 Refugee Convention	Articles 13 and 14	Article 26	Articles 17 and 18	Article 22
1954 Convention on Statelessness	Articles 13 and 14	Articles 26, 27, and 28	Articles 17, 18, 19, and 24	Articles 21 and 22
1961 Convention on Reduction of Statelessness	None	None	None	None
Kampala Convention (IDPs)	Articles 9(2)(i) and 11	Article 9(f)	Articles 3 and 11	None
United Nations Guiding Principles (IDPs)	Principle 21(3)	Principles 14 and 20	Principle 22(b)	Principles 18(2), 19, and 23

51. **At the regional level, a range of institutions deal with the situation of refugees and internally displaced persons in the Lake Chad Region.** The African Union works directly with member states through its Permanent Representative's Committee Sub-Committee on Refugees, Returnees, and Internally Displaced Persons and through the African Union (AU) Commission Department of Political Affairs' Division of Humanitarian Affairs, Refugees, and Displaced Persons (HARDP) to coordinate much of the cross-continental activities and responses to humanitarian emergencies in Africa. To a lesser extent, the Special Rapporteur on Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons at the African Commission on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) and the African Court of Justice and Human Rights also play roles, although their influence limited by resource challenges. In the West Africa region, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and to some extent the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS/CEEAC) shape policy and approaches to the freedom of movement, peace, and security across the region. In the case of ECOWAS, during the last decade, this organization has been more involved in addressing humanitarian and forced displacement issues in its member countries. In 2011 ECOWAS convened its first Ministerial Conference on humanitarian assistance and internal displacement in West Africa in Abuja, Nigeria. In that occasion there was a clear call to ECOWAS and its member countries to adopt more mechanisms to address forced displacement, including international conventions such as the Kampala convention. In fact, ECOWAS has developed various norms and standards relevant to displacement and IDPs, including: the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement; the ECOWAS Protocol relating to the Mechanism on Conflict Prevention, Management Resolution and Peacekeeping and Security; and the Supplementary Protocol on Good Governance. Although progress has been made, there is still a need to strengthen the involvement of ECOWAS in issues of forced displacement, increase its advocacy role on the issue, and encourage its member countries to fully domesticate international legal frameworks on displacement (UNHCR 2015g). Although not directly involved in displacement and migration issues, the Lake Chad Basin Commission is seen as an important and relevant forum to coordinate displacement efforts at the regional level. This is particularly related to its mandate to promote regional integration, peace, and security across the basin, serving as a platform to coordinate efforts in border lands and exchange experiences aimed at addressing forced displacement challenges. However, given its mandate and capacities, the Commission's role should not extend into program implementation, which given the characteristics of displacement, would fall under the mandate of national, not regional, institutions.

52. **At the national level, the countries in the Lake Chad Region have different arrangements for managing refugee and internally displaced populations.** These arrangements are summarized in the country profiles presented in Appendix B. Countries have different arrangements, there is typically a deficit of institutional frameworks to deal with internal displacement, which translates into uncoordinated, scattered, and mostly short-sighted responses with limited accountability lines and frequently overlapping efforts.

Who Are the Forcibly Displaced by Boko Haram?

MOHAMMED AND HIS UNUSUAL PATH TO EDUCATION³⁸

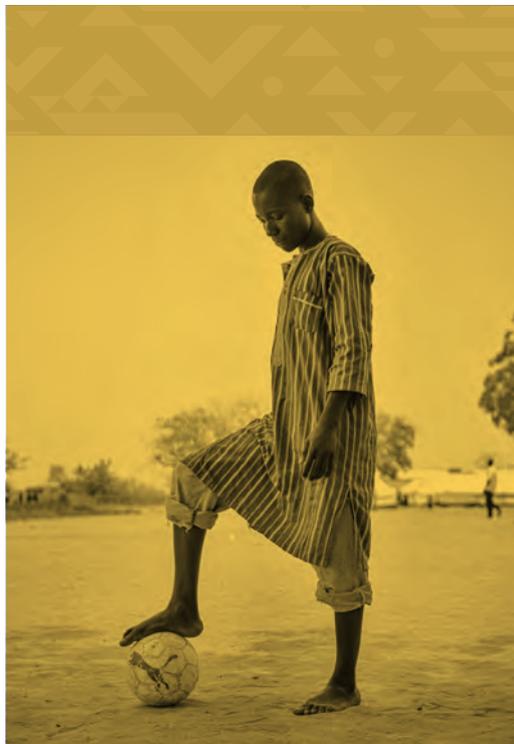
Currently residing in Fufore IDP Camp, Yola, Adamawa State, Nigeria

Displaced by Boko Haram from Maute, Borno State, Nigeria

Mohammed is 18-years-old. He has been at Fufore Camp IDP for 4 months and 7 days and that he dreams of the day when it is safe to return to his home. When Boko Haram attacked, he and his family fled from Maute in Borno State. He escaped across the border to Cameroon where he lived for 11 months before returning to Nigeria. In Cameroon, they ate only one biscuit a day and eventually—when it was safe enough—accepted an offer of a transfer to Fufore IDP Camp.

Mohammed's most prized possession is his school backpack, which he received when he arrived at the camp. Neither he nor any of his siblings had ever attended school before, but Mohammed is currently in a UNICEF school in Primary-2 (P2) and says he has developed an interest in learning since arriving here. He is accepting of his life in the camp because he is able to eat and attend school but says, "there's no place like home." He worries because he and his family lost everything and now he and his parents are unable to work or provide in any way for the family. He mentions that he is particularly worried because he wants to marry one day and will be unable to pay for marriage.

When asked what he felt the family would need if they were able to safely return home, he responded, "We would need government assistance to reconstruct our houses and reconstruct the life we had before. And I pray that the government would provide schools. There were none in my area before, but I hope to continue to attend."



VOICES OF THE BOKO HARAM REFUGEES: A CONVERSATION WITH RESIDENTS OF MINAWAO REFUGEE CAMP

Currently residing in: Minawao Refugee Camp, Cameroon

Displaced by Boko Haram from multiple LGAs in Borno State, Nigeria

Minawao Refugee Camp is one of the largest camps in Cameroon, hosting over 50,000 people. Most residents have been there for over two years, although new arrivals continue to be registered. Nigerian refugees at the camp are thankful to their "Cameroonian brothers" for offering them what they did not have when they left their homes: security, shelter, and food. Life in the camp is very different from life back home; in some ways it is better, in others worse. Camp life offers security, access to food and water, and a degree of access to health and education—services not found in many of the towns where people used to live. Yet in many ways, life is harder in Cameroon. Land is very scarce and arid, limiting livelihood options. The little land available for farming was used to expand the camp as the refugee population grew in late 2014 and 2015. The very limited access to water and firewood is a main point of contention between refugees and local authorities or communities. As the rainy season approaches, mothers increasingly worry about the health of their children. When asked what they want of their future, residents of Minawao Refugee Camp have a common response—"to go home". Their

38 All names have been changed for the safety of the displaced.

main priority in the meanwhile is to provide for themselves. They want to work, using the skills they already have (some of the residents were tailors, hairdressers, and traders). But it is hard to find sustainable options in the camp: "Land given to us is very far from the camp, and also insufficient.

Only a few families can farm or have animals. We wanted to visit the town, and know our neighbors, but people in town and refugees do not speak the same language, so we can't work there."

RITA AND HER DREAMS

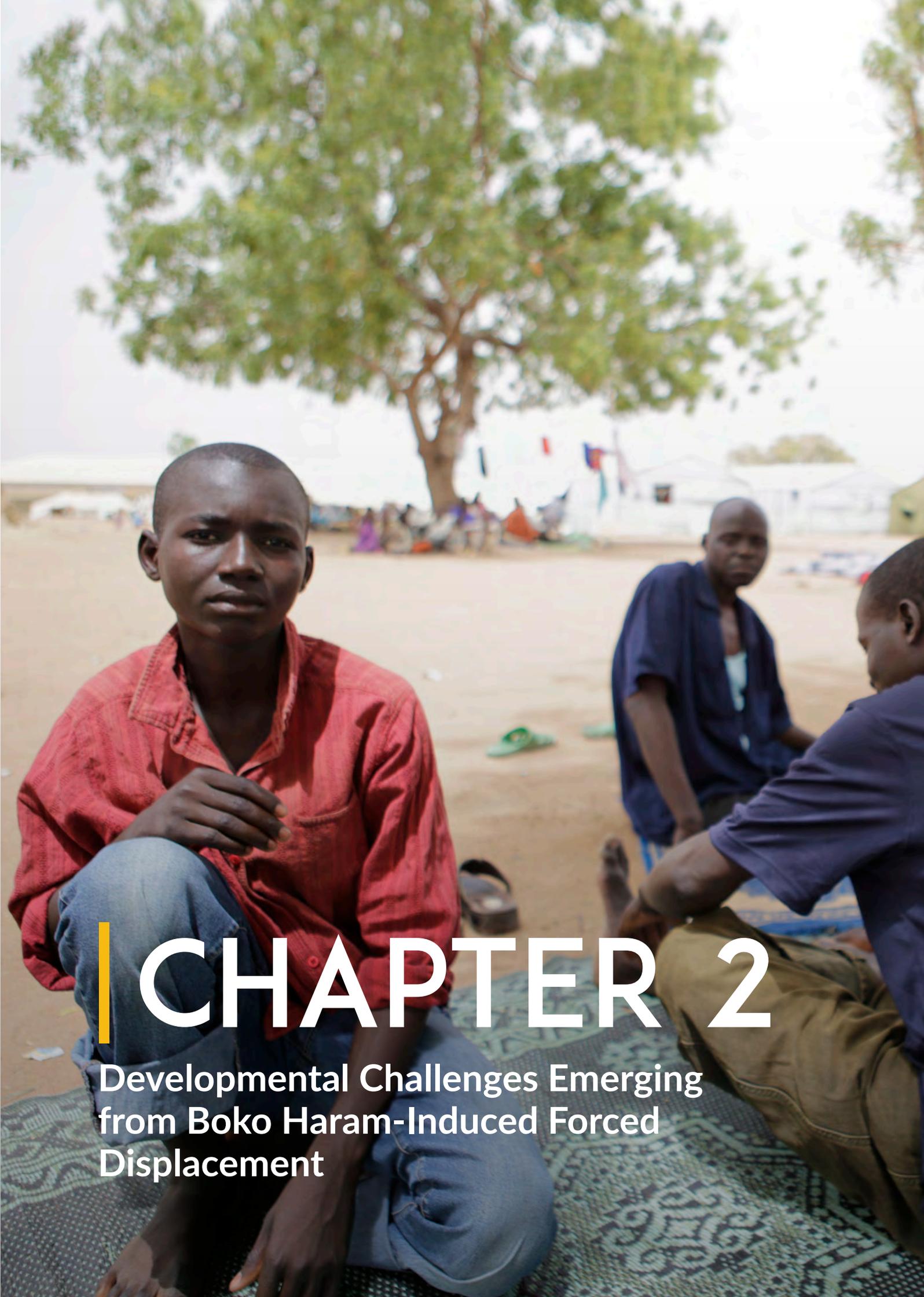
Currently residing in: St. Teresa's IDP Camp, Yola, Adamawa State (before refugee in Cameroun)

Displaced by Boko Haram from Gwoza, Borno State

Rita, who is 20 years old, lived with her family in a small village in Gwoza where they farmed before they had to flee. The family made it to Cameroon, where they stayed in a camp, —but with little to no water or food. Ten months ago, she and her mother returned to Nigeria. They attempted to farm but found it very difficult because many areas were unsafe, there was no food to eat, and there was very limited access to clean water. The women remained home for six months but were eventually forced to leave again because the conditions were too challenging. Her mother returned to Cameroon with the rest of the family, and Rita is now living in the St. Teresa's IDP camp in Yola, Nigeria, along with her brother. The camp, while fairly organized, is not an official one. It is managed by a faith-based group, not by the Nigerian Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), or its state equivalent SEMA. Rita is one of six secondary students at the camp accepted to participate in the Safe Schools Initiative, which is intended to allow all internally displaced children to go to school free of charge. She is grateful that St. Teresa's provides her with food and shelter, and that she is able to attend school for free. She admits that she wishes she had a

mattress so that she and her brother would not have to sleep on the floor. When asked what she would do if she was a leader in Nigeria, she said she would annihilate Boko Haram, help rebuild the houses they destroyed, and provide food and clean drinking water to the people. She is extremely hesitant about returning home in the future. She is also worried that three years will have changed people and that now they may be more aggressive. She says she did attend school at home, but it was "to the local standard," and that she has since realized how different schools can be with regard to quality of teaching.





CHAPTER 2

Developmental Challenges Emerging
from Boko Haram-Induced Forced
Displacement

53. **This chapter analyzes the development challenges presented by the forced displacement resulting from the Boko Haram conflict.** Largely based on the analysis of qualitative data collected for this assessment, and quantitative data captured by the IOM DTM Survey and UNHCR registry database, it examines the ways in which the lives of IDPs, refugees, and host community members have been affected; the variables that appear to define the kind of challenges affected populations face; the main coping mechanisms on which affected populations rely; and the groups that are most vulnerable. The chapter also considers the economic impacts of forced displacement and the impacts of Boko Haram-induced forced displacement on host communities. The crisis and attendant displacement have major implications for peace and stability at both the national and regional levels, and it is therefore both essential and urgent to understand the dynamics and impacts of the displacement situation and the characteristics of those affected in order to identify the most effective responses to the emergency.

2.1. DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES FACED BY POPULATIONS DISPLACED BY BOKO HARAM

“My whole life faded away when I left my village”

~ Male refugee, Diffa, Niger

54. **Displacement creates challenges for short-term humanitarian support and long-term sustainable development.** First and foremost, people displaced by Boko Haram are experiencing an acute humanitarian crisis with multiple and immediate unmet basic needs, such as food, water, and shelter. Life-saving assistance is therefore critical, as are sustainable solutions to these challenges. Further, the impacts of forced displacement are both severe and persistent. Forced displacement affects every aspect of life. In one stroke, people lose their homes, families, livelihoods, assets, rights, and social networks, and are rendered destitute. Besides degrading social and economic public goods, the disruption by displacement of formal and informal institutions, economic systems, markets, service provision, and social and kin networks creates and aggravates socially undesired results or public “bads”. These include insecurity, increasingly prevalent sexual and gender-based violence, human trafficking, and radicalization. The scale and depth of displacement impacts further exacerbate vulnerability because receiving areas have rapidly become overburdened and can offer only limited support and possibilities for coping and reestablishing life and livelihoods.

55. **Impacts of forced displacement as identified by IDPs and refugees can be viewed as incremental layers of complex challenges, which in turn determines a progressive recovery process.** Overall, the impacts of forced displacement identified by IDPs and refugees can be grouped into four main clusters:

- 1) **Social connectedness:** Challenges related to the adverse impact to relationships with family, friends, and the community; overall social cohesion, including stigma; and coping mechanisms. This dimension is considered to be itself an impact as well as an amplifying—or mitigating—factor for displacement-related challenges;
- 2) **Basic human needs:** Impacts on access to essential items for survival, such as food, drinking water, and shelter;
- 3) **Protection and human security:** Challenges surrounding personal or collective safety, including physical insecurity, crime, discrimination based on displacement, sexual and gender-based violence, prostitution and transactional sex, early and forced marriage, trafficking, and substance abuse (SGBV). Protection impacts also relate to the challenges experienced by refugees, including adherence to international standards for reception, registration and documentation, access to effective protection and assistance, and voluntary repatriation within international standards.
- 4) **Socioeconomic development:** Conditions crucial for mid- to long-term recovery or reintegration of affected populations, including civil and social rights, such as movement, property, and work; assets and livelihoods; and access to services, such as health, education, water and sanitation, energy, and psychosocial support.

2.1.1. IMPACTS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT ON SOCIAL CONNECTEDNESS

“The most important thing is unity: with your family, your neighbors and your community. If your husband is not around, your neighbors can help. But now we lack many things, and they can’t help even if they want to.”

~ Female refugee, Minawao Refugee Camp, Cameroon

“Back home if you have problems, you can ask family or extended family to help. Here, you have no one.”

~ Female widow, internally displaced person, Adamawa State, Nigeria

56. One of the most significant and destructive impacts of the Boko Haram insurgency on the displaced population is the disruption of social bonds. The intensity and brutality of the violence that has characterized this conflict, together with its rapid escalation and the failure to mount a prompt and effective security response to contain it have fomented fear, suspicion, mistrust, and stigma, and widened ethnic, religious, political, and geographical divisions. Social division has increasingly revealed itself in more communities, seen in day-to-day incidents and arrangements such as using different markets; no longer being invited to weddings or social events; and increasing distrust, fear, and anger toward those who adhere to a different religion. As a result, extraordinary challenges have emerged for political leadership, recovery, and future development.

57. The separation of households and the loss of family members through conflict and displacement cause significant economic social and psychological impacts. The sudden flight and scattering of communities resulting from attacks by Boko Haram often results in families being separated. Household members may also deliberately scatter as a coping mechanism, distributing the burden of displacement across several households. This has resulted in increasing numbers of unaccompanied children and households with “unconventional” structures.³⁹ Unconventional households are particularly vulnerable to shocks and more prone to poverty because access to land, credit, and productive assets are traditionally tied to male heads of household. Changes in household roles are transforming gender and intergenerational relations, with positive and negative outcomes. For some women, displacement has led to better income opportunities, access to productive assets, civic and community engagement, and social status, influencing their return intentions. For example, interviewed widows frequently reported improvements in their living conditions and social status and expressed less interest in return than others similarly displaced.

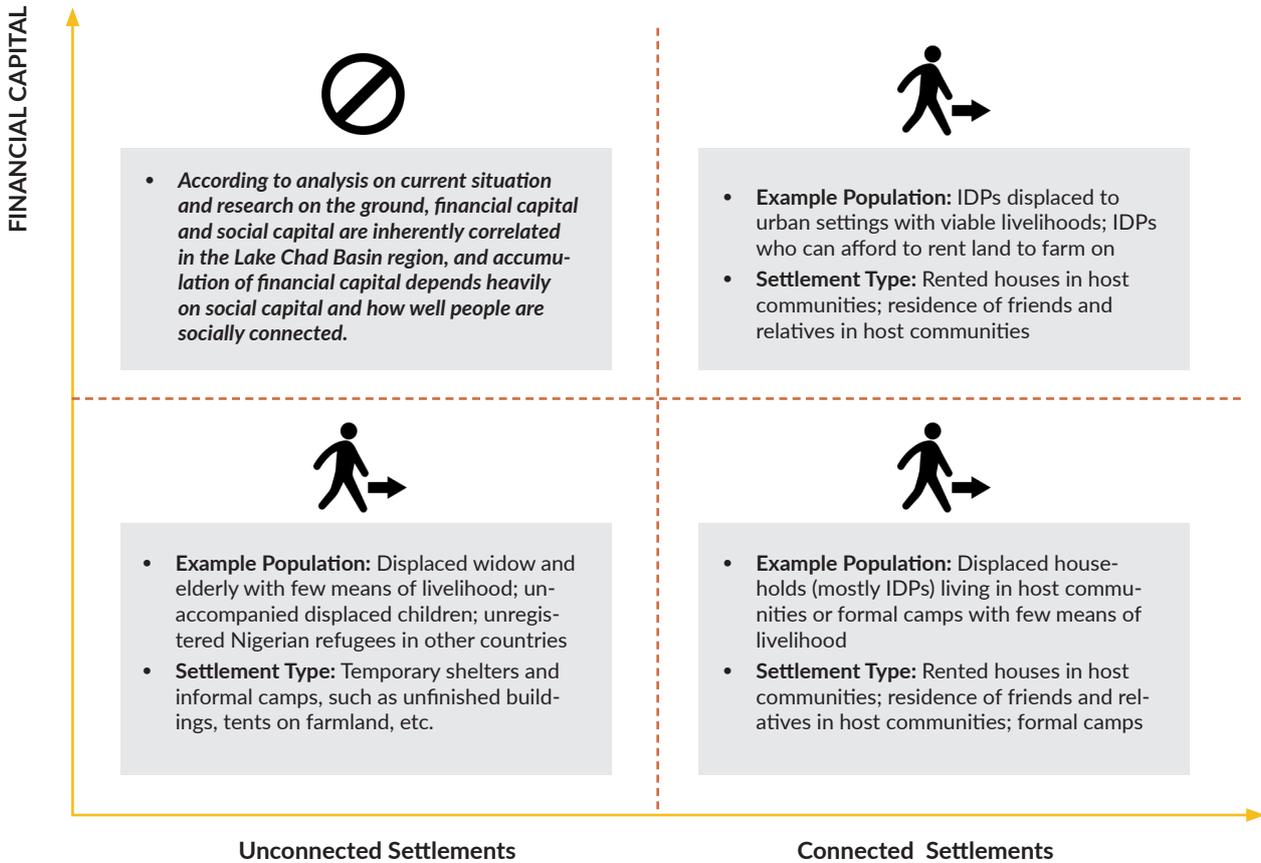
58. Social connections were an important factor influencing the choice of destination among displaced people. When forced to flee, social and financial capital are mobilized by individuals and households to address their challenges, including accessing food and water, housing, livelihoods, and assets. Those with social connections in the areas of refuge have an easier time finding shelter and re-establishing a livelihood. By contrast, those without such social capital are forced to settle in camps and unfinished buildings, living at the margins of society with more severely limited possibilities for re-establish themselves. Figure 2.1 provides an overview of how financial and social capitals together affect the situation of displaced population, and the type of settlements to which the displaced have access to depending on their initial endowments.

59. A significant portion of the forcibly displaced live in “unconnected” types of settlements, particularly IDPs living in camps or camp-like sites, and refugees. In Nigeria 8 percent of the IDP population lives in camps or camp-like sites. Of the remaining 92 percent of IDPs who live with host communities, 36 percent reported living in “unconnected” settlements including public buildings, unfinished / abandoned buildings, makeshift shelters or emergency shelters. About two thirds of the IDPs reported living in more “connected” settlements, including a host community house (38 percent), and a rented house (26 percent). In Niger and Chad the majority of the displaced have settled in spontaneous camp-like sites, many in the vicinity of refu-

³⁹ These include: female-headed households, elderly-headed households, and child- or youth-headed households, along with peer group units, early informal marriages between adolescents, and various arrangements for the care of orphans

FIGURE 2.1.

Linkages between Financial and Social Capital Mobilized During Displacement and Type of Settlement



Source: The World Bank.

gee camps, as this increases their chances of accessing aid. These settlements tend to be more “connected” to the dynamics of refugee camps than to that of host communities, and as such displaced persons have limited opportunity to integrate into the social and economic life of locals. A good percentage of refugees are in-camp settings due to policies adopted by the Governments of Cameroon, Chad, and Niger to manage this crisis. Yet, it is estimated that 220,000 out of 358,321 refugees from Nigeria live in host communities in Niger; 14,352 out of 29,342 live in host communities in Chad; and, 399, 735 out of 462,909 live in host communities in Cameroon (UNHCR 2016h). Niger is attempting, with the support of UNHCR, to enhance the level of integration of refugees by providing access to land, and facilitating the participation of refugees and IDPs in local planning.

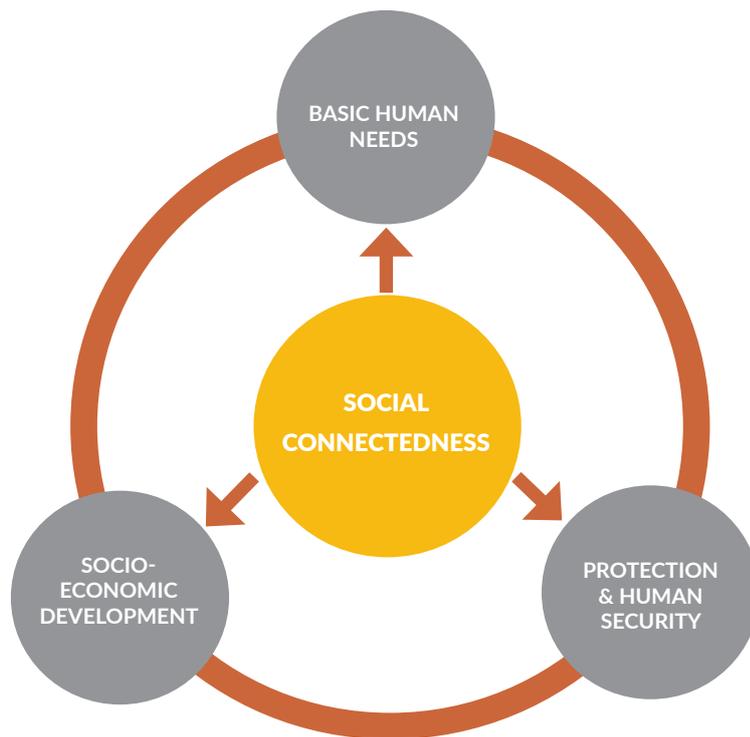
60. **Given the importance of social links, impacts on social connectedness affect the resilience of the displaced and their longer-term development outcomes.** For the same reason, social connectedness emerged not only as something impacted by forced displacement, but also as either an amplifier or mitigating factor of impacts in other areas, putting it at the center of recovery needs. Victims of displacement due to the Boko Haram conflict are particularly likely to report serious disruptions in social connectedness, family, community, and kinship networks. If social connections are not seriously disrupted, affected populations can still mobilize coping mechanisms in the face of displacement challenges, are less dependent on short-term aid, and are more resilient. Consistent with this analysis, differences in the living conditions of displaced populations emerge as a reflection of different degrees of connectedness with host communities. “Connected” settlements are those in which the displaced are relatively integrated into host communities. Often in towns and major cities, or near main roads connecting them with urban areas, they include urban, peri-urban, and rural settlements that are integrated into host community living areas. In connected settlements, the displaced tend to live with extended family or friends, in rented units, or in make-shift shelters scattered throughout the community. The displaced move freely and interact in a daily basis with host community members, accessing similar opportunities and services. “Unconnected” settlements are characterized by limited integration of the displaced with host communities, and include official internally displaced person and refugee

camps, faith based camps, as well as informal camps or camp-like settlements in urban and peri-urban areas. In this case, the displaced have restrictions of movement, are physically separated (by a natural or man-made barrier), and remain disconnected from the people and life of the host community.

