The Plight of IDP Women: A Gender and Intersectional Analysis of the Experiences of Internally Displaced Women in IDP Camps Borno Nigeria

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List of Acronyms

AOG	Armed Opposition Group
AU	African Union
BH	Boko Haram
CJTF	Civilian Joint Task Force
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
FHH	Female-Headed Household
FOH	Female-Only Household
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IDW	Internally Displaced Women
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
IHR	International Human Rights
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies
KC	Kampala Convention
KII	Key Informant Interview
LGA	Local Government Area
MHH	Male-Headed Household
MNJTF	Multinational Joint Task Force
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
NERDC	National Education Research and Development Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SEMA	State Emergency Management Agency
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
UN	United Nations
WFP	World Food Program
WHO	World Health Organization

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Abstract

This paper is a gender and intersectional analysis of the experiences of Internally Displaced Women (IDW) in IDP camps, Borno, Nigeria. The research investigates how gendered practices intersect with specific power relations to exacerbate the plight of IDW in IDP camps in Borno Nigeria.

Gender, age, social status, and position in the family are some of the major factors that influence the experience of discrimination by IDW. This study argues that each of these major power relations or statuses influence the gendered practices in IDP camps and the experiences of IDW. However, none of these, in isolation can adequately explain the reason IDW positioned in these power statuses experience multiple layers of discrimination. These power statuses intersect to either mutually strengthen or weaken each other. The gendered practices of institutions (family and state) and the unique experience of an IDW depends on the way she is positioned on these social categories. IDW who are in better position experience discrimination in a way different from those in lowly positions. This indicates that the experience of discrimination depends on specific contexts, and the power relations imbued in such gendered activities of the family and state are vital for understanding the experiences of IDW in IDP camps. This paper concludes by suggesting areas for further research and certain research methods that would present the view of IDW more explicitly.

Relevance to Development Studies

Discrimination is inimical to the attainment of gender equality and sustainable development at large. Though progress has been made towards achieving gender equality, however, a lot more remains undone. Albeit, women are still discriminated against, particularly in developing climes. Nevertheless, discrimination is exacerbated during displacement, thereby predisposing IDW to multiple layers of discrimination. This research provides two innovative ways- Gender and Intersectionality, of analysing the plight of IDW. This will contribute to existing theoretical knowledge on discrimination against IDW and will better inform policy makers on providing interventions and programs that considers IDW as a heterogenous group rather than homogenous group.

Keywords

Internally displaced women, gendered practices, internally displaced persons, plight, discrimination, Borno state, IDP camp, Nigeria

Chapter 1: Setting the Research Scene

This thesis focuses on the plight of IDW and its implication for their lived experiences in camps in Borno state, Nigeria. Though, IDW may have similar experiences as women, it is imperative to treat them as a heterogenous rather than homogenous group. This is because each woman has specific needs that stem from the interaction of gender and certain power relations. The chapter will focus on the problem statement, justification of the study, contextual background, research objectives and questions, sources of information, research process, methods and analysis, research limitations, ethics and positionality and chapter outline.

1.1 Problem Statement

Globally, more than 41 million people experienced internal displacement at the end of 2018, due to violence and conflict (IDMC, 2020). Approximately 21 million or more, were women and girls, and sub-Saharan Africa had the highest number of Internally Displaced Women (IDW) (IDMC, 2020). The Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) population in Nigeria is approximately one third of IDPs in Africa and about 10% of the world's IDP. Nigeria occupies the third position on the global index with about 3.3 million displaced persons (IDMC, 2018). Insecurity, arising from Boko Haram (BH) insurgency and counter military operations by the military affect about 26 million people living in Northeast Nigeria, and about 14 million are[1] in dire need of humanitarian assistance (OCHA, 2017). IDW are usually more vulnerable than other affected displaced populations, which contributes to the grave human right violations that IDPs experience (Brookings Institution, 2014). Further, IDW experience displacement in ways that differ from men and boys and face peculiar challenges that must be well understood to provide them with appropriate and specific support they need (IDMC, 2020). Unfortunately, this difference is hardly taken into cognisance when providing assistance and protection. Rather, the gendered activities in IDP camps has led to reinforcement of previously pre-existing discrimination faced by women.