61. **Closer social integration of the displaced with host communities is impeded by their poverty.** The lack of resources among the displaced population prevents them from participating in the social practices that make up community life, such as going to market or attending religious or social celebrations, limiting their opportunities to interact with members of their host communities. Additionally, IDPs and refugees cannot generally join the cooperatives or rotating credit associations, common to many communities because they lack the financial or reputational collateral and because they might leave the community at any time.

FIGURE 2.2.

The Role of Social Connectedness in the Developmental Challenges Caused by Forced Displacement



Source: The World Bank.

2.1.2. IMPACTS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT ON BASIC HUMAN NEEDS

“When you are an IDP, first you eat, then you sleep and then you look for something to do.”

~ Male IDP, Michica, Adamawa State, Nigeria

62. **In general, displaced people are living in appalling conditions characterized by overcrowding and limited access to safe, sanitary, and dignified accommodations.** The situation is most precarious in “unconnected” settlements. Nearly 62 percent of the total housing stock in North-East Nigeria are temporary units, making such unorganized camps the most common type of shelter.⁴⁰ Often established on the periphery of towns and urban areas, these camps have limited access to electricity, water, cooking facilities, and other basic services. People are forced to live in small spaces without ventilation or shade. Sanitary facilities are

40 Data from IOM’s DTM. Round VIII, February 2016, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/01_IOMDTMNigeria_RoundVIIIReport_20160229.pdf.

BOX 2.1.

Abdul and Old Friends He Could on

In 1998, a sixteen-year-old boy moved from Gwoza, Borno, to Abuja to work in the construction industry. He made a good friend that 18 years after, would help him and his family when they had to flee from Boko Haram.

Back home, Abdul was a successful businessman and farmer, and he owned a truck. While transporting products from one city to other, he was twice intercepted by Boko Haram, and although held back for a few days, we always escaped unharmed from these encounters. His luck changed when the insurgency attacked his village; he had to escape. He managed to make it to Sunshine Estates in Abuja, Federal Capital Territory (FCT); his family followed him. Abdul was lucky. He was able to reconnect with his good friend in Abuja, and with his help and some savings, he was able to open a small business and rent a car to work as a taxi driver. Still, life is not easy for an IDP. His car has been stopped many times by the local police because he is not renting an official taxi. Even though paying for school fees and medical expenses is very difficult, Abdul thinks he is doing much better than other people around him. He is staying with his friend and has shelter, food and water and thanks to his work as a taxi driver. But other IDPs working as taxi drivers in the area and don't know anyone in the community, are living in unfinished buildings without access to water or food, cannot afford the school fees of their children.

particularly inadequate. In settlements in Maiduguri, as many as 100 people share a single latrine; in Haying Danhausa, Zamfara, as many as 50 share one. Lack of drainage and access to clean drinking water and lavatories as well as exposure to reptiles, rodents, and insects create a barrage of serious health risks. Families living in unfinished buildings have no access to any services and face the risk of eviction. In Niger, Chad, and Cameroon, the capacity of camps (for IDPs and refugees) and other shelter options in the host communities has been overstretched—even overwhelmed—by the sheer numbers of displaced people who are arriving. Minawao Refugee Camp for Nigerian refugees in the Far North Region of Cameroon has a planned capacity of 15,000, but is currently hosting more than 52,000 people. Water, sanitation, and electricity services are inadequate, creating unsanitary conditions. In Niger, Chad, and Cameroon, settlements for internally displaced persons have been established near refugee camps because residents hope to gain access to food, water, and other essential items provided to refugees by humanitarian agencies.

63. Housing is a major and persistent development challenge affecting the forcibly displaced; it is one of the main barriers preventing their ability to return. Given the widespread damage to housing, reconstruction is a key precondition to ensure adequate conditions of return. It is a significant development priority that should be addressed to avoid the protraction of this displacement crisis. Many displaced people have found temporary shelter solutions, but their long-term prospects for securing sustainable and dignified solutions remain unclear. Box 2.2 provides an example of a World Bank project addressing housing conditions for IDPs in Azerbaijan.

BOX 2.2.

Azerbaijan – World Bank IDP Living Standards and Livelihoods Project

In 2011, there were approximately 600,000 IDPs in Azerbaijan, living in all 76 districts of the country, and the majority of them reside in urban settings. To help the Government assist IDP communities, the World Bank approved a US\$ 50 million 5-year lending project in October 2011. The Project Development Objective was to improve living conditions and increase economic self-reliance of targeted IDPs in Azerbaijan. For the purposes of the project, “living conditions” included physical environment, including access to land, quality of infrastructure, services and utilities (such as educational and health facilities, roads, electricity and water supplies) as well as housing conditions; and “economic self-reliance” referred to the ability of IDPs to generate household income on their own instead of through external assistance.

The project design took into account of a number of lessons learned from IDP-related project implementation in Azerbaijan as well as from international best practices. Key lessons include: (i) Community micro-projects require higher levels of mobilization and community participation; (ii) Comprehensive renovation of collective housing should be linked to sustainable social and economic opportunities; and (iii) Support for IDP livelihoods will need to focus on improving their asset levels as well as overcoming psycho-social constraints. (World Bank 2011a)

To date, the overall project implementation is proceeding satisfactorily and in April 2016, the World Bank Representatives agreed to change the amount of IBRD loan from US\$50 million to US\$ 66.7 million. Effective since February 2012, the project will be closed in December 2016.

Cameroon—Access to Water in Minawao Refugee Camp and Local Communities

Water supply is a crucial problem in the overcrowded Minawao Refugee Camp, where cholera can easily break out, especially during the rainy season. Insufficient water supply also negatively impacts agricultural income-generating activities. Through a consultative process with the government and partners, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the government have invested in a 28 kilometer pipeline and distribution network to bring water from a reservoir near the town of Mokolo to Minawao Refugee Camp, also benefitting about 150,000 locals in villages along the route. Prior to the construction of the pipeline, about 21 boreholes delivered barely enough water to provide 14 liters per person per day in the camps compared with the recommended 20 liters per day. Clean water would also help prevent or contain the outbreak of diseases common to this remote region.

Source: UNHCR

64. **Although there is considerable variation in circumstances, access to food and drinking water as well as overall living conditions remain problematic for most displaced people.** Malnutrition has become more prevalent as the quantity and quality of available food has dramatically decreased.⁴¹ While IDPs and refugees in official and faith-based camps have more regular access to food, those in other types of settlements have been forced to eat smaller quantities and subsist on one or two meals a day. Shortage of water is more pronounced in arid areas such as Niger, Chad, and Northern Cameroon due to the geological conditions of the area in which camps are located, affecting living conditions and livelihoods options. The price of water from informal vendors is high and scarcely affordable to refugees. Even where there are boreholes outside the camps, refugees are reportedly afraid to use them because they could become victims of Boko Haram attacks if they venture outside the camp. In areas where internally displaced persons live, water supply is also limited because there are an insufficient number of boreholes to meet the needs of the expanding populations in the host communities. There are long wait lines for water, and in some communities, local residents have prior access to water over the displaced. Numerous outbreaks of cholera and other waterborne diseases in displacement-affected areas across the region, particularly in Nigeria and Cameroon, have been linked to this problem. Limitations in access, availability, and quality have made water the most significant source of conflict between the displaced and host communities in all four of the countries.

2.1.3. IMPACTS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT ON PROTECTION AND HUMAN SECURITY

65. **Protection and human security remain among the most significant challenges faced by people displaced by Boko Haram.** Living in temporary settlements and out of reach of formal protection systems, IDPs and refugees are highly exposed to threats to their personal safety. Furthermore, Boko Haram has attacked areas with high concentrations of IDPs, including formal and informal IDP camps, and has threatened to do the same in refugee camps. In addition to potential attacks by Boko Haram, mines and unexploded ordnances have been reported in many parts of Cameroon, Niger and North East Nigeria, predominantly on farm lands, threatening those venturing to return.

66. **Some vulnerable groups are more likely to be exposed to specific protection risks compared to others and require targeted assistance.** Displaced women and children face particular protection and human security challenges. Key informants in all displacement-affected areas indicate that gender-based violence and transactional sex pose significant risks for women and children, but the problem is greatly underreported (Rushing and Read 2014). In Cameroon, key informants to the profiling exercise described a range of protection challenges related to gender-based violence and other harmful practices, including early marriage and sexual violence; several respondents highlighted the recruitment and use of children in armed groups/forces as a critical protection concern (UNHCR 2015a). In Nigeria and Cameroon, girls displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency are more likely to engage in arranged early marriage due to pressure from their parents, who may view marriage with local community members as a sign of and route to integration and even naturalization (for refugees). In addition, across all types of displaced population, people who fled their homes due to the Boko Haram insurgency are more likely to abuse alcohol and drugs as a coping mechanism to deal with

41 United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Rapid Nutrition Surveys. 2013. Accessed on June 5, 2016. http://nutritionnigeria.org/admin/downloads/nutrition_in_emergency.pdf

psychosocial impacts and boredom. Young people are particularly vulnerable to drug abuse and alcohol, and self-defense militias exploit this for recruitment.

67. The lack of documentation as proof of nationality directly affects the safety, conditions, and access to aid of displaced people, keeping them in legal limbo and at risk of statelessness. Often original residents of remote and underserved areas, IDPs and refugees usually do not possess national ID cards accrediting them as nationals of their countries of origin. Some who once had an ID card lost it, left it behind when fleeing, or insurgents destroyed it. Because of the widespread fear of non-indigenes, people caught without an ID card who cannot otherwise prove that they belong to the community, are often thought to be infiltrating insurgents and face risks of interrogation, harassment, and even deportation. According to UNHCR, this is particularly a challenge in Niger’s Diffa region where an estimated 82 percent of displaced persons interviewed were without documentation. The population has no civil registration papers, making it difficult to differentiate among the forcibly displaced and local residents, increasing difficulty in efficient service delivery. In the case of returnees and refugees, a lack of ID cards also conditions their capacity to return to their home countries or to receive the aid they are entitled to. In the longer term lack of documentation can also impede access to durable solutions.

2.1.4. IMPACTS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT ON SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

“Back home we had our dignity. We earned respect. But here we are lost. We are to an extreme, begging for alms”

~Male IDP, Bale Galtimari, Borno State, Nigeria

68. Populations displaced by Boko Haram have experienced a significant loss in civil rights, and refugees and IDPs living in camps have experienced this loss more acutely. Rights to property, freedom of movement, and access to services and employment opportunities are among the most significantly affected by displacement, particularly among refugees entering a different national jurisdiction where they have no rights of citizenship and where establishing even minimum rights may be problematic.⁴² People fleeing to other countries have had difficulty establishing their status as refugees, on which their rights of residence, movement, employment, and property depend -being this one of the main concerns reported by Nigerian refugees in Cameroon. While this is particularly true for refugees, even movement between states within a country can present disadvantages to the displaced with regard to their rights. Nigerians displaced to communities outside their states face important restrictions on right of property. While in some communities IDPs may be allowed to own land for agriculture and can build permanent houses, in some instances they may only be allowed to rent land and may be forbidden to build permanent structures. Also, aid distribution has been reported to be conditioned by location of birth, with internally displaced persons from the state being given priority over those from neighboring states. The loss of the right of movement affects both internally displaced persons and refugees living in camps due to security concerns. In-camp population can only move within certain perimeters and must return to camp by a certain time.

69. Conflict and displacement lead to direct loss of property for displaced population, particularly farm land, which then translates into a loss of their livelihoods. Rights to land vary from country to country—and in the case of Nigeria, from state to state—but in general, displaced people report limited access to land due to cost, security conditions, lack of ownership rights, and long distances between their current settlements and available farm land.⁴³ In rural areas, the displaced may have more access to land, but only enough for subsistence, and reportedly of a much lower quality than land back home. For IDPs residing close to conflict areas, lack of access to land for farming is constrained because of security risk due to unexploded ordinances or Boko Haram attacks, still common outside of urban areas.

70. Constraints in livelihood opportunities bring the lives of the displaced to a halt. IDPs in Nigeria reported that while only 3 percent of the IDPs had no income before displacement, 49 percent of them are not

⁴² While this is true for most of the refugee population, in Niger, some refugees are being able to conduct livelihood activities and build housing solutions, thanks to access to land facilitated by the authorities under the UNHCR urbanization program.

⁴³ As part of the field research conducted in Nigeria for this report, it was reported that IDPs walk up to 10-15km to travel to the lands they have rented, which decreases the time they have to cultivate the land, making the costs of doing so too high to bear.

perceiving any regular or occasional income after being displaced. Displaced people are trapped in poverty. Highly dependent on humanitarian aid to survive, they lack the means to cover the cost of seeds, tools and land, or the required capital to start a business, and with that become self-reliant. Except for the displaced persons who used to be experienced seasonal migrants, most of the displaced have few or no connections that would grant them access to a job or to financing. Yet, many of the displaced have relevant skills in agriculture, cattle raising, and trading, which if matched with financing, could translate into sustainable livelihood options, supporting the activation of local economic hubs.

71. Access to water sources and pastures needed for cattle breeding remains a major source of tension, situation that is further exacerbated in some areas by the conflict and presence of displaced populations. The conflict has affected access to grazing areas, altering traditional routes and increasing conflict with pastoralists in Nigeria and Cameroon. In Cameroon and Niger, clashes between pastoralists who were forcibly displaced and agriculturalists in host communities have been reported, as crops are affected by increased grazing activity in host communities (WB, EU, UN, 2016).

72. Education was reported as a priority by a large majority of the displaced who were interviewed.⁴⁴ Access to education in the areas from which people were forcibly displaced was poor, and this has become a factor influencing the decision about whether or when to return. IDPs and refugees report access to education as an important precondition for return, particularly for those from areas that did not have a school before the conflict. A rare glimpse of light on this looming education crisis is that children and adults with no previous access to education are now attending school for the first time as a result of education programs in the camps and better access to facilities in host communities. But access to education is still quite limited, and not all of the displaced are able to attend school. According to the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) Round VII, 52 percent of the surveyed IDPs in Nigeria listed education as the service that is the most difficult to access, followed by health at a distant 21 percent (IOM, 2016).

73. Displaced people face precarious health conditions and have poor access to health services. Health problems reported by displaced people are mostly related to a change in living conditions—housing areas are open and sometimes outdoors. Those originally from rural areas noted that malaria has increased because there is no drainage system in the urban and peri-urban areas where they are now living, and stagnant water helps mosquitoes breed. Many cannot afford access to hospitals or medicine, which was not the case back home. Health and education services are made available to internally displaced persons and refugees living in camps managed by the government, an international agency, or a faith-based organizations, but their quality is reportedly uneven, and access is limited due to overstretched demand. In Cameroon and Niger, refugees reported a lack of supply as well as financial and movement constraints to acquiring medicine outside the camps. Cholera and other waterborne diseases were reported in displacement-affected areas in Cameroon and Nigeria.⁴⁵

74. The psychosocial needs of the displaced population are significant and largely unmet. According to a psychosocial needs assessment conducted by the International Organization for Migration (IOM 2015a), the impacts of displacement on psychosocial wellbeing can be severe and prolonged. Psychosocially and mentally grounded challenges raised included: (i) trauma due to high exposure to violence, abduction, and other atrocities; (ii) a lack of productive outlets in terms of jobs and daily activities, resulting in perseverating on the past and concerns for the future; (iii) trauma from loss of a full and dignified life and experience of shame associated with their current situation; and (iv) drug and alcohol abuse. Most of the displaced people interviewed reported ruminating over the past and crying over their losses. They point out that, with the passage of time, they stopped having nightmares or listening to the sound of gunshots, but some are still afraid to go into remote and less populous rural areas. Loss and fear among the displaced is aggravated by a sense of a loss of dignity. The lack of jobs and activities to engage in and women, elders, and children having

44 Field research was conducted in Nigeria, Cameroon, and Niger between March and April 2016.

45 The main barriers to accessing education reported by IDPs include: (i) the inability to cover direct and indirect education expenses; (ii) the inadequate capacity of the education system due to the increased student population and insufficient facilities because of their destruction, closure, or occupation by IDPs; and (iii) the poor quality of the education provided, partly due to the absence of qualified teachers, teacher absenteeism, and nonpayment of teacher's salaries. Refugees cited insufficient capacity of education programs available to absorb all of the children living in camps. In Nigeria, there appears to be an increasing tendency for religious segregation in education associated with displacement. Interviews confirm that school-going children are either attending private institutions, which they consider to be of superior quality, or they have abandoned western education in favor of Islamic schooling. In Borno State, this trend seems to be on the rise, with increasing numbers of children attending Qur'anic Schools.

to beg for food or money impacts family and societal dynamics. Many feel ashamed of their living conditions. Many men—and even children—resort to drug abuse as a means of escape from their reality; some engage in violence as a means of express their frustration.⁴⁶ Resources for the provision of psychosocial support for the affected population are insufficient and are overstretched by the magnitude of the problem. Over 80 percent of respondents reported negative feelings, including uncertainty about the future, associated with their willingness to return home combined with the lack of financial and security conditions to do so; sadness due to separation from family; and feelings of loss due to loss of identity and status as well as family members and property. Faith, engaging in income-generating activities, group discussions, and recreational activities emerged as important sources of mental relief at the individual family, and community levels.

2.2. ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT

“In the courtyard, it’s only thanks to the chicken that the gecko gets to drink”

~Host community resident, Diffa Region, Niger

75. Forced displacement has significant impacted the economy of affected areas, both positively and negatively. Yet most of them remain unquantified. In the Lake Chad Region, fiscal pressures in areas affected by displacement are reportedly significant because numerous regional, state, and local governments must provide food, water, and shelter on a consistent basis. The regional government of the Extreme North province in Cameroon, for example, regularly finances the provision of water and other resources to the Minawao refugee camp. Price volatility for specific goods, particularly food and water, has been registered in displacement-affected areas, a dynamic particularly pronounced in areas with high concentrations of IDPs such as Maiduguri in Nigeria. This is also the case in areas where goods were scarce before the crisis and where demand has increased as a result of it, such as water in northern Cameroon. Local wages have been affected by the presence of the displaced population, although this dynamic is specific to areas impacted by internally displaced persons. Residents of Taraba, Nigeria, for example, reported a drop in local wages due to the presence of a large population of internally displaced persons who are willing to do similar work for significantly lower pay. Available data on key indicators are very limited and, for the most part, is not representative at the community or even the state or region, which makes it quite difficult to quantify the real economic impact of displacement.

76. Adverse economic impacts of forced displacement disproportionately affect the poorest, exacerbating preexisting conditions of chronic poverty. Price volatility of basic goods, such as water and food, as well as scarcity of cereals that used to be imported from Nigeria, are disproportionately impacting the poor, especially their nutrition levels. Similarly, the drop in daily wages in some areas mostly affects low skilled workers, reducing overall incomes. Combined, these effects translate into an increased struggle for a poor person to make ends meet and a reduced chance of escaping poverty.

77. At the same time, the presence of the displaced populations have created economic opportunities in some of the most impoverished areas of the region. Local markets have emerged in isolated areas to serve the needs of internally displaced persons and refugees. Camps are often surrounded by small make-shift markets that then grow as more displaced people settle in the camps. Additional opportunities could emerge if access to small financing were available. Field research revealed that many IDPs and refugees are savvy business people or have skills that could be quickly put to productive use if they had access to start-up capital in the form of small grants or loans, and this would boost local economies. This option is more viable for IDPs who enjoy a greater degree of movement and work and property rights, but an adequate policy framework could unleash opportunities for refugees as well.

78. Creating the conditions for displaced people in the Lake Chad Region to return and reintegrate will

46 Indeed, aside from the obvious link that the right to work has on the ability of forcibly displaced persons to generate income and cope with risk, there is evidence that long periods of unemployment can negatively affect mental health. A large body of scientific evidence demonstrates that unemployed people manifest lower levels of psychological well-being than do their employed peers. Unemployment has been linked with a number of psychological disorders, such as anxiety, depression, and substance abuse and dangerous behaviors, such as suicide and violence toward family members or others. These associations hold true not only in surveys of those already unemployed but also in studies that follow one or several individuals with no psychological difficulties into a period of unemployment. See LexisNexis (2009).

require substantial financial resources and coordinated action among affected countries. A joint assessment conducted in Nigeria between the federal and state governments, the European Union, the United Nations, and the World Bank indicates an estimated cost of \$6.7 billion to address the needs emerging from the conflict in the areas that have expelled the most displaced people in the region (World Bank, EU, and UN 2015a). No information is currently available on the impacts and needs emerging from this crisis in Chad, Niger, and Cameroon. The estimate can serve to make order of magnitude estimates for other countries in the Lake Chad region, providing an overall sense of scale of the return and reintegration needs at the regional level. It should be noted that although the cost is significant and will require scaled-up access to commensurate concessional financing, the cost of inaction is higher due to the adverse impact it would have in stability and reconstruction efforts.

79. The impact of forced displacement on the income of IDPs in Nigeria can be estimated using data from households registered in the DTM survey.⁴⁷ The analysis shows that at the individual and household level, the impact is significant, which has important implications for the overall economic outlook of the region. The analysis, presented in Appendix C, assumes that the loss of gross national product comes from the temporary or permanent removal of IDPs from their usual means of production. It presents estimates of the economic cost of forced displacement in the states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Yobe, and Taraba. In particular, it estimates how much income displaced households have lost due to forced displacement. A simple methodology estimates the aggregate income loss for the year 2015. A more dynamic methodology estimates the aggregate income loss from 2013 to 2022.

80. At the individual level, displacement was found to have a significant impact on incomes, increasing the chances of having no income by 41 percent. While displaced people make huge efforts to remain economically active, their capacity to do so is constrained by the loss of their productive assets and by their limited financial means. Indeed, more than 800,000 people stopped receiving a regular income because of displacement, and only 53 percent of the individuals who received some income prior to displacement continued to receive any part of it after it.

81. On that basis, income lost due to displacement rose to N90 billion (approximately US\$450 million) in 2015, or 5.7 percent of the gross domestic product of the North-East states. On the assumption of no return, it would take seven years before a person could earn the same income as before becoming displaced. Assuming that those displaced in 2015 do not return to their places of origin, the accumulated cost of displacement from 2013 to 2022 will rise to N465 billion (approximately US\$2.3 billion)—even if there is no further displacement.

82. The effect of displacement differs depending on the destination of the IDPs, echoing findings on the importance of the connectedness of settlements. The chance of earning any income after being displaced is as low as 31 percent in Yobe and as high as 74 percent in Bauchi. Consistent with findings on the impact of type of destination settlement on outcomes, the chance of earning some income is 16 percentage points higher when living with a host family rather than a camp.

2.3. IMPACTS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT ON HOST COMMUNITIES

“Host communities give us hope.”

~Widower and internally displaced person, Adamawa State, Nigeria

83. As discussed in Chapter 1, host communities are located in some of the poorest and most vulnerable areas of the four countries around the Lake Chad Region. While host communities have experienced a lesser degree of direct violence than the displaced, they were socially and economically deprived and underserved before the conflict and displacement. Their formal and informal institutions are relatively weak, barely able to deliver services to their original constituents. Influxes of IDPs and refugees in need of food, shelter, water, and public services put additional strain on the resources and services of already vulnerable communities, deepening preexisting development deficits. The increased burden on services has led to tensions between

⁴⁷ This analysis was only possible to be performed in the case of Nigeria, due to scarcity of relevant and representative data at the household/ individual level in other countries covered in this assessment. It has still be included as to provide a sense of the magnitude of the income losses experienced by the forcibly displaced in the region.

the displaced and host communities, particularly, given its scarcity in many parts of the region, with regard to the water supply and to a lesser degree, education and health services.

84. Forced displacement has both positive and negative impacts on host communities, and these greatly depend on the level of integration between the displaced and host communities. Where internally displaced persons and refugees have been able to integrate with local communities, either as workers or on a volunteer basis, they have brought new knowledge and experience to business, handcrafts, farming, and other areas. The introduction of new crops and farming techniques was reported in areas both where IDPs and refugees are living. New local markets are emerging in areas with high concentrations of IDPs and refugees as the local clientele for multiple businesses have significantly expanded. Internally displaced persons are also providing an inexpensive source of labor to their communities, reducing the cost associated with certain activities, such as construction and agriculture. They are also generally willing to share with the host community any assistance they receive from the government or other organization. In Niger, for example, host communities reported a marked improvement in access to services when humanitarian partners set up schools and health centers as part of their response to the displacement crisis. Return and reintegration processes should continue to build on these positive impacts, allowing the displaced to bring valuable human and economic capital to previously impoverished and underserved host communities.

85. Forced displacement has transformed the social tissue of host communities in the Lake Chad region. Experiences of integration of the displaced are mixed. While many communities have been very welcoming and have provided sustained support to the victims of displacement for years, for the most part, IDPs and refugees are not fully integrated into community life. Difficulties in integration are particularly pronounced in areas such as credit, access to land, and decision-making structures. In some communities, people forcibly displaced by Boko Haram are viewed as potential threats, either because of their association—real or assumed—with militant groups or because their attackers might follow them into the community. Mistrust of internally displaced persons and refugees inevitably affects the feasibility of their integration into the community.

86. The assessment found little evidence of the integration of displaced communities into local planning processes. With the exception of Niger, where UNHCR is supporting the integration of refugees into urban planning, the presence of IDPs and refugees is viewed as temporary, and as such, displaced populations not typically included or considered in discussions about mid to long-term community development. However, many displaced people have been living in their destination locations for over two years, with no immediate plans or opportunities for returning home. Even in communities where integration into community life is better, the displaced people are still consistently viewed as “newcomers” who are not entitled to make decisions about local issues. Key to ensuring that the needs of all segments of society in displacement-affected communities are accounted for is the creation of incentives for the further integration of the displaced into these planning processes.

87. Host communities have demonstrated great generosity toward the displaced and generally have sympathetic attitudes toward them. However, as time passes, and resources remain limited and overstretched, tensions and resentments may arise. Most IDPs living in urban and peri-urban peripheral areas reported feeling that host communities are burdened by their presence there, and experience a high sense of rejection. Tensions between the displaced and host communities are mostly due to access to water, firewood, and classroom space. Additional disputes have been reported related to polygamy. Lower bride prices among IDPs and refugees have made it possible for locals to take on additional wives, creating tensions with their existing families.

88. There is an overall perception of increased insecurity in host communities as a result of the presence of the displaced. Many key informants interviewed reported a feeling of increased insecurity due to the presence of IDPs and refugees, but they were not able to cite specific instances of them fomenting insecurity. The wariness is partly a result of the fact that residents of the host communities do not know who the displaced people are, where they came from, or if they are associated with Boko Haram. Stigma seems to be higher towards the displaced who share characteristics with Boko Haram, including ethnicity, religion, and area of origin. Host communities also fear infiltration by Boko Haram into the community, posing as the forcibly displaced, or that militants will follow the displaced into the host community and attack them there—situations that have indeed occurred in some host communities.

89. While significant additional demand for services is apparent in many host communities, the impact on service delivery has not been proportional to the increase in population resulting from forced displacement.

There is a large increase in potential demand for services, but it has not yet materialized due to the limited capacity to pay for these services among the displaced. Pressures in service delivery systems due to refugees are limited because of their mobility limitations, which deny them to access to host community facilities. The ability of internally displaced persons to meet their socioeconomic needs is largely limited by their meager incomes, so systems are not impacted in proportion to the population growth registered in the host areas.

90. **Environmental degradation, particularly due to the gathering of fuelwood for cooking, has rapidly increased in host communities.** Limited access response to scarcity of firewood in displacement areas, or lack of financial means to acquire alternative energy sources. In Cameroon, this has become a significant source of conflict between the refugees and local communities, with refugees being chased down by local authorities for cutting down the few existing trees in the area. Box 2.3 details an UNHCR energy initiative in Chad aiming to provide safe energy and improved protection through innovative technology.

BOX 2.4.

Chad: UNHCR Light Years Ahead Initiative—Innovative Technology for Improved Protection of Refugees

The objective of UNHCR's Light Years Ahead program is to enable refugees to meet their basic needs for cooking and lighting while improving their protection, security, health, education, and livelihoods. The initiative includes three programs areas with the primary purpose of improving safe access to energy, particularly household and community lighting and fuel-efficient cookstoves. To ensure efficient product adoption and usage, the intervention incorporated a training and community sensitization component. Program Area 1 focuses on access to appropriate and sustainable cookstoves and fuel supply. It is assumed that if a reduction in wood consumption could be achieved, there would provide greater environmental protection and add to the longer-term sustainability of resources while promoting a more harmonious cohabitation between refugees and local communities. The midline assessment conducted by UNHCR in 2016 shows a positive relationship between family size and kilograms of fuelwood used (UNHCR 2016b). A year and a half after the intervention, 68 percent of households reported using the provided stove as their primary stove or to cook the main daily meal. Program Area 2 focuses on access to sufficient light at the community and household level. Access to light includes the introduction and distribution of household solar lantern and street lamps using a solar system. At the baseline, less than 1 percent of households reported improved access to domestic lighting; 92 percent reported access at the midline assessment. Ninety-three percent of households reported using solar lanterns, and 88 percent report that it is their primary lighting source. An additional component focuses on training and skill provision in the camps and surrounding areas, reaching an estimated 32,832 people.

Source: UNHCR 2016b.



CHAPTER 3

Toward a New Paradigm:
Rethinking the Response to
Forced Displacement

3.1. THE SCALE AND COMPLEXITY OF THE CHALLENGE

91. **Forced displacement in the Lake Chad Region is taking place in the framework of a particular type of conflict, different in many dimensions to prior conflict related crises.** The Boko Haram conflict stands out as one of the most violent and damaging crises that is taken place globally. The indiscriminate use of violence by this extremist group has destroyed lives, social bonds and physical infrastructure in levels not previously registered in the region. Its heavy reliance on terrorist practices has deeply undermine trust among people, with fear and suspiciousness becoming the common rule of interaction. The ideological and operative linkages of Boko Haram to international terrorist organizations such as ISIS, also add to the intricacy of this conflict. Forced displacement resulting for the Boko Harm conflict, is then conditioned to the challenges and complexities of the crisis itself. Responses to forced displacement in this context then need to be considered in the light of these unprecedented challenges. Governments, displaced populations, host communities and humanitarian and development actors are in need to reconsider much of what they already know on responses to forced displacement, shifting towards a new paradigm, sensitive to the complexities introduced by violent extremism.

92. **The humanitarian and development crisis in the Lake Chad region is enormous in scale and extremely complex.** Conflict and displacement have become mapped onto existing areas of chronic poverty and deprivation, exacerbating both. Development issues are therefore implicated in the origins of the forced displacement crisis, in the paths to its resolution, and in providing the conditions for future long-term stability.

93. **Given this scale and complexity, developing long-term solutions to the displacement crisis is beyond the capacity of any single actor.** A successful response to this huge challenge will require substantial time and financial resources and will entail coordinated action by a range of actors at the regional, national, and local levels, including communities and their institutions, government agencies at various levels, and international humanitarian and development agencies. Further, this challenge will require fresh approaches to design that respond to the unique characteristics of the crisis and the risks and opportunities it might present. This chapter lays out the elements of such a new perspective and recommends key actions to address the crisis.

3.2. THE NEED FOR A NEW WAY OF THINKING

94. **In the past, the humanitarian and development phases of forced displacement were largely treated as separate, paralleling the distinction between “conflict” and “post-conflict” phases.** The priority during the conflict and immediate post-conflict phases has been to take urgent life-saving measures through humanitarian action. In the subsequent post-conflict phase, the assumption has been that the development stage would follow humanitarian relief, characterized by a longer-term perspective and the integration of investments with national and local planning. The division between humanitarian and development responses applied to governments as well, with distinct agencies dealing with the each, and each with their own external partners.

95. **However, conflict and post-conflict phases are increasingly difficult to distinguish from one another; all actors should therefore engage at the earliest stage possible.** A complex conflict involves multiple stakeholders, there may be no clear end in sight, and reconstruction is itself a factor in the process of moving toward peace—it cannot wait for stability to be established. Acknowledging the development implications of violent conflict and forced displacement entails a shift in orientation and the development of a shared perspective by humanitarian and development institutions.

96. Preconceptions about the roles of humanitarian aid and development are shifting, leading to new ways of thinking. Typically, humanitarian aid has been aimed at addressing the needs of people directly affected by displacement, with its provision planned and implemented outside of national frameworks. Developmental responses, in contrast, were considered relevant only at later stages, after humanitarian work was completed. But as many forced displacement situations have developed into protracted situations, humanitarian actors are regularly drawn into playing the role of proxy state, ensuring the provision of services to the forcibly displaced and promoting employment, in addition to managing their traditional role of seeking durable solutions to refugee crises. Humanitarian actors have become increasingly proactive in their engagement with governments, seeking to operate within national frameworks. One illustration of this is that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), through a series of policies and strategies, is now emphasizing the need to integrate forcibly displaced people into national development plans, including the UNHCR Policy on Alternatives to Camp and global education and health strategies that clearly articulate the objective of

Cameroon: Community Development Plans and Plan the Soutien (PS)

The Northern, East and Adamawa regions in Cameroon are home to some 252,000 Central African refugees who arrived in several waves since 2004. Overall, some 30% of the refugees are in camps while 70% are settled in host communities with whom they share the same natural resources and basic social services. Partners are looking at how to leverage lessons learned and integrate progressive solutions for the recent influx of refugees from Nigeria based on the protracted CAR refugees. Because the population is primarily out of camp, the UNHCR's vision is to embed refugees into the existing Government's Community Development Plans (CDPs). The CDPs have been funded by the World Bank and led by the Government, resulting in community based multisectoral development plans at the smallest local level- the commune. For the time being the CDPs reflect the needs of the municipalities not taking into consideration refugee presence. UNHCR is negotiating a partnership (MOU - not yet signed) with the Government for which one of the priority points is the Plan de Soutien (PS). The PS consists on updating the CDP taking into consideration refugee's presence in host villages and the extra demand their presence has on delivery and access to services. It is planned to develop the revised Community Development Plans in 17 communities in the North, East and Adamaoua regions where the largest portion of refugees are hosted. UNHCR operational programming is already aligned with the Government's vision and strategic direction. Once the CDPs are finalized UNHCR activities and sectoral strategies will contribute to fill the gaps identified in the CDPs, particularly in health, education, livelihoods, infrastructure, social services, and support to local authorities.

Source: UNHCR – Cameroon

embedding programming into national systems about health and education for the forcibly displaced.⁴⁸ For their part, development actors such as the World Bank are engaging at earlier stages, often while the conflict is ongoing, recognizing and responding to the significant development impacts created by conflict and forced displacement. Their role has evolved from one that supports the reconstruction of critical infrastructure into one that restores sustainable livelihoods, supports service provision, and the reconstruction of the social fabric. This convergence of perspectives makes it all the more important that all actors work together on the design and implementation of joint programming within the context of a regional approach to forced displacement.

97. **In addition to this paradigmatic shift, pressure on resources is constantly increasing.** Resources not only need to be used efficiently but also in a way that supports pathways to sustainability from the earliest stages of displacement. One advantage to this approach is that it reduces the likelihood of dependency on the part of the displaced.⁴⁹ The situation in the Lake Chad Region illustrates very clearly the merging of humanitarian and development concerns and the growing pressure on resources. Fragility and insecurity will continue into the foreseeable future, and the increasing demand on international resources for emergency situations coincides with severe fiscal pressures in the region's affected countries, especially if they are highly dependent on oil.

98. **The implications of this shift are far reaching.** The next section outlines the implications in terms of the forms of integration that are needed to achieve the transition to this new paradigm forced displacement.

3.3. IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION: A HOLISTIC AND INTEGRATED RESPONSE

3.3.1. INTEGRATION OF HUMANITARIAN AND DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVES

99. **Agencies responsible for humanitarian and development work must continue to move toward a common understanding and coordinated approach to displacement, viewing it as both a humanitarian and a development issue.** At the outset, humanitarian initiatives—as essential as they are—must be planned and undertaken in a way that builds sustainable outcomes for the displaced and that do not engender continuing dependency. Development agencies, for their part, need to be prepared to engage early and with agility in circumstances of continuing conflict and insecurity. To promote the most effective collaboration, at both

48 UNHCR has instituted a policy on alternatives to camp to help integrate forcibly displaced people into their host communities and serve as a catalyst for a region-based approach. (UNHCR 2014).

49 However, this is highly predicated on the government policy towards refugee population.

BOX 3.2.

World Bank: Development Response to Displacement Impacts Project in the Horn of Africa

Building upon the findings of the joint World Bank and UNHCR study entitled “Forced Displacement and Mixed Migration in the Horn of Africa”, the World Bank in partnership with UNHCR and the Governments of the region is about to start implementation of the project “Development Response to Displacement Impacts Project in the Horn of Africa”.

Such project seeks to foster a fundamental shift in the way forced displacement is viewed, mainly addressing forced displacement impacts as a developmental challenge as well as a humanitarian and security-related one; developing a government-led and implemented developmental response to displacement that complements traditional humanitarian support; and cultivating a sustainable solution to systemic and structural constraints impeding development that are further exacerbated by the presence of displaced population. The project aims to improve access to basic social services, expand economic opportunities, and enhance environmental management for communities hosting refugees in the targeted areas of Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Uganda. One of the key aspects of the project design is its particular focus on communities that host displaced population, and beneficiaries of the project investments will be both host and refugee communities. This project illustrates the close collaboration between humanitarian and development agencies to address the challenges of forced displacement integrating both humanitarian and development perspectives.

Source: The World Bank, Project Appraisal Document, May 2016.

BOX 3.3.

Examples of Quantitative Data Collection

Strong partnership and collaboration IOM’s Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) project teams in Nigeria and Cameroon enabled the quantitative data collection process for this regional assessment. The World Bank assessment team coordinated closely with IOM project teams in revising, adding and completing the DTM household survey questionnaires, so as to tailor them based on particular country contexts and to capture the economic impacts as well as impacts on social cohesion of conflict and forced displacement in the survey countries. The updated questionnaires have been implemented since the DTM Round VII in Nigeria (December 2015) and the DTM Round II in Cameroon (February 2016).

In addition, in FCS where in-site data collection is impossible, remote sensing capabilities have been explored and engaged in many World Bank analytics. During the North East Nigeria Recovery and Peace Building Assessment (RPBA) in March, 2016, remote sensing were applied, using a combination of satellite imagery, social media analytics and information received from partner networks to fill in information gaps identified in certain sectors and geographic regions. This approach also helped to validate and augment the findings of the on-ground assessments where information is scarce or access is not feasible (World Bank et al. 2016).

national and international levels, the two types of organizations must understand each other’s priorities and strengths. Institutional collaboration around a common vision will create synergies and economies of scale without the need to alter formal mandates. Box 3.2 provides an example of initiatives in which humanitarian and development agencies work together to address displacement integrating both humanitarian and developmental angles.

100. **The successful pursuit of such integration will require common frames of reference**, including frameworks for spatially integrated planning⁵⁰, shared systems for gathering and disseminating data that are simultaneously oriented to humanitarian and development needs, and consistent criteria and processes for joint monitoring and learning. Box 3.3 provides two World Bank examples of quantitative data collection methods.

50 Spatial planning should be undertaken in a way that accounts for the needs and views of both displaced and host communities, giving equal importance to each of these populations.

3.3.2. INTEGRATION BETWEEN CONCERNS OF DISPLACED, HOST COMMUNITIES, AND PEOPLE IN AREAS OF POTENTIAL RETURN

101. **The wider paradigm advocated here should encompass the needs and priorities of host communities and people in areas of return, as well as those of the displaced, under a common vision and planning framework.** Too often, displacement proves itself to be protracted. Even where it is not, integrating displaced populations into local planning mechanisms can bring sustained benefits to both host and the displaced. Improved relationships will result when both groups benefit from the humanitarian-development response to forced displacement, favoring the overall long-term development of the entire population. Likewise, support for IDPs and refugees should be planned in light of the situation in their areas of origin and the needs of those who have remained, as well as an understanding of the prospects for return. Regional-based approaches to programming and service delivery that are consistent with national and regional development planning will foster sustainability. The integration of planning mechanisms for host and displaced populations also has implications for modes of planning and monitoring, favoring common frameworks for data collection and exchange across agencies. Box 3.4 provides an example of UNHCR intervention in urban host communities.

BOX 3.4.

Niger: UNHCR Urbanization Project in Niger

In 2014, UNHCR began the Urbanization Project in the Diffa Region with the key objective of providing legal access to land for the most vulnerable. The project's strategy is to address land issues in a realistic, structural, and sustainable manner. It aims to support the housing and absorption capacities of host communities, while economically supporting the target municipalities, ensuring peaceful cohabitation between displaced and host communities. UNHCR and its partners are providing technical, administrative, legal, and financial support to the target municipalities to enable them to develop new areas for building, that are in line with current regulations. Training in urban planning is also provided so as to optimize the use of the land. The developed land that is developed is divided into "parcels," which are either distributed to vulnerable beneficiary families –displaced or and host (40 percent, or used by the community to be sold or reserved for public infrastructure and roads (60 percent). The "parcels" distributed to beneficiaries are known as "social parcels" and entail a mix between social housing and land ownership. The beneficiaries have the use of the land to accommodate themselves (for a period of at least 7 seven years), however but they are not allowed to rent or sell the land, and if they do decide to leave, the parcel will become a local good, benefitting the local municipality. The aim of the project is to also provide housing to the vulnerable beneficiary families, on the land parcels. However, but due to limited funding, this has is not yet been possible. This project will transform the land –not only physically, but in its potential to contribute to the economy, –while also providing vital solutions for to vulnerable displaced and host populations.

Source: UNHCR.

3.3.3. INTEGRATION BETWEEN SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN/DEVELOPMENT CONCERNS

102. **Conflict and violence are ongoing in the Lake Chad Region.** Providing support, whether humanitarian or development, under conditions of continuing instability presents great challenges. Prospects for safe, voluntary, and dignified return and durable reintegration depend on the establishment of security in areas of

BOX 3.5.

Nigeria: World Bank Polio Eradication Support Project in Nigeria

The development objective of the this World Bank project is to achieve and sustain at least 80 percent coverage with oral polio vaccine immunization in every state in Nigeria, especially the North North-East states, which are particularly vulnerable, and lag far behind the national average, and sustain national routine immunization coverage. Quality Assurance Sampling survey data and Acute Flaccid Paralysis surveillance indicate that, since implementation in 2013, the polio program's ability to reach conflict-affected areas has been impressive. The program has established a special set of interventions for security-compromised areas, including monthly security risk assessments, expansion of "hit and run" and "catch-up" campaigns based on the changing security status, enhanced routine immunization services with attractive pluses bonuses (e.g., malaria diagnosis, multi-multivitamin supplementation, and biscuits for children) through health camps, and strengthening of permanent health teams from within the community. The project, implemented in partnership with UNICEF, benefited from the knowledge of the government and humanitarian actors regarding the security conditions, adapting itself to the changing environment.

Source: The World Bank, Project Paper, Operations Portal. May 2016.

return. To be successful, the planning and implementation of support to the forcibly displaced must therefore be undertaken in a common forum between national and local authorities and security agencies and be informed by timely data on the security situation at the local level.

103. Security and the humanitarian/development response are linked in several other ways. First, a security standpoint often predominates government perceptions of displacement. Humanitarian and development partners working closely with governments can moderate this by fostering the social and economic resilience of host and refugee communities. Second, it is widely documented that displacement creates conditions that exacerbate the risk for women, children, and other displaced persons to being the victim of violence, so systematic protection for the vulnerable is essential. Thirdly, security concerns in the form of landmines must to be addressed if safe return is to be assured. Box 3.5 provides a good example of how interventions are undertaken in conflict or insecure areas.

3.3.4. COMBINING SECTORAL INPUTS WITH APPROPRIATE SEQUENCING

104. Support for the displaced, particularly for the process of return and reintegration, is extremely complex and requires careful planning and sequencing of activities in multiple sectors. A wide range of sectoral needs must be addressed in this process, (some of which are outlined in the sections below), and to do so in a manner that is carefully and progressively phased in to address urgent basic needs and to create conditions for longer-term development across a spectrum of areas. For example, displaced people returning to their home communities will need food and temporary shelter while more permanent housing is being constructed. There is no fixed formula to design such a process because every response will be specific to the setting. Design and implementation must be flexible and informed through consultations with affected parties to encourage learning, adaptation, and a client-based orientation. Box 3.6 details a World Food Program approach that aims to build long-term resilience by identifying short- and long-term interventions suited to local contexts.

105. Complexity of the necessary response may be such that it become a factor of paralysis. Opting for investing in “catalysts” areas is recommended, generating externalities for the various dimensions that need to be taken into consideration. The complexity of the challenge may be such that, trying to cater to its various dimensions, would become so challenging that it in itself, overwhelming systems and decision makers. In these cases, experiences from other crises suggest that it may be more impactful to identify the main “catalysts” or factors that, if receiving the right type of interventions, could have significant externalities for the various dimensions that need to be taken into consideration. For example, in conflicts characterized by significant levels of SGBV or resulting in high number of female-headed households, a focus on women empowerment could become an effective entry point to address multi-sectoral needs including social cohesion, integration of displacement victims in local planning, restoration of livelihoods, and access to and quality of front line and specialized service delivery.

BOX. 3.6.

A WFP Approach to Operationalize Resilience: Seasonal Livelihood Programming: An Approach by the World Food Program to Operationalize Resilience (SLP)

The seasonal livelihood programming (SLP), which started in 2013, is part of a broader three-step process to strengthen the design, planning, and implementation of longer-term resilience-building programs, developed in partnership with governments and aligned to national and local priorities. It links national-level integrated context analyses (identifying food security and vulnerability variations in different parts of a country) with communities and partners (e.g. the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), and nongovernmental organizations), to deliver complementary programs through community-based participatory planning. It brings humanitarian and development interventions together by combining seasonal, livelihood, gender, crisis, and program aspects to identify the most appropriate range of interventions, and then aligning these into complementary short- and long-term plans of action. Seasonal livelihood programming complements existing government planning processes, and provides a framework to align ongoing efforts at the national and sub-national levels. In South Sudan and Niger, WFP and FAO have developed joint plans for building programs in areas of recurring food insecurity and shocks. SLPs were featured as a foundational tool used to identify complementary programs and alignments, develop new partnerships with NGOs, and to build government capacity in for coordination efforts.

Source: WFP. A WFP Approach to Operationalize Resilience. Part 2: Seasonal Livelihood 2013. Programming. November, 2013

3.3.5. COORDINATION ACROSS BORDERS

106. **In tackling a crisis in a zone whose territory is shared between four countries, collaboration is essential.** This can be considered on several levels. One is the development of consistent and complementary policies and the implementation of coordinated actions on the part of respective governments. At the more local level, the development of programs serving frontier areas through the collaboration of decentralized units on both sides of the border (e.g. between Diffa Region of Niger and the neighboring local governments of Borno State) has considerable scope for addressing cross-border issues, whether security, relations between communities, or the management of livestock transhumance or natural resources. See Box 3.7 below for example of how UNHCR successfully provides education program across borders.

BOX 3.7.