According to UNFPA (2016), these experiences of IDW are entrenched in unequal and discriminatory social norms, gender inequality and stereotypes. Further, IDMC (2014), indicated that the continued shortage of disaggregated data on displacement dynamics culminated in the lack of understanding of Nigeria's displacement dynamics, and consequently, the fragmented, inappropriate, and inadequate response efforts. Nevertheless, Ajayi (2020), argues that asides continued conflict, the inconsistency of humanitarian responses and policy, the displacement of women has been visibly prolonged by a disconnect between women's roles and how they are constructed as victim in humanitarian and policy framework. However, this research explores why the plight of IDW has persisted despite interventions by humanitarian actors. It extends existing scholarship by arguing that the plight of IDW stems from an intersection of gendered practices with specific power relations to exacerbate the plight of IDW in IDP camps in Borno Nigeria.

The differences in experience of discrimination by IDW reflects unequal relations or power hierarchies between men and women, as well as inequalities amongst women which portrays power dynamics in IDP families in camps, and results from interaction of gender, with age, social status, and family position. Also, institutions which intervene in the situations of IDW give rise to discrimination against women.

[1] The use of women in this study encompasses women of all age groups and connotes all females. Discussion of tension between protection and freedom is vital but is beyond study scope and theory.

The pattern of discrimination varies across these institutions, and usually orchestrated by the gendered activities of such institutions. Further the organization of social institutions, gender roles, norms and stereotypes, and religious and cultural expectations culminate in unequal relations and intersecting power relations. Institutions, thus, reinforce domination and subjugation of the disempowered, which manifests in different intersecting systems of oppression and discrimination.

Women's right and access to basic services-water, shelter, food, and health care services are often ignored and remain largely unmet (Benjamin and Fancy, 1998). More so, IDW are powerless; their helpless conditions compel them to make do with little assistance provided and are at the same time deprived of the parity to adequate participation in program design and implementation of activities that directly affect them (Benjamin and Fancy, 1998). In recent years, actors (civil society organizations, state, international agencies, amongst others), have made effort to increase the promotion of gender-sensitive dimensions to development and humanitarian assistance, and this is reflected in various guidelines, resolutions, intervention framework, handbooks, and policies (Brookings Institution, 2014). However, the sufferings and discrimination continue unabated.

Governments have the obligation to protect and assist IDW within their country's national border (Brookings Institution 2014). However, there has been evidence of failure of the state authorities in Nigeria to protect the rights of IDW despite the provisions of the obligations of the state towards IDW (Amnesty International, 2018).

In 1998, the United Nation (UN) General Assembly adopted certain guiding principles as a tool for appropriate management and prevention of internal displacement by countries (Mohammed, 2017). This guiding principle provides an overall framework which employs International Human Rights (IHR) and International Humanitarian Law (IHL) to IDPs (Mohammed, 2017). It was endorsed by all countries in West Africa at their maiden convention on internal displacement in the region (Mohammed, 2017). Similarly, the African Union (AU) Summit on IDPs, returnees and refugees, which held in Kampala, Uganda in October 2009, adopted a rule, referred to as Kampala Convention (KC) (Mohammed, 2017).

So far, Nigeria employs both the KC and the draft National policy in the management of IDPs (Mohammed, 2017). Despite the stipulations of state obligation in KC, on the need to pay attention to specific needs of different groups of women in order to ameliorate their plight, the Nigerian government does not seem to be doing enough to address specific needs of IDW, including seeing the latter as a homogenous group. Thus, specific, and appropriate needs of IDW are not adequately catered for, causing the challenge of providing assistance and protection of these women to persist. In light of the foregoing, the study seeks to understand, how gendered practices intersect with specific power relations to exacerbate the plight of IDW in IDP camps, and how well such gendered practices recognize the peculiar and precarious situation of IDW.

1.2 Justification of the study

[2]This research focuses on gendered practices and the plight of IDW in IDP camps in Borno, Nigeria. A cursory look through extant literatures on gender practices and the plight of IDW in IDP camps reveals that the subject of the study is critically important but grossly understudied in the literatures. The consequences of displacement for women and girls differs from those of men and boys (Gururaja, 2000). IDW face several protection issues daily, notably, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) (Brookings Institution, 2014). These

[2] IDW's exclusion from decision-making maybe due to preoccupation with care work or that men perceive decision-making as luxury. Expounding further would be great, but beyond discussion scope

[3]women are constantly exposed to domestic violence, rape, trafficking, transactional sex, as well as other precarious conditions (Brookings Institution, 2014). Furthermore, IDW are discriminated against in diverse ways, including land and property right, housing, livelihood opportunities, documentation, education, and in aid distribution. They also suffer varying degrees of violence and exploitation from camp officials and humanitarian workers which further worsens their situations (Amnesty International, 2018; Brookings Institution, 2014).