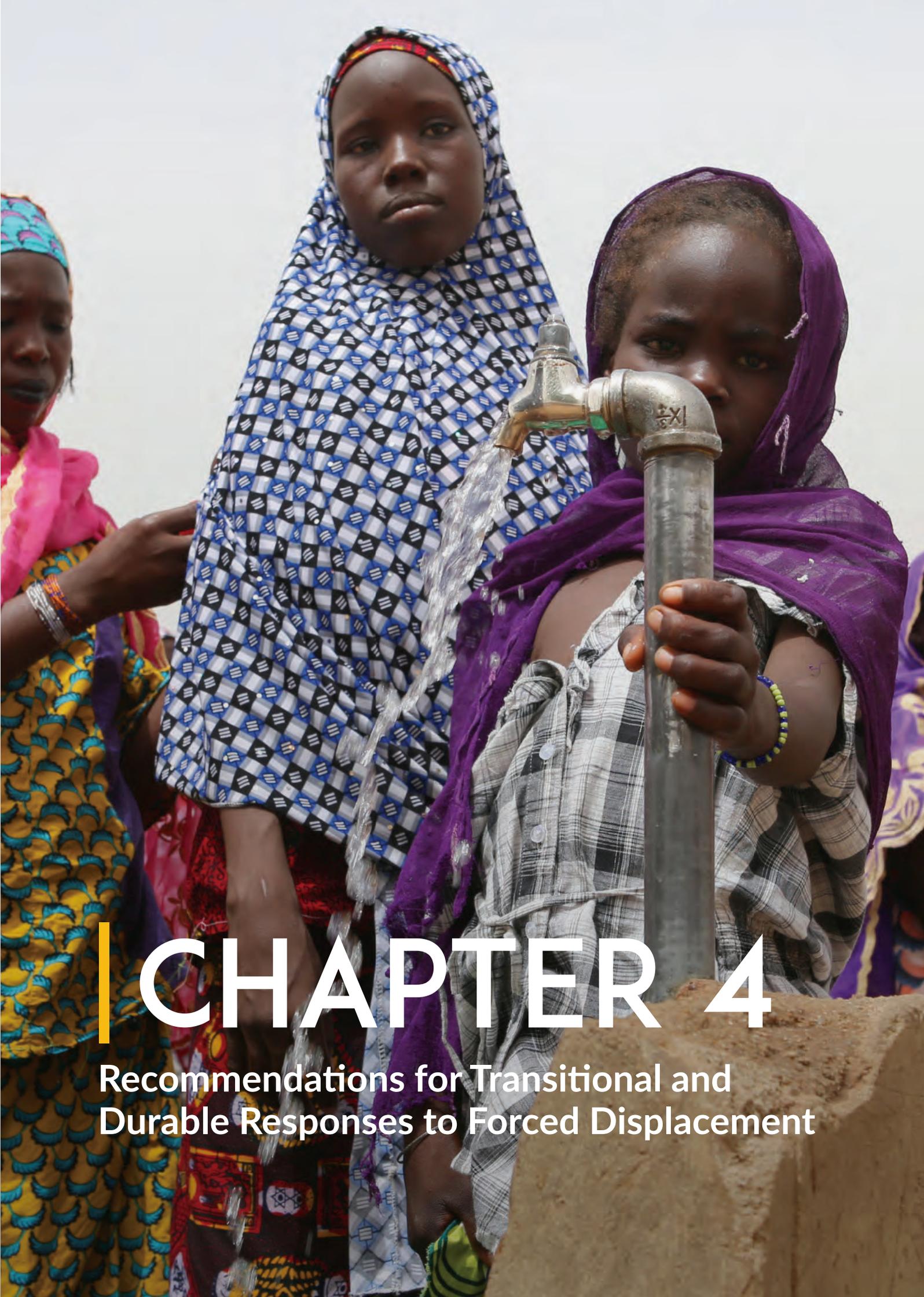
UNHCR Distance Education Program in Niger

The Diffa Region has the lowest school attendance rates in all of Niger, with gross attendance rates of only 42.4 percent for boys and 37.8 percent for girls. This situation has worsened because more than 150 schools have closed since violence erupted in Niger territory. The increased number of displaced children who have been forced out of schooling because of insecurity, make it challenging to meet the education needs of all of the vulnerable children. In addition, the fact that most of the refugee children arriving from Nigeria do not speak French makes integration into the local schooling system more difficult, particularly at the secondary level. The Distance Education Program, established in 2014, offered young Nigerian refugees and returnees the possibility of continuing their secondary education through a distance education mechanism with an Anglophone curriculum, allowing them to continue their studies and complete their secondary school exams as they would have done in Nigeria. Three centers in Diffa, Maine Soroa, and Kabelawa are providing quality education to 350 students. The curriculum has been approved by the Nigeria ministry of education, and students will be eligible to complete the exams.

Source: UNHCR

3.3.6. INTEGRATING A VISION FOR A BETTER FUTURE

107. **Developmental interventions in historically poorly served areas must be designed not simply to reconstruct what was destroyed, but to “build back better,” and to rebuild physical infrastructure, institutions, and social relations—especially between the government and the governed.** This approach means responding to the identified root causes of the insurgency with measures such as providing quality services—e.g., education—where none existed before; taking advantage of the new markets provided by new population concentrations; and inserting mechanisms in development administration that promote accountability and transparency. These are steps toward increasing inclusion and resilience and recasting the social contract between the citizens of the Lake Chad Region and the institutions that govern and represent them.



CHAPTER 4

Recommendations for Transitional and Durable Responses to Forced Displacement

108. Like other displacement crises, the preferred solution to displacement in the Lake Chad Region is return, yet realizing this possibility remains challenging. Based on the intention surveys piloted in certain displacement affected areas in the Lake Chad Region, the overwhelming desire of both refugees and IDPs is to return to their homes and restart their lives when necessary conditions are met. However, continued security threats combined with a lack of viable and sustainable solutions to housing, livelihoods, education, and other public services prevent them from doing so. In addition to addressing these needs in the short and mid to long-term, conducive conditions for return need to be created by all actors involved, through addressing key drivers and impacts of conflict, including the fragmentation of the social fabric, governance deficits, and protection and human security challenges including sexual and gender-based violence. It is also worth mentioning that premature repatriation, undertaken before physical conditions are fully ready, can give rise to serious protection risks, undermining longer term and sustainable recovery and peace-building efforts.

109. Regardless of whether this option is materialized, the ultimate end of interventions to support the forcibly displaced should be the full integration of the displaced into the social and economic life of the communities they settle in, and their return to self-reliance. Indistinctively of whether there is a context of return, reintegration in host communities or resettlement to a third location, full integration into the life of communities and self-reliance will largely impact the long term development outcomes for the displaced. Creating social ties between displaced persons and host communities and integrating them into the planning and decision making processes of the communities in which they are in the short term and will be in the mid-long term is instrumental for long term sustainability. Structural conditions that allow such integration (political, legal, policy) should be in place to facilitate these processes. Becoming self-reliant will allow the displaced to break the poverty cycle they have fallen into, and allow them to recover eventually from many of the losses they have experienced.

110. Achieving this requires multi-level, coordinated interventions that simultaneously tackle the regional, national/federal and local needs emanating from forced displacement. Careful sequencing of interventions to address the developmental challenges of forced displacement will be critical in view of the fluidity of the security environment, and the marked variation within and among affected countries. Interventions should be designed at three distinctive levels: (i) the regional level to tackle supra-national challenges, including efforts to enhance coordination of interventions with trans-national impact (i.e. securing border areas and coordinated national security efforts, reactivation of the regional economy, return of refugees and local planning in border areas with high levels of migration), standardization of information for decision making, and cross fertilization of experiences; (ii) the national level, to provide the necessary security, legal, institutional, financial and strategic framework for the implementation of a harmonized, multi-sectoral approach to forced displacement in regions/ states affected by it, as well as ensuring the adequate identification and registration of the displaced; and (iii) sub-regional/state level to support the implementation of differentiated support across the areas affected by displacement, accommodating for the changing nature of the conflict. The main factors that will guide this differentiated approach include:

- a) The volatile and unpredictable security situation in the Lake Chad Region due to the asymmetric warfare that is being conducted by Boko Haram and their capacity to react to the government's efforts;
- b) The level of effective safe access return communities in the most affected areas and progress made over time with the gradual and incremental implementation of interventions.
- c) The extent of the physical damages and human impact in the respective regions/ states, and lowest political jurisdictions in each country, recognizing that the four countries, and regions within it have been affected by the conflict in very different ways and at different levels of intensity;
- d) The degree and intensity in which specific host communities have been impacted;
- e) The capacity of the displaced currently in camps to become self-reliant;
- f) The capacity of national, regional/state and local institutions to address the impacts of forced displacement;
- g) The careful monitoring these factors, to guide the adjustment of priorities as needed.

111. An approach of this nature, calls for specific roles and responsibilities by different stakeholders at the international, regional and national levels. Box 4.1 outlines some recommended roles to be taken on by key actors of forced displacement in the region.

Recommended Roles to Key Actors (World Bank 2016a)**Regional Bodies and Partners (in particular AU, ECOWAS, LCBC, etc.):**

- Take the lead on facilitating and establishing regional platform, common policy framework and coordinated regional approach to forced displacement;
- Coordinate regional military, humanitarian and developmental efforts to respond to the crisis;
- Develop and monitor a comprehensive shared plan of action for conflicts and displacement;
- Strengthen regional, national and local capacity for open dialogue, consultation, inclusive planning, budgeting and implementation;
- Support humanitarian and developmental partners in implementing programs.

Governments:

- Ensure conditions for the safe and voluntary return of IDPs and refugees;
- Restore security conditions in areas of return/ reintegration of the displaced;
- Revisit, revise and enforce national displacement (refugees and IDPs) policies and corresponding institutional and legal frameworks;
- Incorporate in national and local development planning process the programmatic interventions and responses addressing needs of displaced population; Facilitate the post-displacement self-reliance efforts, regardless of safe and voluntary returning, settling, or migrating to a third location.

Humanitarian Partners:

- Advocate and provide prompt humanitarian assistance to affected population;
- Provide technical assistance for the harmonization and revision of refugee and IDP laws and policies focusing on registration, cross-border population movements and human rights (freedom, work status, etc.) in all affected countries;
- Assess best practice and sustainable solutions to displacement challenges in the region to put forward scalable programs for the transitional approach and for promoting self-reliance;
- Collaborate with developmental partners under the new paradigm for an integrated and holistic approach.

Developmental Partners:

- Establish a framework of reference – including analysis of impacts, needs, and opportunities – as guidance for country-level and regional consultation and continued policy dialogue;
- In the short-term, explore extension and additional financing of existing projects to include wider range of displacement-affected population, especially the underserved, poor, females, children, etc.;
- In the medium- to long-term, design and implement integrated and multi-sectoral programs that could create the synergies to address both pull and push factors displacement and root causes of conflicts;
- Invest in catalytic sectors that allow addressing multiple forced displacement development challenges in an integrated manner, including women empowerment and youth employment;
- Support the reactivation of the regional economy;
- Provide technical assistance to host and return countries to revisit, revise and enforce laws, policies and practices regarding refugees and IDPs, aiming towards a rational, transparent, and accountable regime meeting the security, economic and social needs of all stakeholders;
- Continue to support knowledge building, sharing and management to achieve common understandings on forced displacement situations and possible solutions;
- Collaborate with humanitarian partners under the new paradigm for an integrated and holistic approach.

112. Proposals for transitional and durable responses to forced displacement are outlined below in three sections. The first addresses cross-cutting challenges that will determine the sustainability and success of any effort, specifically social cohesion, governance, protection, and human security challenges. The second section addresses the conditions for establishing an enabling environment for action, including the creation of dedicated policy and institutional frameworks as well as the necessary regional- and country-level partnerships for successful and efficient implementation. The third section focuses on programmatic interventions aimed at mitigating the impacts of forced displacement and supporting return and reconstruction, including local development, service delivery, and economic recovery.

FIGURE 4.1.

Recommended Areas of Focus



Source: World Bank.

4.1. THE OVERARCHING IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL COHESION, GOVERNANCE, PROTECTION, AND HUMAN SECURITY

113. **Social connections are an important resource for individuals and collectivities. Losing them leaves displaced people vulnerable, hampering their resilience and limiting their options.** Because of the extent of damage to the social fabric at all levels caused by the crisis and the associated displacement, rebuilding social capital will be a challenging—but essential—element of successful transition. This report documents the erosion or destruction of social capital at many levels: the separation of families, fear and mistrust within communities, polarization and mistrust between ethnic groups and religious affiliations, targeted assassinations of religious and traditional leaders, tensions between the displaced and their host communities, and a loss of confidence in government among citizens. These social divisions fuel the conflict. Repairing them will not be easy, but there is much that can be done to create the conditions for healing. The following approaches require sound analytic work to understand the political and social drivers and impacts of conflict and a thorough understanding of political, social and other aspects of the displacement context.

- Support joint social, planning, and development initiatives between displaced and host communities to build constructive relations and reduce stigma and mistrust.
- Adopt conflict sensitive programming and do-no-harm approaches through which drivers of conflict are understood and integrated into humanitarian and development interventions.
- Ensure projects are locally specific so that responses are tailored to the broad variety of social, economic, and security circumstances, particularly with regard to vulnerable groups, to mitigate against any further violence.
- Ensure equity in the provision of public infrastructure and services as well as employment opportunities by balancing social diversity so that the needs of all segments of the population (e.g. women, youth, widows, older persons, and unaccompanied and/or separated children (UASC) are fully taken into account.

- Emphasize known trusted strategies that rebuild social capital, such as supporting and rebuilding local institutions; fostering community-level reconciliation, violence prevention, peace building, and the establishment of institutional mechanisms for conflict resolution; and disarmament, demobilization, de-radicalization and reintegration ex-insurgents.

114. Governance issues constitute a thread running both through the crisis and the prospects for a sustainable response. Poor governance can be seen as a permissive factor if not a root cause of the crisis, and violence and displacement have put additional strain on weak institutions. In addition to this, the flow of resources to respond to the crisis from national/ federal governments, humanitarian and development patterns into these already weak systems will create further opportunities for corruption and state capture. Thus, there is considerable scope to improve governance and accountability so as to build trust in public institutions, both formal and local. This can be advanced through mechanisms such as the routine and meaningful engagement of citizens in planning, budgeting, service delivery, among other issues, and the integration of various accountability mechanisms into return, reintegration, and recovery. Strengthening governance at the local level is critical to enhancing government legitimacy and as a result building citizen trust in public institutions. Decentralized institutions are the most direct interface with local populations and should be prioritized for capacity building interventions facilitating return and recovery. Local governments are in need of financial and administrative support to resume the equitable delivery of services and reinforce the return and recovery process. Similarly, equipping local governments and their citizens with simple but effective mechanisms to foster social accountability over front line service delivery is critical to restore the social contract. At a broader level, the capacity of local institutions depends on strengthening decentralization systems that allow local institutions to access resources and enhance the capacity to respond to forced displacement.

115. Civil registration and documentation of the displaced, particularly refugees, is essential to their claiming their rights, and is an important dimension of governance and administration. Access to civil registration and documentation should be facilitated without discrimination in an expedient manner that does not impose unreasonable conditions on displaced people applying for or collecting documents. In particular, Niger's civil registration of citizens requires capacity building and expansion as many Niger citizens lack birth certificates and national identification. Legislation regarding refugees and internally displaced persons plays a crucial role in establishing the mechanisms through which displaced persons can access documentation. In addition to documentation as proof of nationality, regarding other personal documentations and certificates, authorities in countries of origin must establish, on a case by case basis, mechanisms to enable the recognition of diplomas or degrees from universities or professional institutions obtained by refugees during their stay in countries of asylum.

116. Protection and human security challenges emerging from the crisis hamper the effectiveness and efficiency of recovery efforts and threaten the future stability of the region. Two main challenges must be addressed to ensure that the recovery process for the forcibly displaced, the host communities, and the areas of return is fruitful over the long term. First, the protection of separated and unaccompanied children and the prevalence of various forms of sexual and gender-based violence, including transactional sex, human trafficking, child marriage, and sexual and physical abuse. These challenges constitute critical areas of focus not just due to the significant impacts of this conflict in these dimensions, but also due to the catalytic role they play in preventing the inter-generational transmission of violence, supporting future peace and stability.

117. Addressing these challenges require continuous, multifaceted assistance, including medical services, psychosocial support, self-reliance alternatives, and legal support.⁵¹ A specific and specialized diagnosis should be conducted to understand the extent and complexity of these issues and identify existing responses that future programming can build on to address these challenges. Significant gaps in data collection and reporting mechanisms remain in the Lake Chad area, which should be urgently addressed. The identification of the scale of the need and service gaps must be followed by the development of integrated programming to improve service delivery for unaccompanied and separated children as well as for victims of sexual and gender-based violence. Responses should provide long-term pathways to recovery to ensure that victims can deal with the present challenges they face and can make progress toward self-reliance going forward by

51 Multiple World Bank supported interventions in the Africa region such as those in the Great Lakes Region (Great Lakes Emergency Sexual and Gender Based Violence & Women's Health Project) and DRC (Addressing Sexual Gender Based Violence in South Kivu and Prevention and Mitigation of SGBV in North and South Kivu) have effectively introduced multi-dimensional responses to SGBV including access specialized health and legal services, counseling and psychosocial support and economic empowerment of survivors. These initiatives also provide support to prevention efforts through the change of social constructs of gender that foster SGBV.

expanding legal, social and economic opportunities for refugees and other displaced, guaranteeing access to services without risk of discrimination and in a manner in which host communities are also supported. In the case of refugees and asylum seekers, specific responses within international protection standards should also promote registration and documentation on an individual basis as quickly as possible upon arrival; provide necessary documents relating to civil status; consider ways to enable refugees, including in particular women and adolescents, to use their skills and capacities; and respect the right to voluntary return and States' obligation to receive back nationals within an appropriate framework of physical, legal and material safety.

4.2. THE ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

118. **Important gaps remain in the domestication of international and regional legal standards in the region regarding the forcibly displaced, and there is a need for the further development of national legal frameworks for refugees and the internally displaced.** While all of the countries in the region have ratified the Kampala Convention, except Cameroon, they are yet to fully domesticate and sanction its provisions or establish a legal framework for providing necessary support to the displaced—one of the reasons that assistance is currently inconsistent and uncoordinated. Effective legal instruments need to be aligned with international standards that fully address the rights of the both refugees and the internally displaced.

119. **Sound policy and institutional frameworks are necessary to address forced displacement, including the designation of clear roles, responsibilities, and accountability of institutions regarding policy implementation across different levels of government.** The approach guiding institutionalization should be to work with designated national and local institutions, including national, state, and local government ministries, departments, and agencies as well as with nongovernmental and community organizations, many of which face both capacity and resource constraints. However, working with and through them can build their capacity for longer-term development. Institutional frameworks at the country and regional levels should be put in place in alignment with existing strategies that address the broader structural context of reconstruction, recovery and peacebuilding. As a priority, countries in the region should domesticate the Kampala convention (Nigeria, Niger and Chad), and ratify it in the case of Cameroon. Also, all countries in the region should fully implement the different legal frameworks that have adopted to address forced displacement (1951 Refugee Convention, the 1967 Protocol, and the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention). Furthermore, Chad needs also specific legal frameworks to address refugees and IDPs (see appendix B). In the case of Nigeria the Recovery and Peace Building Assessment for North East Nigeria provides a sound institutional framework to guide these actions.

120. **Given the regional nature of the crisis, a regional body should be nominated to coordinate efforts addressing conflict and displacement in the region.** The coordinating institution should not over-centralize decision making; it should operate in areas where coordination between states is necessary or cross-border issues are involved. A coordinating institution can also be a site for monitoring and learning. The African Union, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC), have meaningful contributions to make in this process and are well placed to fulfill this role. The optimal role of these institutions should be further defined in a consensual manner, and the necessary human capacity built to enable them to fulfill these roles. Please see Appendix C for details on some existing regional bodies in the Lake Chad Region.

4.3. PROGRAMMATIC RESPONSES

121. **The humanitarian and development challenges faced by the displaced are extensive.** This section seeks to establish some priorities and guidelines by grouping action into three areas: (i) local development, (ii) service delivery, and (iii) economic recovery.

4.3.1. LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

122. **The social and physical characteristics of host communities have changed—in temporary and permanent ways—as a result of displacement.** The arrival of significant numbers of people from other communities has changed the composition of local communities. Given the significant barriers to return faced by displaced population, these changes are likely to be long-lasting. The continuing instability in the security situation, combined with the lack of suitable conditions for return to areas of origin, suggest that some of these impacts may be long-lasting. Efforts in host and return areas should be coordinated so that potential returnees have

the information, support, and protection to make and follow through on decisions to return. Local planning mechanisms will need to be adapted to ensure such coordination while simultaneously balancing the interests and priorities of the displaced, their host communities, and the areas of return.

123. Local planning mechanisms must be adapted to address three priorities: (i) the integration of displaced people into the planning processes of host communities, (ii) durable housing solutions, and (iii) environmental degradation. Proposed interventions include:

- **Analytic activities:**

- 1) Assess local planning mechanisms to identify key entry points for the integration of the forcibly displaced. Provide incentives and disincentives for the inclusion of displaced persons in local planning mechanisms through a political economy analysis, offering specific recommendations on the type of incentives that should be offered to ensure this goal.
- 2) Assess mid- to long-term housing needs in host areas where most of the displaced are currently located. This assessment should build on a homeowner- and beneficiary-driven housing reconstruction model tested in Nigeria, other Lake Chad Region countries and other successful experiences such as those applied in Indonesia for the reconstruction of Aceh and Yogyakarta.
- 3) Conduct an environmental impact assessment in areas of displacement and return, including the mapping of alternative sources of energy (such as wind, power, and solar).
- 4) Assess impacts of land ownership and use of the proposed solutions for housing and environmental impacts.
- 5) Assess mechanisms for cross-border coordinated planning to facilitate integrated multi-country efforts.
- 6) Assess availability of data on displacement at the regional level and identification of mechanisms to fill data gaps by using successful data collection methods in other countries in the Sahel (i.e. Mali) and using methods such as satellite imagery.

- **Operational Activities (in the short term):**

- 1) Expand to Boko Haram-affected populations' initiatives for the integration of internally displaced persons and refugees into local planning, building on experiences with displacement in the region due to other conflicts, focusing primarily in the integration of particularly vulnerable populations (e.g. women, youth and orphans).
- 2) Provide temporary housing or accommodations until a safe and dignified return can be ensured. Such initiatives should also include mitigation risks strategies to avoid conflicts because of land disputes.
- 3) Build on local practices when making plans for sensitizing and involving internally displaced persons and refugees with environmentally sustainable practices.
- 4) Integrate environmentally sustainable practices into other activities, such as ones involving shelter and livelihoods.
- 5) Expand innovative initiatives on environmental amelioration currently implemented in the Lake Chad Region to Boko Haram-affected populations, such as UNHCR's Light Years Ahead Initiative.

- **Operational activities (over the mid to long term):**

- 1) Support local governments in the phased reestablishment of systems for local planning that integrate displaced persons with host communities in a consultative and participatory manner;
- 2) Develop community communication and collaboration platforms and structures.
- 3) Train key stakeholders (e.g., village leaders, religious leaders, and teachers) on conflict resolution, including disputes because of land ownership, counseling, and other life skills.

- 4) Support programs for the improvement and reconstruction of housing in areas of displacement and return.
- 5) Design programs to provide alternative energy sources.
- 6) Implement the Lake Chad Development and Climate Resilience Action Plan, and update it to addresses, among other issues, the environmental, livelihood, and social impacts caused by forced displacement.
- 7) Support afforestation, water, and soil conservation as well as interventions to sustain increased pressures on land, water resources, and forests.
- 8) Strengthen capacity and technical training of relevant ministries.

4.3.2. SERVICE DELIVERY

124. Forced displacement by Boko Haram has exacerbated preconditions of chronic poverty and has deprived service delivery to some of the most vulnerable and underserved areas of the affected countries. For many IDPs and refugees, one of the key preconditions for return is access to services, particularly education. Hence, improving service delivery in both areas of origin and host communities in a sustainable manner will facilitate the return and/or integration of refugees and internally displaced persons while addressing one of the key drivers of conflict. It is also critical to ensure the continuity of service and care provision in the transition from emergency phase, whether the displaced persons end up returning or locally integrating. Suggested interventions include:

- **Analytic activities:**

- 1) Assess current condition of services (e.g., facilities, staffing, and supplies) in areas most affected by displacement and identify gaps.
- 2) Assess gender disparities in access to services among displaced population, in particular to mitigate and prevent SGVB, including a mapping of existing initiatives, partners and actors, and service gaps.
- 3) Assess indirect costs of education (e.g., levies, uniforms) and other demand-side barriers to health and education.
- 4) Complement efforts conducted by humanitarian agencies, assess the psychosocial impacts and needs of the population at the regional level, and conduct a mapping of current active psychosocial support initiatives in the affected areas, identifying capacity gaps and opportunities for scaling up.
- 5) Assess local formal and informal justice system that could potentially be empowered to provide legal assistance and justice to the displaced, address disputes between the displaced and community members, and support social cohesion building.

- **Operational activities (in the short term):**

- 1) Reestablish access to education and health services in areas with high concentrations of displaced people and unconnected settlements by expanding existing successful programming.
- 2) Address gender gaps in service delivery, particularly to specialized services to victims of SGVB.
- 3) Establish safe spaces for vulnerable populations (orphans, girls and women) to access critical services and information key to their development
- 4) Provide support to internally displaced persons and vulnerable populations in host communities to overcome demand-side barriers to services, including indirect costs of education and health services.
- 5) Once conditions for return are in place, facilitate return of teachers and health workers on a voluntary basis, to reestablish service in areas affected by displacement.
- 6) Provide specialized training to service providers on psychosocial support and violence prevention. On this, it is recommended to establish adult education programs, as a way also to address psy-

chosocial issues and develop community-based programs for counseling, treatment, and referral.

- 7) Establish adequate water and sanitation facilities in areas of displacement and as part of the process of return and reintegration.
- 8) Working with humanitarian agencies, facilitate family reunification by conducting family tracking, registration, etc.

- **Operational activities (over the mid to long term):**

- 1) Support the development of national, regional/state, and local development plans to address current and preexisting service delivery gaps in the region for host communities, return areas, and displacement settlements.
- 2) Support the reconstruction of health facilities and schools destroyed in the conflict (particularly in Nigeria) as well as those deteriorated by use as temporary shelters
- 3) Adopt a tiered approach to psychosocial well-being, including a range of services that enhance community, family, and individual resilience.
- 4) Empower local authorities to provide legal services and assistance in displacement affected areas to all affected population.
- 5) Support the development of systematic civil registration system at the local and state level.

4.3.3. ECONOMIC RECOVERY

125. Economic security and creation of livelihood opportunities is a critical and necessary condition for the successful and sustainable solution to displacement. The disproportionately significant impact on basic needs experienced by the displaced often leads to the neglect and postponement of systemic or long-term economic recovery efforts. It is crucial to recognize, however, that economic recovery after displacement has important implications in ensuring the return to self-reliance of the affected population, and underestimating the importance of efforts on economic recovery would increase the cost of forced displacement in the long term and limit affected population's resilience upon return. In the end, self-reliance of displaced persons and integration of these populations into the planning of their own destiny should be the guiding objective of the activities implemented. In addition, the assumption that forced displacement only brings about negative economic impacts limits the opportunity for taking advantage of some of the positive spillovers of forced displacement in host communities. In the Lake Chad Region, economic recovery should consider efforts to restore the regional economy—a critical aspect of building resilience among conflict-affected areas and preventing a relapse into conflict and subsequent displacement—and the creation of income-generating opportunities for the displaced, host, and return communities. Proposed interventions are:

- **Analytic Activities:**

- 1) Identify key investments that can serve as catalysts in the restoration of the regional economy and trade, including transport, policy, and market network assessments.
- 2) Conduct a rigorous analysis of the social and economic impacts of forced displacement in specific areas where the crisis is more acute, complemented by local-level market analyses.
- 3) Assess specific gender gaps in economic opportunities introduced or exacerbated by forced displacement and conduct gender sensitive market assessment to identify areas of trade that present positive prospects for business development and that are sensitive to social and cultural gender norms.
- 4) Assess best practices regarding livelihood efforts conducted by humanitarian and development partners in the Lake Chad region and other displacement-affected areas
- 5) Because of the importance of agro-pastoralism activities in the region, assess policy options for regulating access to natural resources and improving the coexistence of agriculture, livestock, and fisheries in order to improve sustainability.

- **Operational Activities (in the short term):**
 - 1) Provide immediate assistance for the restoration of livelihoods, including ensuring access to training, inputs, micro-finance, and productive land.
 - 2) Support the economic empowerment of women heads of household by facilitating their access to economic opportunities sensitive to local gender norms.
 - 3) Deliver short-term support through the provision of materials and inputs in support of diverse livelihood activities, particularly agro-pastoralism agriculture, complemented by offering skills trainings that take into consideration local market assessments.

- **Operational activities (over the long term):**
 - 1) Support the policy environment to enable more economic growth and the development of the private sector and to support economic growth in deprived regions, notably in livestock and agricultural products.
 - 2) Reconstruct damaged infrastructure and markets that foster regional trade. Such reconstruction strategies can be based on existing strategic frameworks for reconstruction and recovery such as in the case of the Recovery and Peace Building assessment for North East Nigeria and the Lake Chad Action Plan.
 - 3) Develop and support livelihood options based on local economies and support inclusive growth through the targeting of vulnerable groups (e.g., access to land by female heads of household).

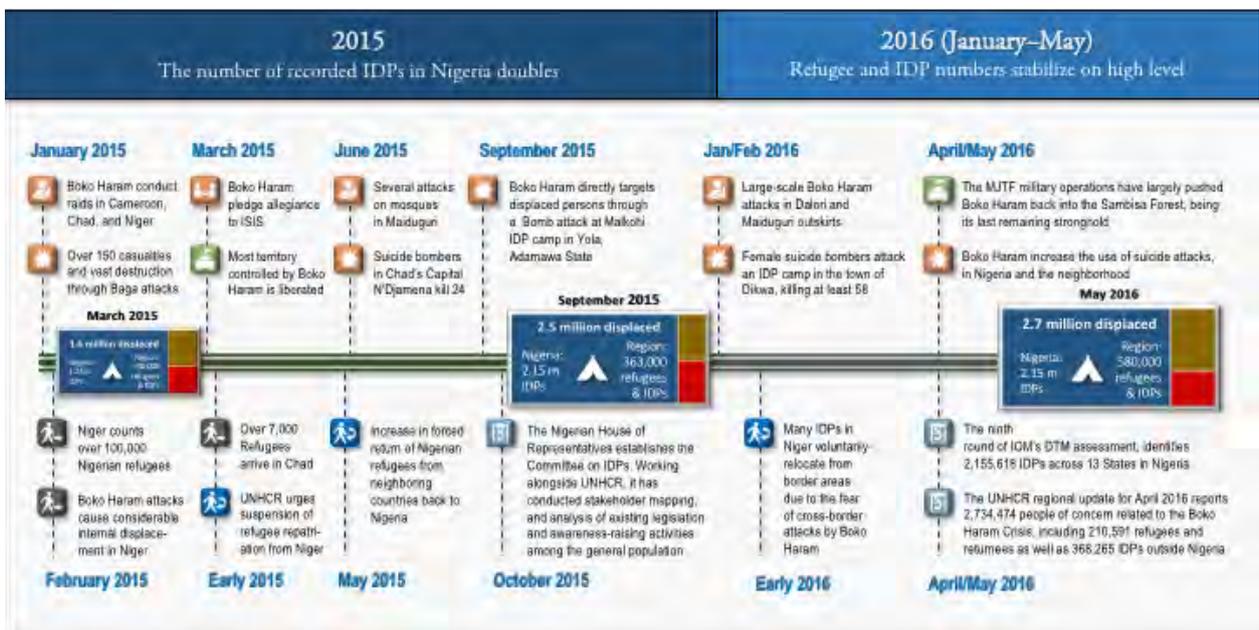
4.4. NEXT STEPS

This assessment provides a common analytical framework and vision upon which operational and programmatic responses to forced displacement in the Lake Chad region can be further developed. As the assessment showed the magnitude of the crisis and the needs resulting from displacement dynamics are various, concern an array of sectors, and require actions at country and regional levels. As such, having this analytical framework will allow a more sound identification of specific programmatic and operational activities at the regional and country level. For that, country and regional-level policy dialogues will be conducted with the objective of identifying priorities, mechanisms and financial instruments and subsequently design specific programmatic and operational initiatives to address forced displacement. These dialogues should involve Governments (both national and local), humanitarian and developmental agencies, and broader stakeholders relevant to the planning and implementation of responses aimed at addressing forced displacement. Given the urgency of the crisis, and the significance of the displacement issue for the stability and mid- to long term development of the Lake Chad region, it is recommended that such country dialogues take place as soon as possible.



APPENDIXES

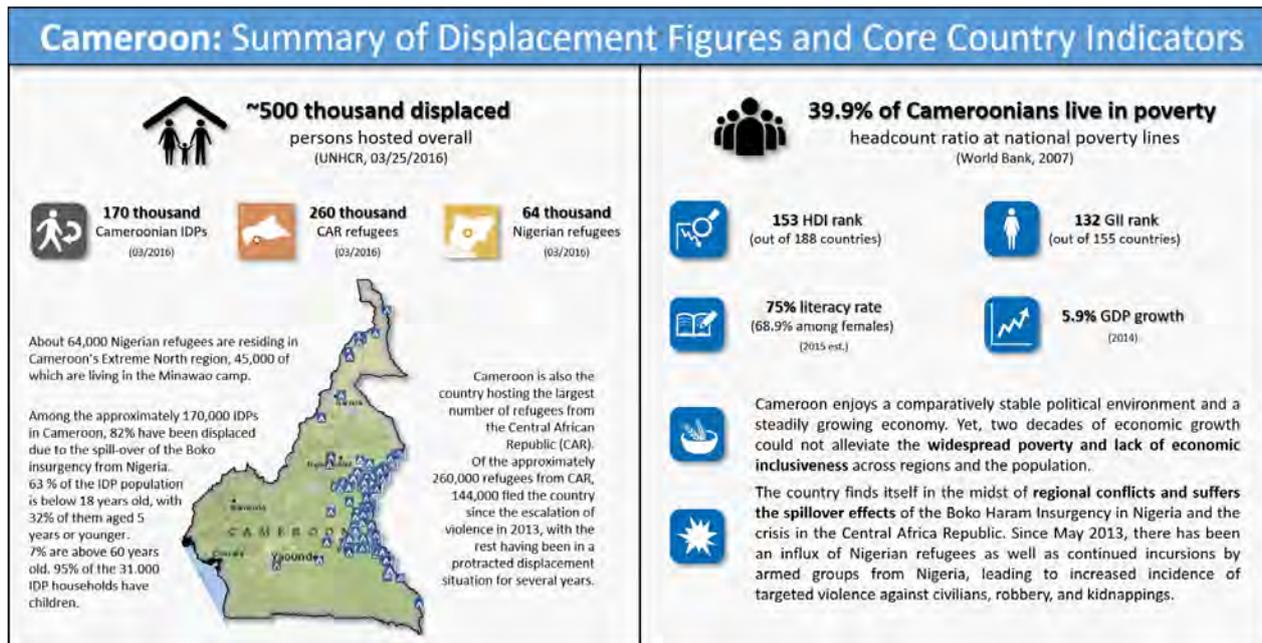
APPENDIX A: TIMELINE OF THE BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY



Source: World Bank.

APPENDIX B: COUNTRY PROFILE

I. CAMEROON



i. Overview of Displacement Situation in Cameroon

1. Compared to the other three Lake Chad Region countries, Cameroon enjoys a comparatively stable political environment and a steadily growing economy. However, two decades of economic growth barely impact either reflects the poverty reduction in the country or the inclusive growth across regions and populations. In addition, despite its domestic political stability, Cameroon finds itself in the midst of regional conflicts and suffers spillover effects from the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria and from the crisis in Central Africa Republic.

2. Because of the continued regional instability, Cameroon has been receiving refugees and asylum-seekers from neighboring countries. For the last fifteen years refugees arriving in Cameroon have primarily come from Chad, the Central African Republic, and Nigeria, with the relative numbers of refugees from each varying depending on the respective conflicts. Since May 2013, there has been an influx of Nigerian refugees as well as continued incursions by armed groups from Nigeria into Cameroon, posing a serious risk for targeted violence, robbery, and kidnapping, and causing widespread trauma and casualties among civilians. As of December 2015, there are more than 65,000 Nigerian refugees residing in the Extreme North region of Cameroon, more than 52,000 of whom are living in Minawao Refugee Camp. Cameroon also hosts the greatest number of Central African refugees. As of December 2015, there were 253,000 Central African refugees in Cameroon, 144,000 of whom had fled the Central African Republic after the escalation of violence in 2014.

3. Of the approximately 190,000 IDPs in Cameroon, 82 percent were displaced because of the insurgency. Among the 169,970 identified IDPs, 63 percent is below 18 years of age, with 32 percent of those age 5 years or younger. In addition, people over 60 years old account for 7 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 31,233 identified IDP households include children.

4. Importantly, the settlement situation among refugees residing in Cameroon vary from nationalities. Some 30 percent of refugees from Central African Republic live in camps, and 70 percent are settled in host communities that share the same natural resources and basic social services with local residents. As for Nigerian refugees in the Extreme North region, however, 80% of them are hosted in camps and about 20% are dwelling outside the camps. Differences in the living conditions of refugees between the two displacement situations are due to the encampment policy taken by the Cameroonian Government to respond to the Boko Haram displacement crisis.

ii. Legal Frameworks for Displacement

5. In July 2005, Cameroon adopted the Law Defining the Legal Framework for Refugee Protection (Law No. 2005/006 of 27), constituted through a decree signed in November 2011 (Decree No. 2011/389 of 28) that addresses the organization and functioning of refugee management bodies and rules of procedure. In 2012, an Eligibility and Appeals Commission was established,⁵² defining a “refugee” in accordance with the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1967 Protocol, and the 1969 Organisation of African Unity Convention. The 2005 law was promulgated to specifically manage refugee populations, replacing the application of domestic immigration laws to refugees, under which they are treated simply as non-nationals with no specific protections, including against refoulement (Mbua 2015). Although the 2005 law has been constituted through a decree, law enforcement officers who are unaware of the refugee law routinely send refugees back across the border under the guise of protecting national security.

6. Chapter II of the 2005 Legal Framework outlines provisions applicable to asylum seekers, affirming that no persons will be turned away from the border or compelled to return to a territory where their lives are in danger and that they may submit a petition for asylum in accordance with the law (Article 7). Chapter II also requires asylum applicants to submit a detailed petition within 15 days of arrival and authorities to keep detailed records of applicant petitions during the course of the investigation. After the applicant submits a petition, he or she is provided two nonrenewable months of safe passage while the eligibility committee assesses the petition. Article 10 of the Legal Framework notes that whether or not refugees obtain professional employment, officially recognized refugees are to be comparably treated to country nationals, without exemption from taxes and fees, and with related social benefits from the state. While the 2005 Legal Framework endorses the legal definition of refugee stated in the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1967 protocol and the 1969 African Union Refugee Convention, human rights for refugees recognized in the legal framework can only be granted after review of Eligibility Committee on a case to case basis. In fact, these rights cannot benefit refugees *prima facie*. As a result, this legal framework is not adopted by relevant institutions and no national identity is granted to refugees, which further limits the possibility of refugees to claim for their rights.

7. Other domestic legal instruments that Cameroon has instituted for the management of refugees include:

- *Law No. 97/012, January 10, 1997, on the entry, stay, and exit of foreigners in Cameroon.* Chapter IV of this Law on the Living Conditions of Aliens and Residence Permits relays guidelines on refugees and refugee cards under Division IV, Article 7.
- *Decree No. 2007/255/PM, September 4, 2007.* The decree lays down detailed rules of Law No. 97/012 on the entry, stay, and exit of foreigners in Cameroon. It distinguishes foreigners as temporary visitors, foreigners on a brief stays, and resident foreigners.
- *Decree No. 2011/389 November 28, 2011.* This decree addresses the organization and operation of the status of the management bodies of refugees in Cameroon. It calls for the establishment of an eligibility commission for refugees in addition to an appeal board. A representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) may attend proceedings in an advisory capacity.
- *Order No. 269 of March 13, 2014.* The order establishes an ad hoc interministerial committee responsible for managing emergencies regarding refugees in Cameroon.

8. With regard to IDPs, while the country has not formally signed the Kampala Convention, it has published the *Decree of Adhesion to the African Union Convention on the Protection and Assistance on IDPs (2014/610)*, which demonstrates a commitment to the Kampala Convention but does not specifically commit to its ratification.⁵³ The decree states that the country has acceded to the convention and that the present decree shall be registered and published according to emergency procedures.

52 “Apart from enacting a Law on the Status of Refugees in 2005, Decree No 2011/389 of 28 November 2011 on the Organization and Functioning of Refugee Status Management Organs; Arrete No 0013/DIPL/CAB of 06 August 2012 Constituting the Composition of the Refugee Status Eligibility Commission; and Arrete No 014/DIPL/CAB of 06 August 2012 Notifying the Composition of the Refugee Appeals Commission were passed” (Claire and Pauli 2015).

53 Based on data from IDMC database, IDP Laws and Policies, accessed March 2016, <http://www.internal-displacement.org/law-and-policy/country/CM>.

iii. Institutional Assessment for Displacement

9. Four main institutions manage the rights and protections of refugees in Cameroon: the National Commission on Human Rights and Freedoms (NCHR), the Commission of Eligibility for the Status of Refugees, the Commission for Appeals, and the ad hoc inter-ministerial committee responsible for managing emergencies on refugees. The NCHR was created in 1990 by Presidential Decree No. 90/1459 (HRW 2001; Afuh 2013) with the mandate of protecting “the rights of all persons in the territory of the Republic of Cameroon, including refugees;” it includes a protection and a promotion unit for sensitization campaigns and workshops on human rights.⁵⁴ However, the commission’s authorizing agency is weak and lacks binding power. It can only make recommendations to other institutions and agencies (HRW 2001).

10. As previously mentioned, Decree No. 2011/389 of November 28, 2011, on the organization and operation of the status of the management bodies for refugees in Cameroon led to the establishment of the Commission of Eligibility and Appeals, while Order No. 269 of March 13, 2014, led to the establishment of an ad hoc inter-ministerial committee responsible for managing refugee emergencies. Both commissions are essentially nonoperational, with UNHCR taking on the majority of their responsibilities (Afuh 2013). While it is not involved in determining refugee status, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MINREX) has been active in working with other relevant line ministries to support the provision of services to refugees, such as health, education, shelter, and nutrition. (Afuh 2013).

11. While Cameroon has not ratified the Kampala Convention, the country’s constitution does specify that “freedom and security shall be guaranteed to each individual subject to respect for the rights of others and the higher interests of the State.” Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization (MINATD) is responsible for activities related to internal migration in the country, supervising administrative authorities, including governors and divisional and subdivisional officers. It also coordinates the committee in charge of receiving and channeling goods to be distributed to IDPs. The Department of Civil Protection within the ministry works to prevent and react to natural disasters that lead to displacement, such as floods. Together with the United Nations Development Programme, they are drawing early warning plans for the Far North and East regions. However, neither the ministry itself nor the authorities managing the periphery have resources dedicated to the management of and service provision to IDPs; this is based on international support and local good-will mobilization.

12. Current security concerns have made access to IDPs or refugees more difficult for international organizations. As a result, administrative authorities or local nongovernmental organizations serve as liaisons between the IDPs/refugees and international organizations, leading to an efficiency lag in the delivery of assistance.⁵⁵ Generally, the government is seen as providing support in the provision of funding for some basic services and an authorizing environment for displaced persons, but UNHCR and other international agencies are taking the lead—especially pertaining to IDPs (US State Department). Overall, inadequate funding, poor communication, unfriendly terrain, and host community unpreparedness have been identified as limitations to effective management of internally displaced populations.

iv. Development-Related Provisions

13. Chapter III on the Rights and Obligations of Refugees as defined by the 2005 Legal Framework, allots people with refugee status the following rights, according to Article 9 of the legal framework: (i) nondiscrimination, (ii) the right to freely practice religion, (iii) the right to property, (iv) freedom of association, (v) the right to sue, (vi) the right to work, (vii) the right to education, (viii) the right to housing, (ix) the right to social and public assistance, (x) freedom of movement, (xi) the right to obtain identity documents and travel documents, (xii) the right to the transfer of assets, and (xiii) the right to naturalization. Article 9 states that all fundamental rights and provisions in Parts II, III, IV, and V of the Geneva Convention relative to the Refugees of July 28, 1951, and the Organisation of African Unity on Refugees of September 10, 1969, apply to refugees regularly settling in Cameroon within the limits of rights granted to nationals. As such, the law remains silent on water and sanitation. Regarding IDPs, however, as previously mentioned, the country has not formally signed the Kampala Convention or formally committed to any other domestic legal instrument that would require the provision of basic services to IDPs.

54 Interview with Victor SINSAL, Protection Unit, NCHRF, March 20, 2013 (Afuh 2013.).

55 Claude Mbowou, Institut pour la Gouvernance en Afrique Centrale (IGAC), April 7, 2016.

v. Innovative Interventions

14. UNHCR operational programming is already aligned with the government's vision and strategic direction. Once the government's community development plans are finalized, UNHCR activities and sectoral strategies will contribute to fill the gaps identified in them. The main areas that the revised plans (*Plan de Soutien*) will update include health, education, livelihoods, infrastructure, social services, and support to local authorities.

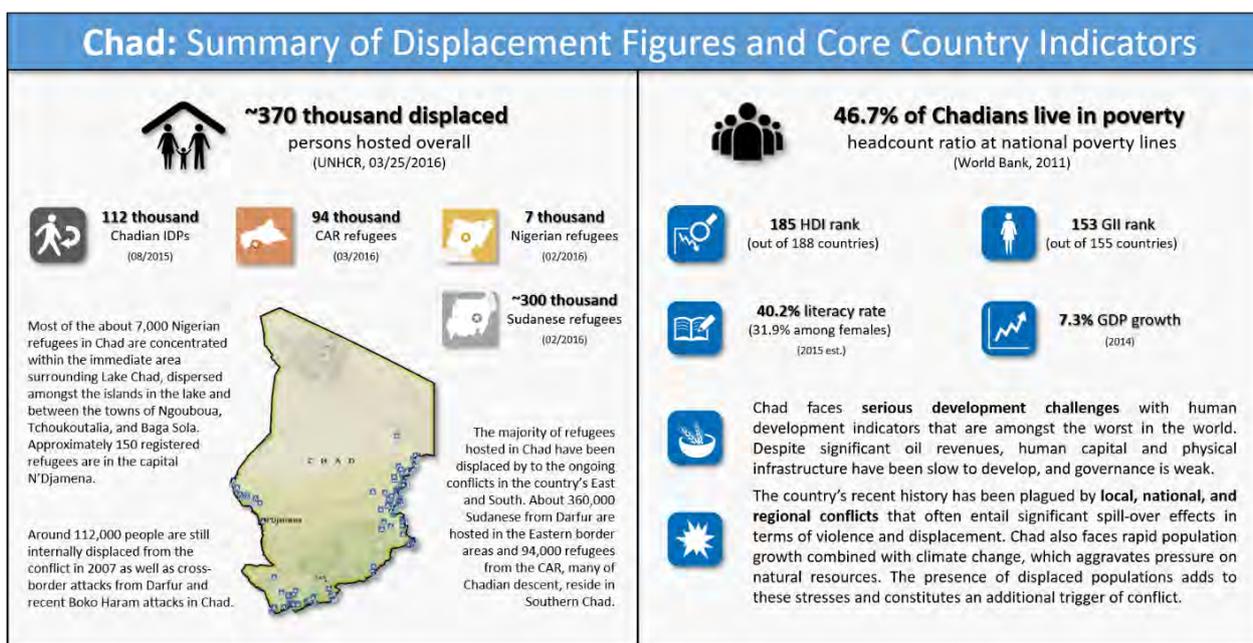
15. In Cameroon, Nigerian refugees fleeing Boko Haram violence are mostly hosted in Minawao Refugee Camp and are expected to eventually return to Nigeria. As for Boko Haram displaced Cameroonian IDPs, assistance provided should be mainstreamed into the local develop plan, following the best practices of UNHCR CAR refugee assistance model where intervention was integrated into the local develop plan, with a special focus on livelihoods and service delivery. UNHCR and the government have also invested in a 28-kilometer pipeline and distribution network⁵⁶ to bring water from a reservoir near the town of Mokolo to Minawao Refugee Camp. This will benefit some 150,000 locals in villages along the route. (See Box A.1 for details.) UNHCR has also engaged in a tree-planting campaign with the government to mitigate the effects of firewood-related tree cutting.

BOX A.1

Cameroon: Access to Water in Minawao Refugee Camp and Local Communities

Water supply is a crucial problem in the Minawao Refugee Camp, as because the camp is overcrowded and cholera might break out can easily break out, especially in during the rainy reason. Insufficient water supply also negatively impacts agricultural income- generating activities. Through a consultative process with the government and partners, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the government have invested in a 28- kilometer pipeline and distribution network to bring water from a reservoir near the town of Mokolo to the Minawao Refugee Camp. This will also benefit some 150,000 locals in villages along the route. Prior to the construction of the pipeline, some 21 boreholes provided barely enough water to provide 14 liters per person per day in the camps compared to the recommended 20 liters per day. Clean water will also help prevent or contain the outbreak of diseases common in to the remote region.

II. CHAD



⁵⁶ As of April 2016, the Mokolo-Minawao pipeline was estimated to be 45 percent complete. The trenching on the main line was in progress (94 percent achievement), and work trenches inside the camp were estimated to be 32 percent complete. Primary resources from UNHCR Cameroon Operations, April 2016.

i. Overview of Displacement Situation in Chad

16. Chad is a large, landlocked, poor country that faces serious development challenges. Its Country Partnership Framework for 2016–20 recognizes security and humanitarian issues as among the risks facing the overall programming in the country. The framework has made “building human capital and reducing vulnerability” one of its key objectives, noting that that a fuller understanding of the social and poverty impacts of forced displacement represents a knowledge gap that needs to be addressed. The Systematic Country Diagnostic for Chad, on which the present note draws, highlights the fragility of the country, its propensity to violent conflict, and the fact that it is significantly affected by forced displacement.

17. Part of the reason that Chad is so affected by forced displacement is due to refugees from the conflict in neighboring Sudan and the Central African Republic. Chad now hosts around 475,000 refugees, including 360,000 Sudanese; 94,000 Central Africans (many of Chadian descent); and around 18,000 Nigerians. The refugee population comprises over 4 percent of the population, the third highest level in the world according to UNHCR. In addition, around 85,000 people are still internally displaced from the conflict in 2007, subsequent cross-border attacks from Darfur, and recent Boko Haram attacks. The protracted presence of refugees and IDPs creates severe humanitarian and social cohesion challenges (World Bank 2015a; Médecines Sans Frontières 2015). Thousands of Chadian returnees who fled fighting in the Central African Republic remain displaced. In mid-September 2014, there were more than 113,000 such returnees, of which 73,000 were still living in appalling conditions in transit and temporary sites (IOM 2014).

18. An upturn in the influx of refugees from Nigeria dates from early 2015, when Boko Haram intensified its attacks in the North East Nigeria. Some 15,000 fled into the country following the Baga massacre in early January. During January 2015, 1,000 refugees were arriving from Nigeria per day, along with Chad returnees and Cameroonians. Most of the Nigerian refugees are concentrated in Dar es Salaam refugee camp. Only about 150 refugees registered by UNHCR are in N'Djamena, while close to 7,000 refugees are dispersed among the islands of the lake, and the rest between the towns of Ngouboua, Tchoukoutalia, and Baga Sola. In addition, forced evacuation of people living on Lake islands by Chadian military in April and May 2015 created some ad hoc 64,000 IDPs, some of which remain displaced in the region as military counter-insurgent activities on Lake islands continue.

ii. Legal Frameworks for Displacement

19. Chad does not currently have a specific comprehensive law in force dealing with refugees or IDPs. A law has been in the project phase for several years without progress toward adoption (UN CERD 2009). The government has been working with UNHCR and other partners on two draft laws since 2013—one to address IDPs and another to address asylum requests. While the law regarding the internally displaced is currently under review, there is little information on the status of the asylum law or whether it is ready to be introduced before Chad's National Assembly for approval (Nombi 2013). In the interim, the government has created a commission whose mission, in addition to working with UNHCR to determine the status of refugees, is to identify the needs of refugees and IDPs and to distribute funds earmarked for these communities.