Nigerian policymakers may be unaware, and or ignorant about how seemingly benign supports or lack of it, for IDW, disempowers IDW, reinforces inequitable relationships, and exacerbate discrimination, precisely because such practices are gendered. The study provides insights into little known experiences of IDW, creating a basis for advocacy and lobby for reforms of the national policy on IDPs and gendered sensitivity in its application.

1.3 Contextual Background

A group, Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal Jihad-JAS individuals who champion the course of jihad and admonitions of the prophet (a.k.a. Boko Haram) came to the fore in Maiduguri, Borno State Nigeria in 2005 (Nagarajan, 2017). At first, they challenged the inequality and corruption orchestrated by state structures and advocated a 'purer', more Islamic lifestyle. Since then, the group's ideology, strategy and tactics have constantly evolved and transformed into exercising control over territory, forced recruitment and abduction, detonating bombs through the use of suicide bombers, and violence against women and young girls, including forced marriages and sexual slavery and violence (Nagarajan, 2017). The Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) launched a counter insurgency operation alongside local vigilante groups and the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF), to reclaim territories taken by BH. Consequently, this operation resulted in civilian harm brought about by various parties involved in the conflict. The Nigerian military failed to protect communities from violence, targeted civilians in the counter insurgency operations, including destruction of livelihoods and properties, arbitrary detention, harassment, forced displacement, sexual exploitation and abuse of women and girls, and forceful approach in dealing with civilians (OCHA, 2017; Nagarajan, 2017).

Of the six states in northeast Nigeria, three are worst hit by the conflict and these are Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe States while Taraba, Bauchi and Gombe states serve as host communities to IDP populations (OCHA, 2017). The epicentre of the BH insurgency has been Borno, which has affected all 27 Local Government Area (LGA) with some of the LGAs still experiencing heightened insecurity, making most of the areas inaccessible to humanitarian actors (Nagarajan, 2017). The insurgency has dramatically altered the lives of thousands of girls and women. They are often conscripted voluntarily or by coercion into new and changed roles that differ from the domestic sphere (ICG, 2016). With the stark realities of separation from husbands and sons, several of IDW have become responsible for providing and protecting their families (ICG, 2016).

According to the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, IDPs are: "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border"[4].

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[3] Focusing on equality in this study would imply delving into political, social/legal discussion and not within the purview of theoretical approach. Hence, my inability to expound on equality.

Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, introductory paragraph 2, p.1.

1.4 Research objectives and question

This study seeks to contribute to academic knowledge on gender discrimination against IDW in IDP camps in Borno, Nigeria. Hierarchical gender relations, discriminatory social norms, and stereotypes based on gender, age, class, and ethnicity, shape the experiences of women in flight. These factors, arguably, affect the lived experiences of IDW in IDP camps. Obviously, the study cannot, given the time, space, and other methodological limitations, examine all these elements. Therefore, it concerns itself with the following main question and three sub questions:

> How do gendered practices intersect with specific other power relations to exacerbate the plight of IDW in IDP camps in Borno Nigeria?

1. In what way (s) do gendered institutional practices discriminate against IDW in IDP camps in Borno, Nigeria?
2. How do gender stereotypes influence the lived experiences of IDW in IDP camps in Borno, Nigeria?
3. How do IDW experience gendered discrimination differently based on their social status, age, and position in the family in IDP camps in Borno, Nigeria.

1.5 Sources of Information

This research draws on vast number of grey literatures, reports of organizations, scholarly articles, newspaper publications, blogs, etc., to give detailed account of IDW experiences. The underlisted sources helped to address research questions and conduct analysis.

For sub-question one, the following were identified: Amnesty International (2015) Ajayi (2020) Amnesty International (2017), Benjamin and Fancy (1998), International Crisis group (2016) International Crisis Group (2019) Amnesty International (2018) Nagarajan (2017) CARE (2017) etc. These sources were used to analyse state institutions such as: State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA), camp officials, and the family.

Amnesty International (2018) ICG (2016), ICG (2019), etc. were used to analyse the gendered activities of the military, camp officials and SEMA, because the sources give an elaborate insight on the gendered practices of these institutions.

IDMC (2020) Brookings (2014) ICG (2019) and Nagarajan (2017) CARE (2017) etc. aided the analysis of social and gender norms within the family. These sources, among others, provide details of various gendered activities within the family.