Legal Instrument	Analysis
Ordonnance 33/PG.-INT. du 14 août 1962 code de la nationalité tchadienne	This ordinance constitutes the nationality law of Chad. It permits Chadian citizenship for those born in Chad both for foreign parents and parents of unknown origin.
Décret 63-211 1963-11-06 PG. INT Décret portant application du Code de la nationalité tchadienne	This decree further builds on the 1963 nationality code above, laying out more detailed regulations on the procedure for acquisition and/or declining of Chadian citizenship.
Décret 11-839 2011-08-02/PR/PM/MAT/11 Décret portant création, organisation et attributions de la Commission Nationale d'Accueil, de Réinsertion des Réfugiés et des Rapatriés (CNARR)	This decree focuses on the set up and areas of focus for the National Commission on the Welcoming and Resettlement of Refugees and Returnees (CNARR). The decree specifically mentions IDPs as being one of the target constituencies that the commission seeks to protect.
Loi 10-026 2010-11-24 PR Loi autorisant le Président de la République à ratifier la Convention de l'Union Africaine sur la Protection et l'Assistance aux Personnes Déplacées en Afrique	This law domesticates the Kampala Convention, but does not go into detail on specific plans for the creation of accompanying national legislation.

20. The Multi-Sector Recovery Programme for Eastern Chad (also known as PGRET) was approved in 2010. Partnering with the United Nations Development Programme, it sought to meet the needs of IDPs with funding from the government (Government of Chad 2012). The program is viewed as a positive step, but is in need of greater financing and more state representatives in different regions of the country in order to meet its targets (Oxfam 2012).

iii. Institutional Assessment for Displacement

21. The key institutions that manage refugees and IDPs in Chad are the National Coordination and Support Body for Humanitarian Activities (CONSAHDIS), the integrated security unit (Détachement intégré de sécurité or DIS), and the National Commission for Refugee and Returnee Assistance (CNARR) (Government of Chad 2012).

22. CONSAHDIS has a broad mandate that includes the management of refugee sites and oversight of DIS activities, but it lacks funding and is understaffed (Oxfam 2012). CNARR does successfully work in partnership with UNHCR to register refugees, although this capacity was challenged in 2015 in the aftermath of the Borno attacks and sudden large influx of refugees (UNHCR 2015b).

23. DIS was established prior to the current Boko Haram crisis during the influx of refugees from Sudan and the Central African Republic in the mid-2000s. After the withdrawal of the United Nations Mission to the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT) in 2010, DIS had some difficulty meeting the security needs of the local populations in the absence of MINURCAT support. In response, the United Nations Development Programme and UNHCR set up a joint program to support DIS and by extension CONSAHDIS to strengthen and build the capacity of both institutions. This program, however, has had little effect due to a lack of funding (UNHCR 2015b). The government proposed an initiative in 2012 to further strengthen DIS (UNHCR 2015b), but it is not clear what, if any, specific actions have been taken in support of it.

24. The government established two bodies to address the needs of IDPs in 2007 and 2008: a national committee to assist IDPs (Comité national d'assistance aux personnes déplacées, CNAPD) and a coordinating body (Coordination nationale d'appui à la force internationale au Tchad, CONAFIT), respectively (Pagot and Wissing 2014). CONAFIT is specifically aimed at coordinating the activities of the United Nations mission to the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT) with other humanitarian organizations. Both had a limited impact due to a lack of staff and resources to meet their respective mandates (Pagot and Wissing 2014).

25. Chad ended its 2012 IDP statute that distinguished between IDPs and host populations in the aftermath of national conflict in Eastern Chad. This change has primarily meant that without the official designation of IDPs, many of the displaced no longer receive direct assistance from the government (Pagot and Wissing 2014). In addition, there continues to be serious concerns regarding the safety of women, young girls, and general violence in and around camp areas (UN CERD 2009). There are reports that it is still very difficult for refugees, displaced persons, and asylum seekers to access public services, such as education, health, the justice system, and the civil registry. There is also documented discrimination against Sudanese and Central African refugees, particularly with regard to the registration of births (UN CERD 2009).

iv. Development-Related Provisions

26. In the absence of a single comprehensive law, the Chadian legal framework has some provisions for the development-related rights of refugees and IDPs in several pieces of domestic legislation. The domestic legislation is silent on property rights as it pertains to the rights to land, property ownership, and settlement of disputes for refugees and IDPs. It is also silent about water and sanitation. Regarding freedom of movement, however, Article 6 of the 1997 decree on the issuance of diplomatic passports and refugee travel documents allows for travel documents to be issued where a refugee has received an official status determination from the country's commission on refugee status determination—CNARR.

27. The domestic legislation that addresses the right to work does not mention refugees or IDPs specifically, but in reference to the employment of foreigner workers ensures nondiscrimination in hiring, payment, and promotion (Article 6 of the Labor Code), and generally bars employment of foreigners who do not have a residency card or *carte de séjour* (Article 22 of the law regulating the admission of foreigners to Chad). Finally, Chadian law does not explicitly echo its international obligations to provide health services, access to education, and housing, but it has tasked a subcommittee of CNARR with disbursing aid related to health,

education, and housing for refugees and IDPs in an order creating a committee for the aid of Sudanese refugees in Chad.

v. Innovative Interventions

28. In Chad, UNHCR has developed sustainable solutions to handle caseloads of refugees from Sudan and the Central African Republic in the East of the country. Some of these interventions can be replicated with the Nigerian refugee and IDP crisis around the lake, although it should be noted that lessons learned from UNHCR's programs in the East highlight the heterogeneity of camps characteristics and the need for a differentiated approach. A UNHCR study to explore sustainable renewable energy solutions for water production in Eastern Chad proposes the design of a main solar pumping system without energy storage along with hybrid (wind turbines or diesel) and photovoltaic systems. In addition, Box A.2 introduces an FAO initiative regarding safe access to fuel and energy in Chad and Nigeria. UNHCR has also worked with the Ministry of Education to train refugee teachers to teach in camps. Initially, the curriculum in the East was to remain Anglophone and Sudanese, but in 2014 the Ministry of Education decided to impose a francophone Chadian curriculum on all schools welcoming refugees and IDPs. The language/curriculum issue will need to be tackled with English-speaking Nigerian refugees, but working with refugee teachers has proven an efficient way to provide education services to refugees and IDPs.

BOX A.2.

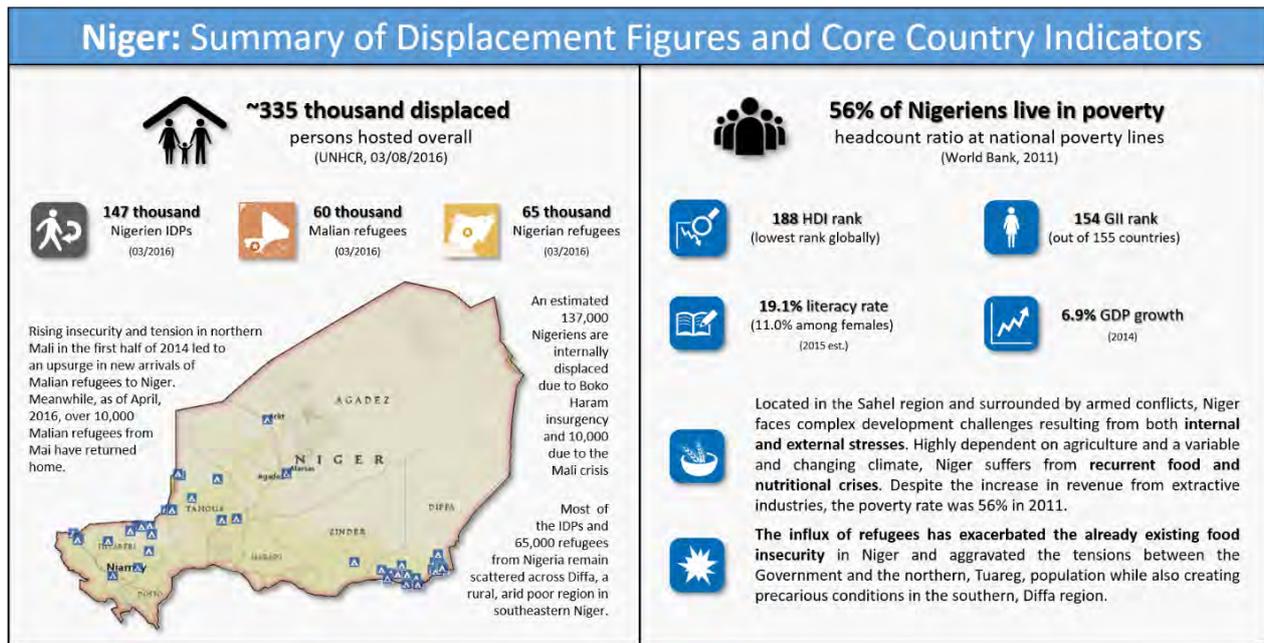
Chad and Nigeria: FAO Safe Access to Fuel and Energy (SAFE) in Chad and Nigeria

As an inter-disciplinary approach to address the multi-sectoral challenges associated with energy access in emergencies, the FAO SAFE approach seeks to: ensure a sustainable and reliable supply of energy; , reduce the demand for energy (e.g., wood fuel wood and “coping fuels”);), and promote sustainable livelihoods, and supports the diversification of livelihood activities.

Practically, the approach involves the provision and/or production of fuel-efficient stoves and alternative fuels; investments in sustainable natural resources for fuel; and promotion of livelihood activities that rely less on the collection, production, and selling of wood fuel. This approach is applied to counter environmental degradation resulting from the collection and production of wood fuel, and to reduce the exposure of women who collect fuel wood to gender-based violence as well as other protection risks.

29. In addition, owing to a reduction in resources to deliver food assistance globally, the World Food Programme, UNHCR, and CNARR opted to categorize all households into different socioeconomic groups of wealth in order to provide programmatic responses appropriate to their specific needs. In 2014–15, the joint team designed a targeting methodology through a consultative process of technical experts and with the refugee community. The methodology uses mixed methods starting with a qualitative community-based approach (Household Economy Approach, HEA) and complemented with quantitative household surveys. The quantitative Multi-sectoral Vulnerability Survey (EMV) was designed to develop wealth-level criteria; identify the proportions of each socioeconomic category in each camp; define a statistical model for the wealth groups (*very poor*, *poor*, *average*, and *wealthy*); establish basic indicators for targeting; and describe the socioeconomic situation to better understand the causes and thus define the opportunities for intervention in the camps and their surroundings. Implementation of the targeting process requires joint coordination, involving CNARR, the World Food Programme, and UNHCR through steering structures both at the national level with the task force and at the regional, local, and camp levels with the *field task force*.

III. NIGER



i. Overview of the Displacement Situation in Niger

30. Located in the Sahel region and surrounded by armed conflicts, Niger faces complex development challenges resulting from internal and external factors. Highly dependent on agriculture and with a variable and changing climate, Niger suffers from recurrent food and nutritional crises. Despite the increase in revenue from extractive industries, the poverty rate was 56 percent in 2011 (preliminary World Bank estimate). The humanitarian and development situation in Niger, especially the Diffa Region, must now be analyzed in terms of the prevailing security dimensions. The continuing deterioration of the security situation is having serious negative effects on the economy in the Diffa Region and is reducing the absorption capacity of the host populations and the capacity of displaced populations to support themselves. The fertile zones for agricultural activities have seen their populations displaced (Lake Chad and towns along the Komadougou River), and many of the former host populations are now themselves internally displaced.

31. The Niger Country Partnership Strategy for fiscal 2013–16 recognize the impact of refugees from neighboring Sahelian countries. Refugees in Niger mainly originate from Mali and Nigeria. In northern Mali, after a short period of calm, rising insecurity and tensions in the first half of 2014 led to an upsurge in new arrivals of Malian refugees to Niger. Meanwhile, as of April 19, 2016, more than 10,309 Malian refugees living in Niger have returned home. As a result, Niger is currently hosting approximately 64,000 Malian refugees. The deteriorating security situation in North-East Nigeria, meanwhile, has caused vast population movements into Niger, including refugees from Nigeria and citizens of Niger who were living in Nigeria and have returned. Most Nigerian refugees remain scattered across Diffa, a poor, arid, rural region in southeastern Niger. As of May 12, 2016, 241,256 displaced people were registered in the Diffa Region: 82,524 refugees; 31,524 returnees; and 127,208 IDPs. In November 2014, a World Food Programme vulnerability survey revealed that 53 percent of households in Diffa were experiencing food insecurity.

32. In addition, it is estimated that over 140,000 Nigeriens are internally displaced due to the Boko Haram insurgency. A study commissioned by UNHCR and conducted by the University of Niamey Faculty of Law has established that 82 percent of the population in the Diffa Region does not possess any documentation that could help them establish their nationality. Forcibly displaced persons in the Diffa Region are no exception. In this context, risks of statelessness are high, with forcibly displaced persons being either refugees from Nigeria, Niger citizens returning from Boko Haram-affected areas in Nigeria, or Nigerian nationals internally displaced in the region. Lack of documentation has been identified as a major protection issue, along with access to education and justice.

33. To date, UNHCR has established one refugee camp and one IDP camp in the Diffa Region to respond to the Boko Haram-induced displacement.

ii. Legal Frameworks for Displacement

34. Niger is party to both the 1951 Refugees Convention and its 1967 protocol, and to the African Union 1969 Refugee Convention specific to the refugee problem in Africa. Niger has also domesticated these instruments, as shown in the table below. As a result, the National Eligibility Committee is responsible for adjudicating asylum claims and making decisions about the same. An appeal body exists, and the General Directorate for Civil Status and Refugees is in charge of ensuring administrative protection to refugees and asylum seekers as well as playing the secretarial role for the National Eligibility Committee.

35. The domestic refugee legal framework is composed of the following texts:

Legal Instrument	Analysis
Loi N° 97-016 du 20 juin 1997 relative au statut des réfugiés	The main piece of legislation on refugees, this law outlines the definition of a refugee, the process for refugee status determination, circumstances under which the designation may change, and the right to nonrefoulement.
Décret No. 98-382/PRN/MI/AT du 24 Décembre 1998 déterminant les modalités d'application de la Loi No. 97-016 du 1997 portant statut des réfugiés	This decree includes implementing provisions that govern which stakeholders are involved in refugee status determinations as well as the format in which a status demand must be made.
L'arrêté N° 208/MI/AT/SP/CNE du 14 juillet 2000, portant règlement intérieur de la commission nationale d'éligibilité au statut des réfugiés	This details the establishment and membership of the National Commission for Refugee Status Eligibility (CNE).
l'Arrêté n° 127/MI/D/DEC-R du 28 mars 2006, portant création, attributions et fonctionnement d'un Comité de Recours Gracieux (CRG)	This creates a committee within the Ministry of Interior to provide an administrative appeals process to review refugee status determinations of the CNE.
L'arrêté N° 142/MI/SP/D/AR/DEC-R accordant le bénéfice du statut d réfugiés prima facies au Niger, aux Maliens victimes du conflit arme du Nord Mali	This grants prima facie status to persons fleeing the 2012 armed conflict in North Mali.
L'arrêté N° 806/MI/SP/D/AC/R/DEC-R du 04 Décembre 2013accorde les ressortissants du Nord-Est du Nigeria le statut de réfugié temporaire	This order permits Nigerian refugees from North-East Nigeria to be granted temporary protection status in Niger.
L'arrêté N° 072/GR/DA du 10 Juillet 2014 portant création, composition et attributions, du Comité Régional de Coordination et de gestion des réfugiés et retournes de la région de Diffa	This provides for the creation and staffing of a committee to manage specific refugee flows in Diffa, which borders the northeastern region of Nigeria that is heavily affected by Boko Haram.

36. Niger is party to the Kampala Convention, but has yet to domesticate it. Preliminary discussions are underway for the domestication of the convention and authorities have indicated willingness to improve the legal framework on IDPs, especially in light of the situation in the Diffa Region.

37. Niger is also signatory of both the 1954 and the 1961 conventions on statelessness. Efforts to align domestic legislation with the provisions of both conventions are underway, with an ongoing review of the domestic legislation on nationality and civil status registration.

iii. Institutional Assessment for Displacement

38. A few key institutions manage the refugee populations in Niger: the National Eligibility Committee (CNE) and the Appeal Committee are responsible to address first instance asylum claims and appeals, respectively. There is also a secretariat within the Direction Generale de l'Etat Civil et des Réfugiés that prepares asylum requests for the CNE and le Comité de Recours Gracieux (CRG) (UN CERD 2013). These institutions each work closely with UNHCR to process status determinations for refugees and to build the capacity of the government to generate fairer and improved quality decisions. Due to the uneven impact across regions, regional governments such as those in Diffa are also key partners to the national government and international nongovernmental organizations (UNHCR 2016e).

39. The government has affirmed both in national legislation and at representations to the CERD that refugees are to be treated equally under the law with respect to all rights: property ownership, security, access to the courts, access to basic services, and freedom of expression and movement (UN CERD 2013). The CNE issues multiple types of documentation to refugees as needed, including local identification documents and travel documents (UNHCR 2016c). Elsewhere, it has worked with UNHCR to provide drinking water and latrines to refugees in camps (Campbell 2015). In the one refugee camp and one IDP camp in Diffa, women

have an active role in social campaigns aimed at camp residents and facilitated by national nongovernmental organizations, and both men and women engage in a variety of paid work in agriculture and manual labor (UNHCR 2016f). Generally speaking, all those displaced in the Diffa Region live next to or in a mixed situation, mainly within host communities. A very limited number of refugees and IDPs live in Sayam-forage refugee camps or in the Kablewa IDP camp, respectively. However, the government has recently been showing some indications to move toward a relatively strict encampment policy, mainly for security reasons. This represents a shift in position from the initial out-of-camp policy in the Diffa Region, which has been applied in Malian refugee-hosted areas with success, leading to the creation of so-called *Zones d'Accueil des Réfugiés*.

iv. Development-Related Provisions

40. Niger's law on the status of refugees is the main source of recognition of the development-related rights of refugees. Article 10 of the law ensures the equal treatment of refugees in the protection of property; freedom of movement; and access to health, education, and housing. Elsewhere, the Labor Code prohibits discrimination on the basis of nationality in hiring, and Décret n° 87-076/PCMS/MI/MAE/C of June 18, 1987, permits foreigners to be contracted for employment provided that the contract is approved by the Ministry of Labor.

v. Innovative Interventions

41. In 2015, UNHCR launched the SEED project in partnership with the Societe Nigerienne des Hydrocarbures (SONIHY) to provide access to cooking gas for up to 170,000 people in camps and in host communities. The program was developed with the Ministry of Energy and Petroleum. UNHCR provided the initial capital to SOHINY to create a customer base by subsidizing consumers with the initial fixed costs of purchase of the gas cylinder—a sizeable cost for the population (about 24,000 CFA franc)—and six months' worth of gas. After six months, the subsidization ends, and the population will be required to pay 100 percent of the costs. Program monitoring shows that households save about 11,000 CFA franc on average per month and this add up to some 300 hectares of forest saved per month in Diffa (UNHCR 2015c). UNHCR is also active in the Diffa Region in urban planning; it has established a scheme to develop over 3,000 “social parcels” in urban settings for vulnerable beneficiaries (host communities and IDPs).

42. In addition, since 2013, the Nigerien authorities through the Regional Directorate for Civil Status and Refugees (DREC-R) and UNHCR have together faced major difficulties in the registration and documentation of the population fleeing North-East Nigeria who have found refuge in the Diffa Region. Numerous registration exercises have been and continue to be carried out by the directorate in the region, but the results are incomplete and largely quantitative due to the lack of material and human resources as well as the lack of a technical solution adapted to the dynamic and complex situation. In response, during the UNHCR Country Operation Plan 2017–18 (Niamey, March 2016), the creation of a reliable operational database, created through a widespread biometric registration exercise, emerged as a key priority for a large number of actors presented trying to respond to displacement situation (mainly central authorities and local elected). The database will be created through the implementation of a biometric registration exercise for the entire population of the Diffa Region. It will be directly managed by the relevant competent authorities at the regional level in Diffa, will serve as the common tool for the monitoring of population movements on Nigerien territory, and assistance will be delivered to those affected by the crisis by the Nigerien authorities and by the broader humanitarian community. In addition to UNHCR, other humanitarian actors are also active on the ground, responding to displacement emergency in Niger. Box A.3 outlines the World Food Programme operations in Niger.

BOX A.3.

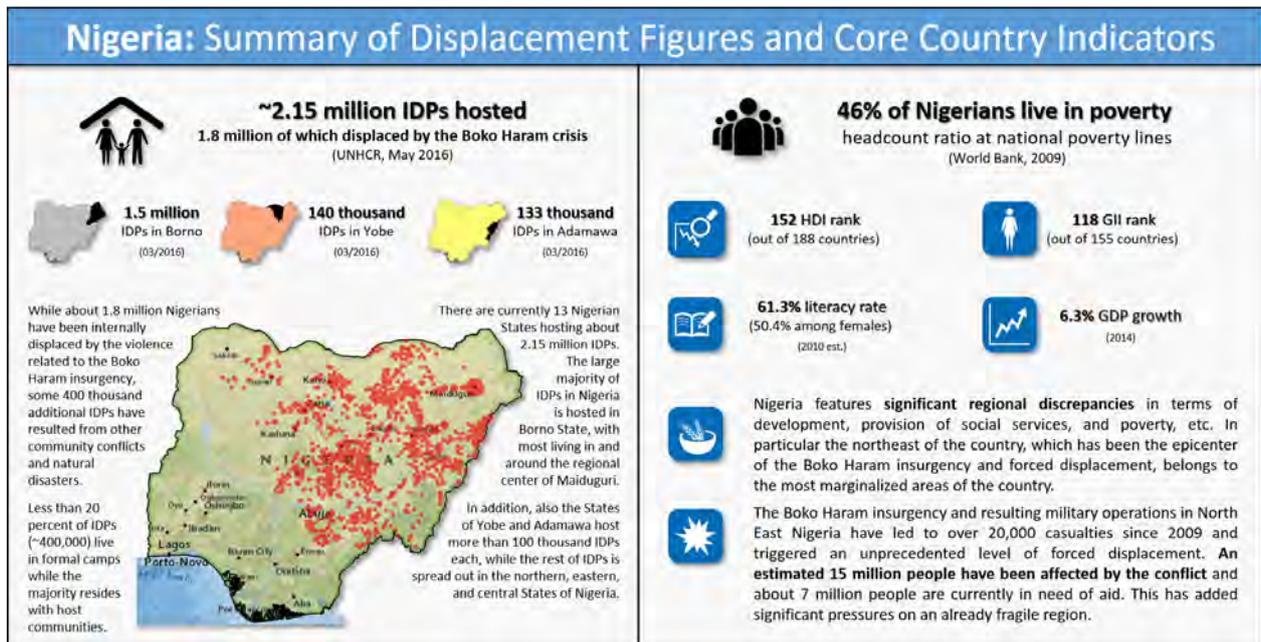
Niger World Food Programme Operations in Niger

The World Food Programme (WFP) is one of the most important humanitarian actors in Niger to respond to the displacement crisis. Under a flexible regional Emergency Operation (EMOP), the World Food Programme is not only actively addressing the food and nutrition needs of households (with a special focus on children 6-59 months) displaced by the conflict in Mali, but also responding to the increasing number of Nigerian refugees, displaced (returnees and IDPs) and host populations affected by the Boko Haram insurgency in North East Nigeria. In the Diffa region, the World Food Programme and partners have provided humanitarian assistance to 120,000 refugees and displaced population as well as host communities through different modalities (such as unconditional assistance, cash-based transfers, food assistance for assets, etc.)

Source: The World Food Programme. Niger Country Brief. March, WFP 2016.