For sub question two, the study drew on: ICG (2019) Amnesty (2018) ICG (2016) Ajayi (2020), GCPEA (2018) International Alert and UNICEF (2016) etc. These sources were employed in analysing gendered stereotypes and analysis of categories of IDW.

For sub question three, the study drew on: CARE (2017), Amnesty International (2018), UNDP (2016), etc. These sources, among others, analysed different experiences of gender discrimination based on age, social status, and position in the family.

1.6 Research Process, Methods, and Analysis

This section elucidates the sources of secondary data, method of secondary data analysis, technique for primary data collection and limitations of the study. In addition, explanation is

given, of the ethical consideration and the researcher's positionality. Sources of secondary data include the following, amongst others: academic literatures, reports, working papers, blogs, newspapers, twitter, Facebook, etc.

A Key Informant Interview (KII) was conducted on Zoom, with three key informants, namely, camp official (1), SEMA official (1), and WHO (World Health Organization) staff (1). They helped to identify gendered practices in the camp and how these impacted on IDW. The interviews took place on July 28, August 11, 14 and 25, 2020. Bama IDP camp was chosen because of ease of access to the officials who work in the camp. Regarding the selection of the case study, Borno state was chosen because it is the epicentre of BH insurgency, with many LGAs affected and invariably, greater number of IDP camps and displaced persons, it is likely to have a wide range of experiences of IDPs. Also, because of availability of extant literatures on displacement in northeast, particularly, Borno state. I ensured all ethical considerations related to this study was followed.

I chose not to interview IDW online due to privacy concerns associated with online interview and possibility of its interference with participants' responses. Also, the initial COVID restrictions and eventual approval for field work, came at the time research design had been concluded. Hence, my decision to interview officials who are in close contact with IDW and their ability to provide information on IDW. Findings from the three interviews were transcribed accordingly and subsequently analysed. Further, to ensure academic rigour, this paper was reviewed by peer discussants and an interview participant to ensure the views were well presented.

Secondary data generated were interrogated accordingly using a set of mundane or guiding questions (as indicated in the annex), and subsequently analysed using the concept of Gender and Intersectionality. Further, the primary data was analysed using thematic analysis, a method used to identify common topics, themes, and patterns of meaning that recur within the qualitative data (Harding, 2018). The analysis involved data transcription, having a good understanding of the data, organizing data and development of themes. Thematic analysis allows the researcher to decide and determine the themes as it relates to the research question (Braun and Clarke cf Mushi, 2018). 1.7 Limitations of research

An attempt was made to interview one of the female IDP leaders but was limited by language barrier. Though I interviewed her, I, however, decided not to use her response since I observed a sense of discomfort in her responses and feared that the presence of a third party may have marred her response. Further, doing desk research also comes with certain challenges and limitations. Some sources of information could have certain elements of subjectivities, and this may include authoritative texts with defined objectives (O'Leary, 2014). O'Leary stated that some of the secondary data used in research may have been generated for a purpose different from the objectives of this research, thus, may not be as appropriate as primary data; and it may be difficult to identify bias and to detect flaws in methodologies employed in the study, hence, trade-offs are inevitable. According to O'Leary, it may be challenging to prevent one's biases from blurring understanding and interpretations, and there may be a tendency to take certain records out of context (O'Leary, 2014).

1.8 Ethics and Positionality

This research commenced after it was approved by the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), Erasmus University Rotterdam. Subsequently, a letter of introduction was obtained from ISS, which explained the purpose of the research to participants. I also obtained participants' consent to interview and record the session; and anonymity of response was assured. The anonymity of respondents was ensured by the use of pseudonyms. Furthermore, doing a desk research requires that I acknowledged and gave credit to authors of literatures

and other sources of information that are used in this study (O'Leary, 2014). In view of this, I ensured all sources were duly referenced and acknowledged, and also avoided misrepresentation of authorship by refraining from non-acknowledgement of authorship where more than one author was involved, Again, I avoided the use of a ghost writer, and did not give credit to a co-author who was not involved in a specific study (O'Leary, 2014).

As an outsider, an educated Nigerian woman, I understand and recognize the discriminatory practices against women in Nigeria and do not in any way essentialize them. However, I lack an understanding of what it is like to be a displaced woman and associated plight of life in IDP camps. Therefore, I intend to bring to light and foreground the lived experiences of IDW in IDP camps in Borno Nigeria. Having lived in northern part of Nigeria, and experienced conflict that kept me from my family for a day, I can only imagine the experiences of the IDW who have lost their family members, properties, and livelihood. Also, my previous experience with researching certain issues that affect women in general has unveiled the fact that women are constantly incapacitated with the burgeoning challenges they encounter. These and others have spurred my interest in undertaking this study to bring to fore, the growing dilemma and plight of IDW.

1.9 Chapter Outline

This thesis is organized into six chapters. The first chapter comprises: research problem, justification, study background, research objectives and questions, sources of information, methods, challenges and limitations, ethical consideration, positionality, and chapter outline. Chapter two focuses on the concepts of Gender and intersectionality as well as analytical framework.

The third chapter discusses the answers to sub questions one. The first subsection provides answers to the mundane questions which helped to address sub question one on gendered practices within the family while the second provides answers to the mundane questions on gendered practices of the state.

Chapter four addresses sub question two on gender stereotypes and lived experiences of some IDW in IDP camps in Borno, Nigeria.

Chapter five also provides answers to guiding questions used to address sub question three. Finally, chapter six focuses on conclusions and areas for further research. Sequel to the last chapter are a map, interview guide/guiding questions, a cross-section of IDW and a list of references.

Chapter 2 : Theoretical and Analytical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the theoretical and analytical framework on which this study is anchored. It is organized in two main sections. The first provides the theoretical framework while the second focuses on the analytical. The concluding part of the chapter will present the analytical framework and how it would be applied in analysing the findings, as well as reference to the next chapter.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This research adopted the concepts of Gender and Intersectionality. The choice of gender is premised on the conceptualization of the research questions that interrogate the gendered practices of institutions. And the second concept, intersectionality, was employed because the study sought to analyse the intersections of multiple power relations (on which IDW's experiences are predicated). Thus, the need to emphasize and understand how both are conceptualized by different scholars.

2.2.1 Gender

Audre Lorde (1984) cf Risman and Davis (2013) conceives gender, as an axis of oppression that intersect with other axes of oppression such as nationality, race, sexuality, age, ethnicity, ability, etc. Gender entails not only organizing social institutions and organizations but also the construction of cultural expectations and gendered norms that shape interactions through the structuring of social life (Risman and Davis, 2013). According to West and Zimmerman (1987), gender is produced and reproduced at every point in time and entails the production and reproduction of diverse interactions of individuals from social relations. However, they argued that "gender is something we are held morally accountable to perform, something we do, not something we are" West and Zimmerman (1987) cf Risman and Davis, (2013:5).

Historians use 'gender' in two ways (Scott, 1986). The first is descriptive and describes the existence of realities without giving explanation, interpretations, or making an attribution to causality, while the second is causal and theorizes the nature of realities and tries to comprehend how and why these take the form they do (Scott, 1986). Some descriptive usage of gender includes "Gender" often construed as a substitute or synonym for "women" and the use of "Gender" is often used to imply women and its use could also mean that information about women implies same about men (Scott, 1986). Scott further describes the usage of gender as a means of assigning social relations between males and females. Scott added that gender involves reorganizing how the relationship between females and males is constructed in a hierarchical order in specific context. Based on the above, Scott (1986) advocated that gender be studied in a more theoretical manner. Therefore, she stated the need to examine the analytical methods, give clarity to operative assumptions and explain perception of how change takes place. One must go beyond searching for single sources of conceptualizing how processes are intertwined and are difficult to extricate (Scott, 1986).

To study a problem, one must keep in mind these processes to enable interrogation of how things happened so as to discover why they happened (Scott, 1986). She stated, to find meaning, one must deal with individual subjects, alongside social organizations and be able

to articulate how these are interrelated to fully comprehend how gender operates and how change occurs. When changes occur in the way social relations are organized, these changes often coincide with change (s) in relations of power. However, the way change occurs may not be unilateral (Scott, 1986). Further, Scott (1986:1070) argues that, gender is used "to decode meaning and to understand complex connections among various forms of human interaction". Gender constitute an element of social relationships based on perceived sex differences and it is also a basic way of signifying relationships of power (Scott, 1986). As an element of social relations, gender comprises of four interrelated elements, which provides a means of analysing social processes (Scott, 1986). They include:

Symbols: This consists of cultural symbols and metaphors that evoke multiple representations and ascribe meanings to certain realities (Scott, 1986).

Normative concepts or Ideologies: This determines the understanding of symbols and attempts to give meaning to concepts that are expressed in educational, religious, scientific, political and legal doctrines, which rely on meanings of fixed binaries (masculinity and femininity) (Scott, 1986).