IV. NIGERIA

i. Overview of Displacement Situation in Nigeria



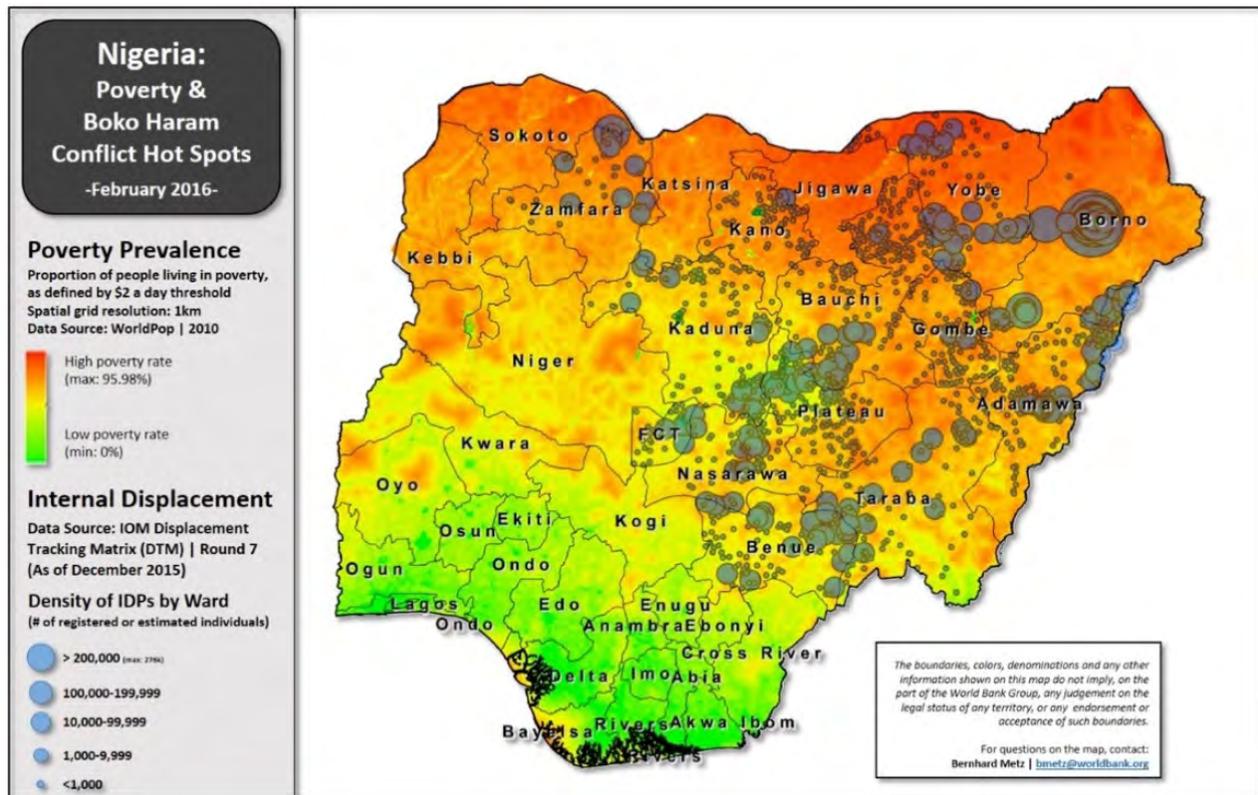
43. The Boko Haram conflict and the resulting military operations in North-East Nigeria since 2009 have triggered an unprecedented level of forced displacement in Nigeria and the Lake Chad Region. According to the IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) Round VIII, 2.2 million individuals and 334,608 households are internally displaced, with 1.9 million Nigerians becoming internally displaced as a direct result of the conflict with Boko Haram. As conflict-affected states such as Borno State gradually become more accessible, a rise in the number of IDPs identified in the country is predicted. In addition, because of the regional dimension of Boko Haram activities, the neighboring countries of Cameroon, Niger, and Chad have absorbed over 210,000 Boko Haram-induced Nigerian refugees, not to mention the returnees.

44. Among the 2.2 million identified IDPs nationally, 53 percent are women and 55 percent are children under 18 years old. Children under age 18 constitute 55 percent of the internally displaced population; more than half are five years old or younger (IOM 2016). As such, women, children, and youth bear the brunt of forced displacement in Nigeria, accounting for nearly 80 percent of affected populations.

45. IDPs have been identified to disproportionately concentrate in certain areas in the North East. Borno, at the heart of the crisis, hosted 68 percent of all identified IDPs with an estimate of over 0.8 million IDPs in Maiduguri alone. Yobe and Adamawa also share large burdens of IDPs: Adamawa (132,626; 6 percent) and Yobe (139,550; 6 percent). The vast majority of IDPs live with host communities (92 percent according to the IOM Displacement Tracking Matrix Round VIII), and only 8 percent live in camps and camp-like sites. The exact scale of displacement in large parts of Borno remains unclear due to the continuing instability and inaccessibility (IOM 2016). Strong and continued counter-insurgency offensive by the military has continued in recent months in Borno, with gains in liberating communities under Boko Haram, rescuing at least 5,239 civilians previously under the control of Boko Haram insurgents. Bama, Ngala, Damboa, Dikwa and Monguno LGAs were completely under Boko Haram control during 2015 for a period ranging from five months (Monguno) to one year (Damboa). The last few months has witnessed the Nigeria security forces recapturing the main towns and the majority of the villages in these LGAs. These civilians do not have access to much needed life-saving services. There are no or very few humanitarian actors currently on the ground (UNHCR 2016g).

46. The current displacement situation in the North East occurs within a context of impoverishment, ecological fragility, population growth dynamics, and governance challenges, with significant overlaps of conflict, scale of displacement, and level of poverty in the affected states. If not properly addressed, forced displacement may become an important element in the vicious cycle of escalating conflict in the future. On the other hand, it should be highlighted that despite the conflict and displacement situation, the capacity for resilience and the demonstrated support of communities in the North-East-affected states has been outstanding: fam-

Overlap of Forced Displacement Dynamics, Poverty, and Boko Haram Incidents



ilies in North-East Nigeria have supported displaced households for extended periods of time, showing that, despite the circumstances, there is certain room to sustain peace building in a structural and long-lasting way.

ii. Legal Frameworks for Displacement

47. On December 29, 1989, Nigeria established the National Commission for Refugees (NCFR) Act (No. 52 of 1989, Chapter 244). This Act outlines guidance for: (i) the prohibition of expulsion of refugees; (ii) the establishment and functions of the National Commission for Refugees; (iii) establishes an appointment of the Federal Commissioner for Refugees and an Eligibility Committee; (iv) established a Refugees Appeal Board; (v) outlines procedures for seeking refugee status; (vi) delineates treatment of members of the family of a refugee; and (vii) outlines the rights and duties of refugees.

48. Nigeria is a signatory to the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of IDPs in Africa, the Kampala Convention, and is legally bound to its obligations since its ratification in April 2012. The country has taken an initial steps to domesticate the Convention (UNHCR 2015f). The process of approval and adoption of the National Policy on IDPs and the domestication of the Kampala Convention is seen as hampered due to “limited funding, lack of capacity and inadequate coordination mechanisms” (IDMC 2015).

49. **Draft National Policy on IDPs (2012):** A Draft National Policy on IDPs has been developed, with the most recent version published in August 2012. It outlines: (i) a policy framework; (ii) the rights and obligations of IDPs; (iii) the responsibilities of government, humanitarian agencies, host communities, and armed groups to IDPs; (iv) policy implementation framework and strategies; and (v) funding, monitoring, evaluation, and policy review. The draft policy allots institutional responsibilities for managing IDPs in the short, medium, and long term and places the National Commission for Refugees (NCFR) as the focal point to coordinate all domestic and international humanitarian organizations (Bukar 2012). It also empowers NEMA, the Human Rights Commission, and the Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution to “partner with the NCFR to support the activities of the states and local governments in implementing the Policy within their respective spheres of activities when it is officially launched” (Bukar 2012).

50. **National Migration Policy (2015):** For IDPs, objectives include: (i) to identify the causes and consequences of internal displacement within Nigeria; (ii) to push for a legal framework for the prevention, pro-

tection, and assistance of IDPs and for resulting durable solutions to the problems faced by IDPs; (iii) to implement, monitor, and evaluate international and regional instruments, national policies, and legislation governing IDPs; (iv) to engage international, regional, and national institutions involved in matters relating to forced displacements and IDPs. As such, this policy does not provide for a legal framework for IDPs but advocates for it. The National Migration Policy also addresses refugees and asylum seekers but dedicates their protection to international legal frameworks, including the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and, on May 2, 1968, it signed on to the 1967 Protocol. It is also a signatory of the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention. Domestically, it defers to NCFR Act.

iii. Institutional Assessment for Displacement

51. In 2009, the full title and mandate of NCFR was extended to the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and IDPs (NCFRMI) to include migration management and the resettlement and rehabilitation of IDPs.

52. Currently, the State/National Emergency Management Agency (S/NEMA) and other nongovernmental organizations have been coordinating IDPs in camps and providing them with security, food and nutrition, basic health access, education, water and sanitation, emergency shelter, and other nonfood items (Ladan 2015). Established through Act 12 and amended by Act 50 of 1999, NEMA was created to manage disasters in the country. Its mandate is to “coordinate resources toward efficient and effective disaster prevention, preparation, mitigation and response in Nigeria.”⁵⁷ NEMA’s policies and strategies include: (i) contingency stockpiling in its six zonal offices⁵⁸ with relief and rehabilitation items; (ii) Search and Rescue (SAR)/Epidemic Evaluation Plan; (iii) Collaboration with Security Agencies; (iv) National Disaster Response Plan; (v) training and capacity building; (vi) advocacy/stakeholder meeting; (vii) disaster risk reduction; (viii) awareness generation; (ix) having established six zonal offices; and (x) the use of Disaster Response Units, which involves the army, navy, and air force. In case of specific disaster management functions and with regards to IDPs, NEMA shall: (i) work closely with State Emergency Management Agencies (SEMAs) and local emergency management authorities to assess and monitor the distribution of relief materials to disaster survivors, IDPs, refugees, and those adversely affected by mass deportation and repatriation from any other country as a result of crises, disasters, or foreign policies; and assist in the rehabilitation of survivors, IDPs, and refugees where necessary and those adversely affected by mass deportation and repatriation from any other country as a result of crises, disasters, or foreign policies (NEMA 2010).

53. Finally, the Nigerian House of Representatives established a committee on IDPs in October 2015. This committee has been heavily engaged in advocating for the domestication of the IDP policy and has been working alongside UNHCR on analytics and on raising awareness (IDMC 2015).

iv. Development-Related Provisions

54. According to Part VII of the NCFR Act on the Rights and Duties of Refugees, every person granted refugee status in Nigeria shall be entitled to the rights and subject to the duties contained in: (i) the articles of the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees set out in the First Schedule to the act; (ii) the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of January 31, 1967, set out in the Second Schedule to the act; (iii) the Organization of African Unity Convention governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, set out in the Third Schedule to the act; and (iv) any laws in force in Nigeria. In theory, the domestic law solidifies the right to work, freedom of movement, ownership of property, and access to basic services for those with refugee status, but remains silent on water and sanitation. Regarding IDPs, however, as previously mentioned, the 2015 National Migration Policy goes as far as to include an objective to identify the causes and consequences of internal displacement within Nigeria and to push for a legal framework for the prevention, protection, and assistance of IDPs and for the resulting durable solutions to the problems faced by them.

57 NEMA (National Emergency Management Agency) – Nigeria website: <http://nema.gov.ng/2131-2/>.

58 NEMA’s six zonal offices are in North Central (Jos), North West (Kaduna), North East (Maiduguri), South West (Lagos), South South (Port Harcourt), and South East (Enugu).

APPENDIX C: REGIONAL BODIES

I. LAKE CHAD BASIN COMMISSION (LCBC)

1. Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC), headquartered in N'Djamena, was established on May 22, 1964 by the four countries that directly border Lake Chad, namely Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria, to manage the shared natural resources and thus promote regional cooperation for development. The Republic of Central Africa (CAR) became a member of the Commission in 1996, and Libya joined in 2008. The Commission is funded by contributions of Member States, with reflection for an autonomous financing of the organization.

2. Today, the mandate of the Commission is to sustainably and equitably manage the Lake Chad and other shared water resources of the Lake Chad Basin, to preserve the ecosystems of the Lake Chad Conventional Basin, and to promote regional integration, peace and security across the Basin. Under this overarching mandate, the Commission executes missions in six main areas: (i) to collect, evaluate, and disseminate information on projects prepared by Member States and recommend plans for common projects and joint research programmes in the Basin; (ii) to keep close contact between the High Contracting Parties with a view to ensuring the most efficient use of the waters of the Basin; (iii) to monitor the execution of studies and works in the basin, and to keep member States informed; (iv) to draw up common rules regarding navigation and transport; (v) to draw up staff regulations and to ensure their application; and (vi) to examine complaints and to promote the settlement of disputes (LCBC 2015).⁵⁹

3. Beginning at the end of 2000, LCBC has started a consolidation process and has begun to integrate its environment information management through different projects or initiatives. During the consolidation process, it has defined its vision for 2025 (Vision 2025), developed a 2025 Strategic Action Programme (SAP), and established a Water Charter to adopt a common water resources management principles and prevent conflicts in the Lake Chad Basin. More recently in 2010-2011, the Commission developed and adopted a five-year investment plan (FYIP) for 2013-2017 (LCBC 2015). Based on the Vision 2025, the FYIP aims to reduce poverty and in the long-term enhance the living condition of the population living in the Lake Chad Basin area, with specific objectives including: (i) to enhance the quality and quantity of the waters of the Lake Chad Basin; (ii) to protect and restore the environment; (iii) to reinforce the socio-economic base of the region; and (iv) to enhance the agro-pastoral and fishing productions (LCBC 2014).

4. Since 2013-2014, however, the implementation of current development projects as part of the FYIP has been significantly hampered due to the regional insecurity and the context of conflict and displacement. In response to the regional crisis involving forced displacement, LCBC proposed and is in the process of preparing an emergency plan for the youth and vulnerable people in the Lake Chad Basin region (PURDEP).

5. To date, LCBC has about 30 regional and international partners, among which include the World Bank, various UN agencies, African Development Bank (AfDB), African Union (AU), etc. The current conflict and displacement situation in the Lake Chad Region, together with the international interest in and responses to climate change issues, calls for additional support to the implementation of expected reforms and increased participation of Member States (LCBC 2015).

II. ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)⁶⁰

6. Founded May 28, 1975 according to the Treaty of Lagos, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a 15-member regional group with a mandate of promoting economic integration in all fields of activity of the constituting countries as a tool for an accelerated development of the West African economy. Serving as one of the pillars of African Economic Community, ECOWAS seeks to foster the ideal of collective and self-sufficiency for its member States, which include Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo.

⁵⁹ Lake Chad Basin Commission. Official website: <http://www.cblt.org/en>.

⁶⁰ For more information on ECOWAS, please visit official website at: <http://www.ecowas.int/>.

7. To better fulfill the mandate, a transformational ECOWAS Vision 2020 was introduced, aiming to setting a clear direction and goal to significantly raise the standard of living of the people through conscious and inclusive programs. In particular, the Vision 2020 emphasizes the people-centered and people-driven approach in the region's integration and development process. In brief, the Vision 2020 of ECOWAS could be encapsulated as: "to create a borderless, peaceful, prosperous and cohesive region, built on good governance and where people have the capacity to access and harness its enormous resources through the creation of opportunities for sustainable development and environmental preservation." (ECOWAS 2010)

8. In addition, the commission also believes that regional economic growth should begin with prudent macro-economic policies. For this reason, besides promoting regional economic cooperation and trade, ECOWAS also invests in the social sector as well as service delivery, and facilitates the formulation of economic policies within the framework of a regional development program. By the same token, ECOWAS has made considerable efforts in harmonizing macroeconomic policies and private sector promotion towards achieving economic integration.

9. In 2011, ECOWAS convened its first Ministerial Conference on humanitarian assistance and internal displacement in West Africa in Abuja, Nigeria. In that occasion there was clear call to ECOWAS and its member countries to adopt more mechanisms to address forced displacement, including international conventions such as the Kampala convention. In fact, ECOWAS has developed various norms and standards relevant to displacement and IDPs, including: the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement; the ECOWAS Protocol relating to the Mechanism on Conflict Prevention, Management Resolution and Peacekeeping and Security; and the Supplementary Protocol on Good Governance (UNHCR 2015g).

III. ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES (ECCAS) – COMMUNAUTÉ ÉCONOMIQUE DES ÉTATS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (CEEAC)⁶¹

10. The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS-CEEAC) was created on October 18, 1983 based on the agreement made by leaders of the Central African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC) on forming a wider economic community of Central African States. After its establishment in 1983, ECCAS-CEEAC remained inactive for two years and began to function in 1985 owing to financial difficulties and conflicts in the Great Lakes Region. To date, there are 11 member States of ECCAS-CEEAC, including: Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, Sao Tome et Principe.

11. The overriding objective of ECCAS-CEEAC is to achieve collective autonomy, raise the standard of living of its populations and maintain economic stability through harmonious cooperation. Its ultimate goal is to establish a Central African Common Market. At the Malabo Heads of State and Government Conference in 1999, four priority fields for the organization of ECCAS-CEEAC were identified, including: (i) to develop capacities to maintain peace, security and stability, which are essential prerequisites for economic and social development; (ii) to develop physical, economic and monetary integration; (iii) to develop a culture of human integration; and (iv) to establish an autonomous financing mechanism for ECCAS.⁶²

12. To better tackle the integration challenges, the member States of ECCAS-CEEAC adopted in 2007 a strategic plan of integration as well as a Vision for 2025, aiming to promote and achieve peace, solidarity, equal development as well as free population movement, free trade of good and services in the region.

61 For more information on ECCAS-CEEAC, please visit official website at: <http://www.ceeac-eccas.org/index.php/fr/>

62 AFCAC-CAFAC: http://www.afcac.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=55:economic-community-of-central-african-states-eccas-ceeac&catid=38:official-recs&Itemid=150.

APPENDIX D:

THE ECONOMIC COST OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT IN NORTH-EAST NIGERIA⁶³

1. This report presents some estimates of the economic cost of forced displacement caused by the insurgency in North-East Nigeria. In particular, it tries to estimate how much income displaced households lost due to forced displacement. A simple methodology estimates the aggregate income loss for the year 2015. A more dynamic methodology estimates the aggregate income loss from 2013 to 2022.

I. HIGHLIGHTS

- Displacement increases the chance of earning no income by 41 percentage points.
- Almost 800,000 individuals lost their income as a consequence of the forced displacement perpetrated by the insurgency.
- The income lost due to displacement rose to almost ₦90 billion⁶⁴ in 2015, which represents 5.7 percent of the gross domestic product of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe.
- Assuming the displaced person does not return, it takes seven years before the chance of earning no income is as low as it was prior to displacement.
- Assuming that the reported IDPs in 2015 do not return to their places of origin, the accumulated cost of displacement from 2013 to 2022 will rise to ₦465 billion, even if further displacement is halted.
- The chance of earning some income after displacement is 16 percentage points higher when living with a hosting family rather than living in a camp.

II. INTRODUCTION

2. Forced displacement has both humanitarian and economic consequences. One of the main economic consequences is that individuals are moved away from their land, their jobs, and other factors of production, translating into income loss. In this report, this income loss was estimated for individuals from the states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe who were displaced between 2011 and 2015.

3. In order to estimate the income loss, the self-reported incomes of IDPs before and after displacement were used. In this sense, the assumption is that the counterfactual for each individual—what would have happened if no forced displacement has occurred—is the maintenance of the status quo.⁶⁵ This diverges from previous studies that look at the effect of forced displacement. In these studies, the control group for displaced individuals stayed instead of fleeing (e.g. Kondylis, 2010), lived adjacent to the affected areas (e.g. Fiala, 2015), were ex-ante no different than displaced individuals but were not affected by the threat of violence (e.g., Sarvimäki, 2009; Bauer et al., 2013), or there is simply no control group at all (e.g., Ibañez and Moya, 2010). In this report, the control group for displaced individuals is the displaced individuals themselves prior to being displaced.

4. This report also innovates by trying to estimate an aggregate figure for the cost of displacement, starting from micro-data. However, the report has two hindrances. First, the aggregate figures come from broad estimates of the average income for displaced individuals. Second, it leaves aside other important effects of

63 This analysis was conducted by Oliver Pardo, PhD (Consultant, GSU01) under the overall guidance of Paula Rossiasco (TTL, GSU01).

64 ₦ is the sign of Nigerian currency naira.

65 Some researchers try to disentangle the effects of violence and displacement. Because the consequences of remaining in violent situations are dire, displacement can be considered a coping mechanism that leaves individuals better off than staying. If they had stayed—an approach that removes the “forced” aspect of forced displacement. Henceforth, the approach in this report can be viewed as the effect of violence on individuals who survived and were displaced. For a discussion on disentangling the effects of violence and displacement, see Ruiz and Vargas-Silva 2013.

forced displacement, such as health effects, school attendance, straining of public services, spillovers on host communities and labor markets, asset losses and misallocations, mostly due to a scarcity of data. Henceforth, the numbers in this report should be seen as estimates for a lower bound on the economic cost of forced displacement.

III. DATA

DTM REGISTRATION DATA

5. The main source of information for this analysis is the raw data of registered IDPs in rounds IV and V of the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM), carried out by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and NEMA. The data was collected between May and August of 2015 in the states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe. The source is referred as the DTM Registration Data. It contains information for 16,968 households and 86,926 individuals. The micro-data from this source are the basis for assessing the impact of forced displacement on income availability.

NIGERIA GENERAL HOUSEHOLD SURVEY, POSTHARVEST SURVEY DATA

6. In order to give a back-of-the-envelope estimate on the monetary cost of displacement, it is necessary to estimate the income before and after displacement. This information does not appear in the DTM Registration Data. To supplement it, information from the second wave of postharvest visits of the 2012/2013 General Household Survey in Nigeria were used. This source is referred to as the PH Survey Data.

IV. METHODOLOGY

STATIC COST

7. In order to assess the impact of displacement, it is necessary to construct a counterfactual. The following methodology assumes that, in absence of displacement, the situation of the individuals today would have been the same as it was before displacement. The only available information regarding the situation of IDPs before displacement comes from a question asked to each household in the DTM Registration regarding the availability of income before displacement. The possible answers are yes—regularly, yes—occasionally, and no. The same answers are given to the question regarding the availability of income after displacement. These answers are referred as the *income availability status*.

8. The methodology starts by identifying the chance of earning a regular income, the chance of earning an occasional income, and the chance of earning no income; before and after displacement. These chances are estimated using the percentage of households who earn regular, occasional, and no income before and after displacement. The effect of displacement is identified with the change on these chances before and after displacement.

9. Next, the chances of earning some regular/occasional income before/after displacement is scaled up to the number of IDPs who were displaced by the insurgency. In this way, we can estimate:

- 1) The number of IDPs who earned an occasional income before displacement, denoted by O_b .
- 2) The number of IDPs who earned an occasional income after displacement, denoted by O_a .
- 3) The number of IDPs who earned a regular income before displacement, denoted by R_b .
- 4) The number of IDPs who earned a regular income after displacement, denoted by R_a .

10. In order to estimate the monetary cost of displacement, it is necessary to estimate the average income for individuals who earn a regular income and the average income for individuals who earn an occasional income. These estimates are inferred from the PH Survey Data. In particular, it is assumed that the average occasional income corresponds to the average labor income in the states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe for workers who work less than 40 hours per week. Meanwhile, the average regular income

corresponds to the average labor income in the states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe for workers who work 40 hours per week or more.⁶⁶

11. Denote by y_R the average regular income and by y_O the average occasional income. The economic cost of displacement is given by:

$$C = y_R \times (R_b - R_a) + y_O \times (O_b - O_a)$$

Equation 1

12. An equivalent representation is as follows. Let α be the effect of displacement on the chance of earning a regular income. Let β be the effect of displacement on the chance of earning an occasional income. Let N be the stock of IDPs in a given year. The economic cost of displacement is:

$$C = (y_R \times \alpha + y_O \times \beta) \times N$$

Equation 2

DYNAMIC COST

13. The static effect gives a snapshot of the economic cost of displacement for a particular year. It does not take into account the fact that if IDPs do not return home, there will be an ongoing loss of income. On the other hand, it is expected that IDPs will exhibit a certain degree of resilience, adapting to their new circumstances and engaging in economic activities in their current locations. Henceforth, it would be expected that the income loss would decrease over time. But how persistent is this loss?

14. The following methodology conditions the chances of earning a regular, occasional, or no income on how long ago the IDPs were displaced. Next, it compares these chances to the chance of earning regular, occasional, or no income before displacement. These differences give some estimates for the effect of displacement on the income availability status as a function of the years elapsed since the displacement event. The income loss for individuals who were displaced s years ago can be approximated using these estimates and the average occasional (y_O) and regular (y_R) incomes.

15. Formally, let C_t be the aggregate economic cost of displacement in year $t \in \{2013, \dots, 2022\}$. Let α_s (β_s) be the effect of displacement on the chance of earning a regular (occasional) income after $s \in \{0, \dots, T\}$ years of being displaced. Finally, let N_{t-s} be the number of people who were displaced in the year $t - s$. The cost of displacement in year t is given by

$$C_t = \sum_{s=0}^T (y_R \times \alpha_s + y_O \times \beta_s) \times N_{t-s}$$

Equation 3

16. The parameter α_s is the chance of earning a regular income before displacement minus the chance of earning a regular income after s years being displaced. The parameter β_s is the chance of earning a regular income before displacement minus the chance of earning occasional income after s years being displaced.

17. In order to estimate the chance of earning a regular or occasional income after s years, we run an ordered probit model. The dependent variable is income availability status after displacement. The explanatory variable is how long ago displacement occurred.

18. Note that this methodology assumes that there are neither inflows nor outflows on the stock of IDPs. In other words, this methodology assumes that current IDPs do not become returnees and assumes that the current flow of IDPs has been halted.

⁶⁶ This threshold is not arbitrary. In the DTM Registration Data, of the individuals who report receiving any income before displacement, 30 percent describe it as "occasional", and 70 percent as "regular". In the PH Survey Data, approximately 30 percent of workers report working less than 40 hours per week, and 70 percent 40 report working hours per week or more.

V. RESULTS

INCOME ESTIMATES

19. Table presents the estimates for occasional and regular income from the PH Survey Data in the states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe. Individuals who work less than 40 hours per week earn ₦44,431 per year, while individuals who work 40 hours per week or more earn ₦98,675 per year.⁶⁷ These are the estimates for the parameters α and β , respectively.