Social Institutions and organizations: They serve as places of manifestation of fixity in binary gender representation, which includes, kinship, family, labour market, and the State, etc. (Scott, 1986).

Subjective identities: This indicates how identities are substantively constructed through social norms and practices. Individuals do not always or literally comply with the terms of identity or analytical category ascribed to them by their society (Scott, 1986). Scott further stated that sometimes, individuals resist ascribed identity and seek their desired identity.

It is important to note that none of these elements operate without the others, yet they do not operate concurrently. One element is always reflective of the others. Hence, gender makes it possible to deconstruct and to understand the complex connections obtained in diverse human interactions (Scott, 1986). Also, gender does not operate in a vacuum but must interact with other power relations. Analysing the activities of the family and state would help to understand the workings of complex systems that are interconnected. The way institutions are organized, the construction of societal expectations, gender norms, gender division of labour, and how these are interrelated to shape the social relations and resulting unequal relations which intersect to create multiple layers of oppression for women, and in this case, IDW.

2.2.1 Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality emerged and was first used by Kimberley Crenshaw in 1989, who wrote extensively on, American black women and work (Davies, 2007). It was intended to differentiate the multidimensional nature of Black women's experience from the homogenous description of women that distorts and compartmentalize their experiences (Crenshaw, 1989). According to Kimberley, intersectionality is an analogy needed to understand the ways that multiple forms of discrimination, exclusions, and inequalities sometimes interlock to create constraints and obstacles that are often construed within the regular way of reasoning (Crenshaw, 2018). Further, intersectionality has been used to emphasize the interconnectedness of gender, class, sexuality, race, etc. and can mutually strengthen or weaken each other (Winker and Degele, 2011). Davies Kathy (2008:68) cf Wumblal (2017) describes intersectionality as the "interaction between gender, race and other categories of differences in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interaction in terms of power".

According to Collins (2017), intersectionality interrogates how social inequalities are structured, endured, changed, or resisted. Bilge (2010) posits intersectionality to be a

reflection of a multidisciplinary theoretical framework focused on understanding the complexity of social inequalities and identities through a combined approach.

An intersectional analysis helps one to understand the intersection of multiple categories rather than a single identity. It also shows how systems of oppression or inequality intersect, and thus, revealing the differences among women and not merely differences between men and women. Intersectionality also perceives oppressive systems as imbued in power relations (Fabrizio, 2007). As a feminist theory, intersectionality emphasizes the need to understand gender in context of power relations embedded in identities or social categories (Wumblal, 2017).

There are five basic principles common to approaches of intersectionality, as identified by Zinn and Dill (1996) cf Fabrizio (2007). They include recognizing the existence of oppressive and unequal systems, conceptualization of gender and race as structures and not individual traits, rejecting the idea of viewing women as a homogenous group, acknowledging the interaction of human agency (micro) and social structure (macro) and iterating the need for historically specific local analyses to understand the intersection of inequalities. This research adopts the above presupposition as far is gender is concerned but not race.

In this study, gender intersects with other power relations in particular age, social status, and position in the family to strengthen or weaken historically constructed labels of discrimination, exclusion, and marginalization of IDW. The interaction of age, social status, family position and gender culminate in differences in the experience of different IDW. Overall, intersectional analysis provides insight on the significance of social relations of power in understanding different experiences and power hierarchies between women and men, and amongst women, in particular social contexts.

2.3 Analytical Framework

In this study, the concept of intersectionality helps one to understand the interaction of gender with social status, age, and position in the family.

For instance, an IDW who is young, single, and head of a household will experience discrimination differently than an IDW who is single, old, and head of a household; an IDW who is young and widowed and head of the household will have a different experience from the one who is old, widowed and head of the household; an IDW who is married and living with her husband in the camp will experience discrimination differently from the one who is married but separated from her husband. Similarly, the experiences of IDW who are married will differ based on their position in the family in the case of polygynous family. Also, an IDW who is married, with a level of education will have experiences of discrimination at variance with the experiences of one who is married but with little or no education. Further, the discriminatory experiences of an IDW who is young, and a victim will differ from that who is young and a perpetrator.