TABLE B.1.

Labor Income in Selected States

	Observed	2013 Yearly ₦	
		Mean	Standard Error
Employed	1,779	82,433	8,181
Employed less than 40 hours per week	499	44,431	15,521
Employed 40 or more hours per week	1,253	98,675	9,793

Source: Author's estimates based on the PH Survey Data.

STATIC COST

20. Table presents the percentage of individuals who received regular, occasional, or no income, both before and after displacement, according to the DTM Registration Data. Displacement implies an increase of 41 percentage points (pp) in the chance of earning no income, while the chance of earning a regular income decreases by 52 pp. The loss of regular income is partially compensated with an increase of 11 pp in the chance of earning an occasional income.

TABLE B.2.

Effect of Displacement on Income Status

	PERCENTAGE OF INDIVIDUALS WHO RECEIVE:		
	Before Displacement (%)	After Displacement (%)	Difference (percentage points)
No income	10	52	41
Occasional income	25	36	11
Regular income	64	12	-52

Source: DTM Registration data.

21. The results from Table can be used to scale up the effect on the number of IDPs who were earning a regular, occasional, and no income before and after displacement. For this purpose, we take the number of IDPs displaced by the insurgency, which stands at 1,920,471 (IOM 2016). Since displacement decreases the chance of earning a regular income by 52 pp, there were 998,545 IDPs who lost a regular income as a consequence of displacement. This was compensated by an increase of 205,621 in the number of individuals who earn an occasional income. The results are reported in Table B.3. Overall, 792,924 individuals lost their income as a consequence of forced displacement.

⁶⁷ The definition of labor income is based on the one used by the Living Standards Measurement Study Development Data Group of the World Bank.

TABLE B.3.

Number of IDPs in Selected States by Income Status

Number of IDPs who:	Before Displacement	After Displacement	Difference
Receive regular income	1,234,345	235,800	-998,545
Receive occasional income	489,077	694,698	205,621
Receive any income	1,723,422	930,498	-792,924
Receive no income	197,049	989,973	792,924

Source: Author's estimates using DTM Registration Data and the IOM's report for round 7.

22. Finally, coupling the information of Table B.1 and Table B.3, we are able to estimate the income lost due to displacement in the selected states, as reported in Table B.4. The loss of regular income ascended to ₦98.5 billion. This was partially offset by a ₦9.1 billion increase in the occasional income. Therefore, the aggregate loss of income in Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe ascended to almost ₦89.4 billion in 2015, which corresponds to 5.7 percent of the 2015 gross domestic product of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe.⁶⁸ A 95 percent confidence interval for this income loss goes from ₦56 to ₦123 billion.

TABLE B.4.

Aggregate Income Before and After Displacement for Selected States

	Billions of ₦		
	Before	After	Difference
Regular Income	121.8	23.3	98.5
Occasional Income	21.7	30.9	-9.1
Total	143.5	54.1	89.4

Source: Author's estimates.

DYNAMIC COST

23. The simple estimates from Table B.2 do not take into account that the chances of earning a regular, an occasional, or no income depend on how much time has been since the displacement shock. Table B.5 presents these chances as a function of the years elapsed since displacement, while Figure B. Error! Reference source not found. illustrates these same chances. Unsurprisingly, the chance of earning no income after displacement decreases as IDPs adapt to the shock, while the chance of earning a regular income increases. The chance of earning an occasional income remains relatively stable, though it has an inverse U-shape.⁶⁹

24. Using the chances of earning a regular and an occasional income before displacement, we can compute the effect of displacement over the years. The results, which correspond to the β 's and γ 's in Equation 3, are presented in Table B.5. Remarkably, it takes seven years for the effect of displacement on the chance of earning no income to dissipate. In other words, conditioned on nonreturn, it takes seven years for the chance of earning no income to be as low as it was before displacement. The effect on the chance of earning a regular income is even more persistent: conditioning on nonreturn, it would take nine years for IDPs to have the same chance of earning a regular income like they did before displacement.⁷⁰

68 An analysis that bundles together the regular and occasional earners estimates an income loss of ₦65 billion. This bundling has the advantage of estimating the overall average labor income without using the 40-hours-per-week threshold to proxy for the regular and occasional incomes. However, the bundling underestimates the income loss because it does not acknowledge that a significant number of individuals transits from regular to occasional incomes as a consequence of displacement.

69 A probable concern is that the cohort was different in their chances of earning income before displacement. A linear probability model on whether individuals earn any income before displacement against the duration of displacement did not find any statistically significant effect.

70 This result, which is not presented in Table B.6, comes from extending the reported results for an additional two years.

TABLE B.5.

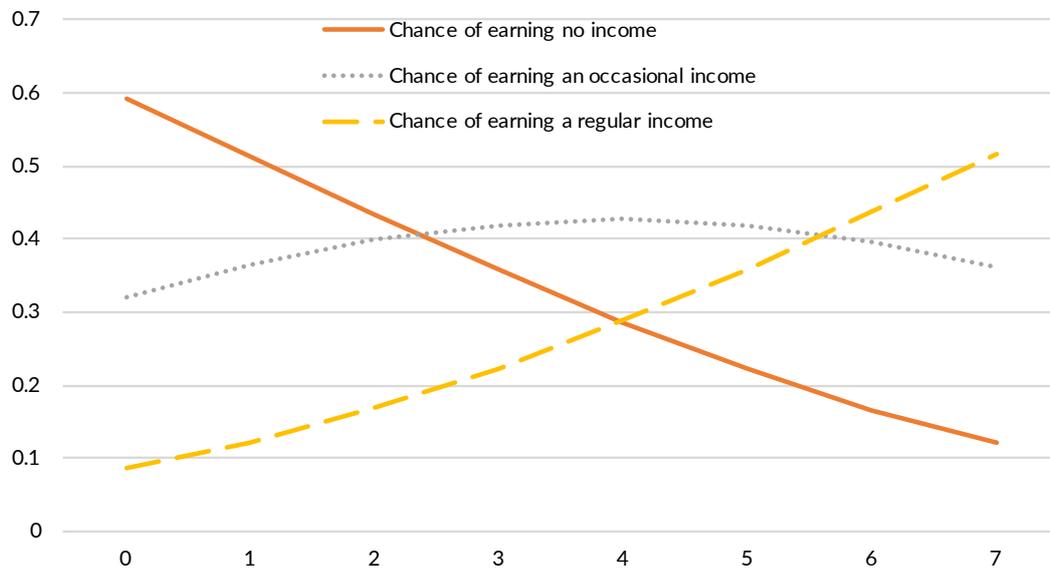
Income Status as a Function of the Duration of Displacement

	Years since been displaced								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Chance of earning no income	0.59	0.51	0.43	0.36	0.29	0.22	0.17	0.12	
Chance of earning an occasional income	0.32	0.36	0.40	0.42	0.43	0.42	0.40	0.36	
Chance of earning a regular income	0.09	0.12	0.17	0.22	0.29	0.36	0.44	0.52	

Source: Author's estimates of an ordered probit model using the DTM Registration Data.

FIGURE B.1.

Income status versus years since displacement



Income status versus years since displacement

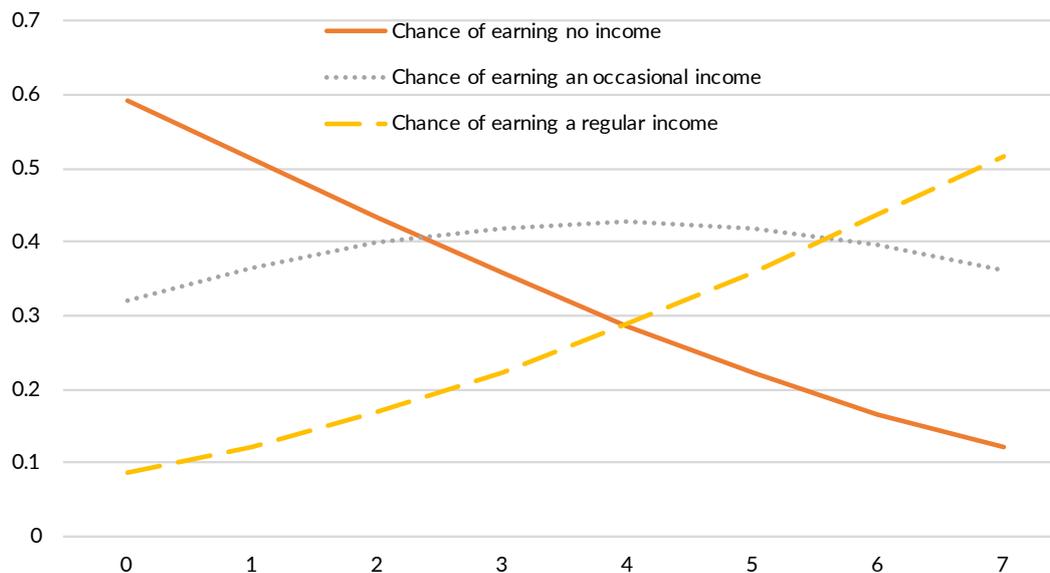


TABLE B.6.

Effect of Displacement on Income Status (as a function of years since displacement)

Effect of Displacement on the chance of earning:	Years since been displaced							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No income	0.49	0.41	0.33	0.25	0.18	0.12	0.06	0.02
Occasional income	0.07	0.11	0.14	0.17	0.17	0.16	0.14	0.11
Regular income	-0.56	-0.52	-0.47	-0.42	-0.35	-0.28	-0.21	-0.13

Source: Authors estimates based on Table B.6Error! Reference source not found.

25. Since the effect of displacement subdues as time passes, it is necessary to know the timing of displacement for each IDP to give an assessment on the economic cost of displacement over time. The IDPs are disaggregated by the year they were displaced in Table B.7.⁷¹

TABLE B.7.

IDPs from Selected States by Year of Displacement

Year of Displacement	IDPs by Year Since Displacement
2015	592,465
2014	1,285,755
2013	33,416
2012	8,605
2011	230

Source: Author's estimates based on the DTM reports.

26. Finally, the results in Table 1, Table 6 and Table 7 are used as inputs in Equation 3 to estimate the income lost due to displacement for each year between 2013 and 2022. The results are presented in Table B.8 and illustrated in Figure B.2. Assuming these IDPs will not return to their places of origin, the accumulated cost of displacement from 2013 to 2022 (without adjusting for present value) will rise to ₦465 billion.

TABLE B.8.

Economic Cost of Displacement Per Year

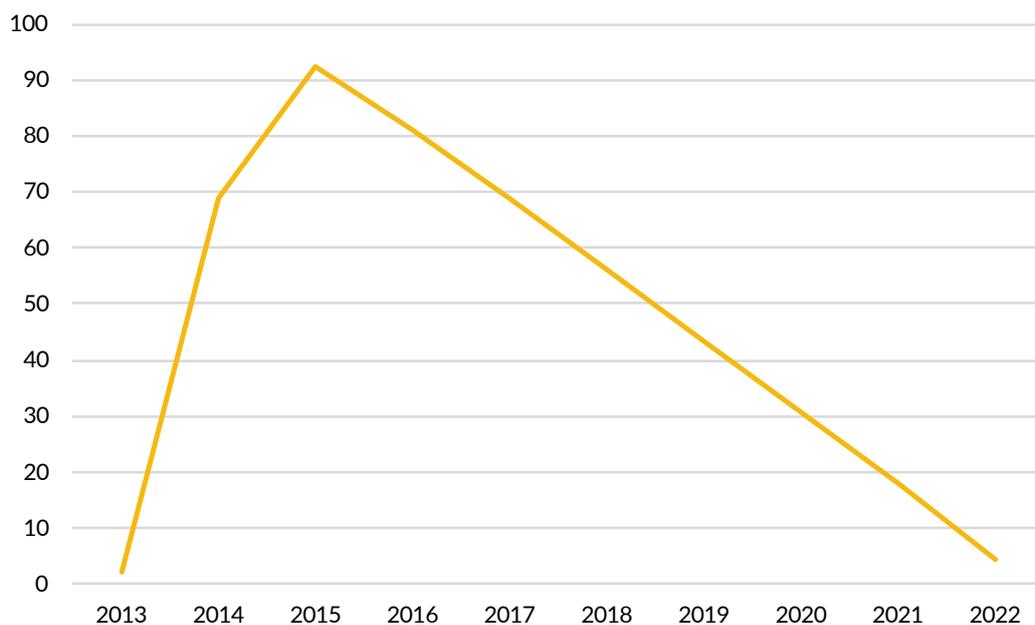
Year	Annual Cost (billions of 2013 ₦)
2013	2
2014	69
2015	92
2016	81
2017	69
2018	56
2019	43
2020	30
2021	18
2022	5
Total	465

Source: Author's calculations.

71 Round V report figures were extrapolated to the number of IDPs displaced by the insurgency according to the IOM-DTM Round VIII report. Furthermore, the Round V report does not disaggregate between displacement in 2011 and 2012. The estimates for these two years come from extrapolating a time trend.

FIGURE B.2.

Annual Cost of Displacement (billions of 2013 ₦)



HETEROGENEOUS EFFECTS

27. If the effect of forced displacement is disaggregated by the current location of IDPs, as presented in Table B.9, significant differences appear. The chances of earning any income after being displaced are as low as 31 percent in Yobe and as high as 74 percent in Bauchi. These differences translate into asymmetries in the effect of displacement on the chance of earning any income: the chance of earning any income is 16 pp if moving to Bauchi and 65 pp if moving to Yobe.

TABLE B.9.

Effect of Displacement on Income by Current Location

Current Location	Chance of earning any income before (%)	Chance of earning any income after (%)	Diff. (percentage points)
Adamawa	86	45	-41
Bauchi	90	74	-16
Borno	89	39	-50
Gombe	93	68	-24
Taraba	94	54	-40
Yobe	96	31	-65

Source: DTM registration data.

28. Remarkably, there is a significant difference on the chance of earning any income depending on the type of shelter the IDP has (see Table 8.10). The chance of earning some income is 16 pp higher when living with a host family rather than a camp.

TABLE B.10.

Effect of Displacement as a Function of the Current Type of Shelter

Current Shelter	Some income before disp. (%)	Some income before disp. (%)	Difference (percentage points)
1. Camp	88	40	-48
2. Collective center	89	46	-42
3. Transitional center	90	52	-38
4. Host families	92	56	-36
5. Other	86	47	-39

Source: DTM registration data.

29. In order to look for more heterogeneous effects, the analysis was made contingent on the state of origin and contingent on the social group the IDPs belong to. No remarkable differences were found, except for groups with a very small sample size. The analysis also tried to check if there was any difference between been displaced inside the state of origin or been displaced to a different state. It was found that the chance of earning a regular income is 5 pp lower when moving across states than when moving inside the state of origin.

VI. FINAL REMARKS

30. The estimates in this report seek to be as clear and simple as possible, but they still come from strong assumptions. In particular, it is assumed that the regular and occasional incomes are independent of location. Does this assumption underestimates or overestimates the income loss of forced displacement? On the one hand, the average income in current locations may be higher than the average income in the locations of origin. On the other, displaced individuals may have to take jobs that are not as well remunerated as the ones locals usually get.

31. A significant gap in this report is the total exclusion of information regarding returnees. What percentage of IDPs return? How long does it take them to do so? How does the economic situation of the returnees compare with the situation before displacement and to the situation during displacement? In particular, if the situation of the returnees is not as good as it was before displacement, the methodology presented in this report underestimates the economic cost of displacement.

APPENDIX E: PROGRAMMATIC RESPONSES

TABLE 1.

Programmatic Responses

Area of Focus	Proposed Initiative		
<p>Local development:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community (re) integration • Durable housing solution • Environmental amelioration 	<p>Analytical activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assess of local planning mechanisms to identify key entry points for the integration of the forcibly displaced. • Assess housing needs in the mid to long term in host areas with attention given to vulnerable populations, such as women, unaccompanied and/or separated children (UASC), persons with disabilities and older persons. • Conduct an environmental impact assessment for areas of displacement and return, including mapping of alternative energy sources. • Assess impacts of proposed solutions for housing and environmental impacts on land ownership and use. • Assess mechanisms for cross-border coordinated planning to facilitate transboundary efforts. • Assess availability of data on displacement at the regional level and identification of mechanisms to fill data gaps (i.e. satellite imagery, use of cellphones, etc.). <hr/> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>Short-term operational activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand to Boko Haram-affected populations initiatives for the integration of internally displaced persons and refugees into local planning, building on experiences with displacement in the region due to other conflicts, focusing primarily in the integration of particularly vulnerable populations (e.g. women, youth and orphans). • Provide temporary housing or accommodations until a safe and dignified return can be ensured. Considering inclusion of environmental amelioration strategies including those currently implemented in the Lake Chad Region to Boko Haram-affected populations, such as UNHCR's Light Years Ahead Initiative. • Build on local practices when making plans for sensitizing and involving internally displaced persons and refugees with environmentally sustainable practices. • Integrate environmentally sustainable practices into other activities, such as ones involving shelter and livelihoods. </td> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>Long-term operational activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support local governments in the phased reestablishment of local planning systems that foster integrated and participatory approaches. • Develop community communication and collaboration platforms and structures. • Train key stakeholders (e.g., village leaders, religious leaders, and teachers) on conflict resolution, counseling, and other life skills, including disputes because of land ownership • Support programs for the improvement and reconstruction of housing in areas of displacement and return. • Design programs to provide alternative energy sources. • Implement the Lake Chad Development and Climate Resilience Action Plan, and update it to addresses, among other issues, the environmental, livelihood, and social impacts caused by forced displacement. • Support afforestation, water, and soil conservation as well as interventions to sustain increased pressures on land, water resources, and forests. • Strengthen capacity and technical training of relevant ministries. </td> </tr> </table>	<p>Short-term operational activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand to Boko Haram-affected populations initiatives for the integration of internally displaced persons and refugees into local planning, building on experiences with displacement in the region due to other conflicts, focusing primarily in the integration of particularly vulnerable populations (e.g. women, youth and orphans). • Provide temporary housing or accommodations until a safe and dignified return can be ensured. 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<p>Service delivery</p>	<p>Analytical activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assess current condition of and gaps in services (facilities, staffing, and supplies) in areas most affected by displacement. • Assess gender disparities in access to services among displaced population, in particular to mitigate and prevent SGVB, including a mapping of existing initiatives, partners and actors, and service gaps. • Assess indirect costs for expansion of education (e.g., levies and uniforms) and other demand-side barriers to health and education. • Assess psychosocial impacts and population needs at the regional level. • Map current psychosocial support initiatives that are active in affected areas, identifying capacity gaps and opportunities for scaling up. 		

	<p>Short-term operational activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reestablish access of displacement-affected populations to education and health services by expanding existing programming or establish new programs. • Address gender gaps in service delivery, particularly to specialized services to victims of SGBV. • Establish safe spaces for vulnerable populations (orphans, girls and women) to access critical services and information key to their development • Extend humanitarian assistance with the provision of shelter, food, and other emergency materials, water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) • Support internally displaced persons and vulnerable populations in host areas to overcome demand-side barriers to services. • Provide incentives for the return of teachers. • Provide training to service providers on psychosocial support and violence prevention including offering adult education programs and develop community-based programs for counseling, treatment, and referral. • Addressing Sexual and gender based violence (SGBV). 	<p>Long-term operational activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the development of national, regional, state, and local development plans to address current and preexisting service delivery gaps, including their gender dimensions, for the region's host communities, areas of return, and displacement settlements. • Support the reconstruction of health facilities and schools destroyed by the conflict or that have deteriorated due to their use as temporary shelters. • Implement a tiered approach to psychosocial well-being, including services that enhance community, family, and individual resilience. • Provide holistic and integral trauma and psychosocial services to support women and men and children.
<p>Economic recovery</p>	<p>Analytical activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify key investments that can serve as catalysts to restore and expand the regional economy and trade, including transport, policy, and market networks assessments. • Assess specific gender gaps in economic opportunities introduced or exacerbated by forced displacement and conduct gender sensitive market assessment to identify areas of trade that present positive prospects for business development and that are sensitive to social and cultural gender norms • Analyze the social and economic impacts of forced displacement in areas where the crisis is particularly acute, including local-level markets. • Assess best practices on livelihood efforts undertaken by humanitarian and development partners. • Assess policy options for regulating access to natural resources and fostering the coexistence of agriculture, livestock, and fisheries to improve sustainability. 	
	<p>Short-term operational activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide immediate assistance for the restoration of livelihoods, including ensuring access to training, inputs, micro-finance, and productive land, and the provision of temporary right to work of forcibly displaced people. • Support the economic empowerment of women heads of household by facilitating their access to economic opportunities sensitive to local gender norms. • Deliver short-term support through the provision of materials and inputs in support of diverse livelihood activities, particularly agro-pastoralism agriculture. • Offer skills training based on the outcomes of local market assessments complemented by offering skills trainings that take into consideration local market assessments. 	<p>Long-term operational activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop and foster livelihood options based on the local economy, promote the permanent right to work and support inclusive growth by targeting vulnerable groups (e.g. access to land by female heads of household). • Support the policy environment to enable private-sector economic growth and development. • Bolster economic growth in deprived regions, notably in livestock and agricultural products. • Reconstruct damaged infrastructure, including energy, roads, and telecommunications, as well as markets that foster regional trade based on existing strategic guidelines (i.e. RBPA for NE Nigeria).

I. WORLD BANK GROUP–UNHCR WORKSHOP ON THE BOKO HARAM-INDUCED FORCED DISPLACEMENT IN THE LAKE CHAD REGION: A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH. MAY 18–20, 2016, DAKAR, SENEGAL

- 1. Scope and context.** Approximately 15 million civilians affected with over 2.6 million people displaced, including 2.2 million IDPs; 400,000 refugees; and an unidentified number of returnees, have been displaced by the Boko Haram conflict in Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, and Niger. This protracted crisis is having both humanitarian and development implications for displaced, host communities, and the economies of all affected countries. The crisis has exposed chronic subregional development issues and is adding to preexisting environmental and demographic pressures on land and livelihoods. The Boko Haram-induced displacement crisis needs to be addressed in a collaborative and holistic manner, and work toward addressing poverty reduction, inclusive growth, and shared prosperity.
- 2. Background of the assessment.** ECOWAS formulated a request asking the World Bank Group to assess the humanitarian and development nexus of Boko Haram crisis-induced displacement. The World Bank joined forces with UNHCR to pull their data and wealth of information in conducting an effective and comprehensive assessment that can lead to a sustainable approach to responding to this crisis.
- 3. Workshop objectives.** To validate and fine-tune the context analysis, findings, and recommendations; review existing initiatives; identify operational and analytical gaps; exchange experience from three other regional initiatives in Africa where the World Bank, UNHCR, and governments work together, and set the stage for a second phase of country-specific consultations to prioritize operations that address the needs of the Boko Haram displacement crisis in support of lasting solutions that can be supported by humanitarian and development partners, such as UNHCR and the World Bank.
- 4. Workshop Outcomes.** The potential areas of development interventions were prioritized into two pillars: (i) enabling environments (policy environment, regional and country partnerships, and institutional frameworks); and (ii) programmatic responses, including the National Development Plan (local area development, service delivery, and livelihoods) with three cross-cutting issues of governance, gender, and social cohesion.
- 5. A new way of doing business.** The workshop confirmed the need for a fundamental paradigm shift in dealing with conflict-induced forced displacement. This entails a development-led assessment of context, policy dialogue, and design of development operations and humanitarian lifesaving interventions. Success will require a strong partnership between the World Bank and UNHCR and joint regular policy dialogue with respective government counterparts. Such an approach is essential to ensure a holistic comprehensive approach at providing a sustainable response to the development and humanitarian needs triggered by the displacement crises. The Lake Chad Region initiative and the other three joint World Bank Group/UNHCR regional initiatives in Africa are innovative and tangible examples of how to operationalize the partnership between the World Bank and UNHCR and indeed the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals commitments to displacement and what is believed to become the commitments from the World Humanitarian Summit.
- 6. Next steps.** World Bank–UNHCR and government will engage in policy dialogue on: (i) scope and design of relevant World Bank operations to assess options for revising and/or supplementing existing ones and/or design new operations and (ii) The best use of the Lake Chad Basin Commission as a coordinating and monitoring agency as well as the platform for regional policy discussions of the assessment recommendations and their translation into national programs executed by individual countries.
- 7. Joint World Bank and UNHCR engagement with the African Development Bank, the European Union, and key bilaterals.** Joint engagement with ECOWAS on the progress has been achieved, and the assessment team will make use of high level UNHCR and World Bank visits to further the process with governments.

II. WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

	Name	Title	Organization	Country
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3	Tahir Oloy Hassane	Secrétaire General dudit Ministère	Ministere de l'Administration du Territoire	Chad
4	Zara Binta Goni	Head of Programme	Lake Chad Basin Commission	Chad
5	Abdou Kaza	Diffa Region	Government	Niger
6	Ibrahim Malangoni	Director and General Coordinator of CNE	Government	Niger
7	Dr. Mariam Masha	Senior Special Advisor to the President on IDPs	Government	Nigeria
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45	Shameza Sabdulla	Emergency Specialist	UNICEF	Senegal
46	Simon Renk	Regional Markets Advisor	WFP	Senegal

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