Of noteworthy is the fact that IDW comprise of three categories of women, owing to their cause of displacement- those who were abducted by Boko Haram, those who joined voluntarily and those who were forcibly displaced as a result of the counter insurgency operations by the military. The first two categories (referred to as victims and perpetrators) are discriminated against and stigmatized due to their previous affiliation with BH. Discrimination against those who joined voluntarily is often exacerbated due their status as perpetrators. Further, IDW who arrive at the camp are screened based on certain criteria to ascertain and interrogate those who supposedly constitute security threat. They are categorized based on marital status-those traveling with their husband and those without their husband, number of children, suspicion of possible affiliation with BH. The screening time varies across this

category; while screening last only a few hours for some, it last much longer for others who also stands the risk of possible detention depending on the level of risk they constitute. It is also important to note that interactions of gender and other power relations come with certain vulnerabilities that weaken or reinforce discrimination; hence they constantly shape and reinforce one another.

2.4 Conclusions

This chapter reviewed the theoretical frameworks which guided the study, namely: Gender and Intersectionality. It also gave details of how these concepts were applied in the study, as well as concluded with a section on analytical framework. The next chapter will provide a detail of gendered activities of the family and state institutions.

Chapter 3: Gendered Institutional Practices in IDP camps Borno

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will be concerned with gendered institutional practices. The first subsection will analyse the family as an institution. Subsection two will analyse selected state institutions and their gendered activities using the concepts in Chapter 2. The chapter will end with a concluding remark, and reference to the next chapter.

3.2 The family

3.2.1 Theoretical Review

Follow on, as I make a brief theoretical review about the family before going further to write about it. The family is a concept that is largely contested and have different meanings to different people. This section gives a review on the concept of family, viz-a-viz, various definitions of the concept of family and what kind the study adopted. The term "family" is often used to mean, a small unit comprised of individuals, related by blood or marriage who live together (nuclear). Further, family is used in the description of all individuals who are related to one in different ways (extended family, which includes grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, etc) and this meaning of family is synonymous to kinship, household and domestic sharing (Nicholson, 1997; Thorne, 1982).

Nicholson (1997) states that most people identify with the nuclear family. However, they also presume that "the nuclear family" is only a modified form of "the extended family". Also, given that "the extended family" is believed to be universal, its similitude with the nuclear family seems to make it proper to think "the nuclear family" as universal (Nicholson, 1997). Nevertheless, the prevalent assumptions about the family has been challenged by many feminists. They argued against the unchanging perception of the family that idealizes the modern nuclear family as the only legal and natural family form, with husband as the breadwinner and a full-time wife and mother (Thorne, 1982). Again, feminists posit that most forms of family, both in the past and now, are detrimental to the equality of women, both in the home and other spheres of life (Okin, 1997). Moreover, due to assumptions about the family, women's reproductive and care work have been trivialized and seldom recognized to be work. In addition, women's presumed traditional or 'natural' role in the family has been used overtime to justify their exclusion from the public sphere-from political and civil rights and also from several vocations, thus, making them invisible in the public (Okin, 1997). Also, the subordinated position and economic dependence of women in the family have increased their vulnerability to diverse forms of abuse including, sexual, physical, psychological, and emotional. Hence, most feminist opine that women's experience of inequality in the public and private are in close linkage (Okin, 1997).

According to Thorne (1982), "the family" in contemporary parlance, assumes a certain gender roles or division of labour: husband, as a breadwinner, who is involved with the productive sphere and a full-time wife and mother, as the core of the family rather than a member of it. The subordination of women is connected to the family as an ideology and a particular household organization. For households that are similar to the family in division of labour, composition, and boundedness, women are excluded from accessing choice resources, which includes, political authority, income, and recognized and status-giving work

(Thorne, 1982). Nonetheless, the ideology about the family goes beyond families to imbue an understanding of the "proper place" of women, and such ideology of the family reinforces the exploitation of women in economic terms (Thorne, 1982).

Contemporary feminists have critiqued the existing forms of family and division of labour due to their propensity to be oppressive of women (Okin, 1997). However, they advocate a change in family conception, that is more equitable, less exclusionary, and idealized. As indicated by some earlier feminist, what transpires in both the private and domestic life is an outplay of power dynamics. The existence of private sphere and all that it entails (including the criteria of constitution of the family, code of conduct within the family, etc), had been and still decided in the public sphere, directly in courts and legislatures, and indirectly in schools, media and places of work (Okin, 1997). According to Frances Olsen cf Okin (1997), the state's involvement in the formation and functioning of families reflects how the state also intervenes in the affairs of the family. Consequently, such intervention reinforces the existing gender inequality in the family.

In Nigerian context, the family comprises of a man, wife or wives, children, and other kin (Okojie, 2010). It includes household members related to a certain extent, through blood, marriage, and adoption. According to the National Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) cf Okojie (2010), the two main family forms are the nuclear and extended families. Nonetheless, many Nigerian families take on extended (though nuclear) form because they believe in kinship that allows the adoption and care of close relatives.

Polygamy is a form of polygyny, where a man is married to multiple wives. Therefore, a polygamous family consists of a husband, multiple wives, children and may include relatives, living in the same household (Munro et al, 2011). This family form is prevalent in northern Nigeria. (Shoneyin, 2010).

For the purpose of this study, the concept of family, as depicted in the nuclear family is employed. I used the nuclear family not as a preference but because it is the form of family that is idealized by government, various aids, and international agencies. For instance, the aid distribution criteria inquire about husband, wife, and children which exemplifies the nuclear family and not extended family. Thus, government and aid agencies, in aiding IDPs, treat the family as a nuclear family, which reifies the hegemonic notion of the family, not only in theory but also in practice.

3.2.2 IDP families

IDPs' conceptualization of family is different from that idealized by state and humanitarian actors. The extended family system is what obtains among the IDPs-pre and post conflict, and predominantly polygamous. In peaceful times, a typical Kanuri (Borno) man marries multiple wives and provides separate accommodation (visits wives in turns) and farmlands for each of them. During farming season, all wives are mandated to work on his own farm, while the wives work on their own farms with their children (without husband's input) and farm produce used to feed her children and husband, whereas farm produce from the husband's farm is solely his but not for his wives and children. Basically, wives fend for their children. To a large extent, this arrangement continues in IDP camps, with wives in different tents, and husband visiting them in turns. Both husband and wives lose their means of livelihood in war times but since food distribution is through IDW, the husband continues to live off the wives, while wives continue to struggle to fend for children. Consequently, some husbands feel emasculated, but not enough to spur them into action to support wives while others join wives in income generation activities. Apparently, women's disadvantaged position continues, even in war times, where women have to juggle both caring for household members and providing for them as well, while husbands continue to leverage on patriarchal

privilege as family head. Hence, the same strategy employed by husbands and fathers are adopted against wives and daughters[5].

3.2.3 Experience of families in IDP camps

Given the protracted conflict and displacement situation and the accompanying and increasing economic hardship, in addition to camp conditions (such as Gender-Based Violence), parents have resorted to negative coping strategies or mechanism to enable them get by with life in IDP camps (CARE, 2018). There are different reasons parents marry off their daughters at an early age. They include reasons such as protection of daughters from sex slavery and abduction by Armed Opposition Groups (AOG), destitution and poverty, traditional practices or beliefs, and gender norms (CARE, 2018; Girls Not Brides, no date). According to responses from some parents interviewed by CARE (2018), parents cited traditional practices or belief as one of the reasons for marrying off their daughters at an early age. This is due to the belief that a girl's virginity is closely linked with the family honour (CARE, 2018), hence, in order to preserve family honour and, parents are apt to take such proactive step, and hence, save the family from shame and the daughters from stigma associated with sexual violence.

Again, some parents may be compelled to marry off their daughters early due to gender norms (CARE, 2018), as men often show preference for marriage to young girls than older and mature ladies. This is due to the perception or belief that younger girls are likely virgin, not yet deflowered, and hence, they are easier to control or dominate (CARE, 2018). Ultimately, the interest of the girl is often not considered nor the implication of the violation of her human rights as it interferes with the attainment of full development of the girl child, which often results in early pregnancy (for which they are ill-prepared) and social exclusion (CARE, 2018). Given the cultural perception of the place of women in the family- reproductive and care work, parents are bound by this status quo since women's place are believed to be the private domain. Moreover, this strategy adopted by parents towards daughters is also replicated by the husbands to the wife, thereby, perpetuating women's disadvantaged position and discrimination (which stems from such unequal relations/inequality). Furthermore, in some societies such as northern Nigeria, education is viewed as unimportant and inconsequential in relation to a girl's futuristic role as potential wife and mother (Save the Children UK, 2003). Hence, it is a popularly believed that investing in a girl's education or future is perceived as a waste of family resources and time since she would soon be married off to another family and become her husband's responsibility and property.

This is an out play of power relations within the family which seems benign but explicates how such power relations are connected to social norms that engender gender inequality and how this is constantly reinforced through the actions of the family. Consequently, such norms restrict the chances of a young girl who is married off at an early age, while expanding those of boys who are considered more valuable and worth the family's investment.

Another reason why parents marry off their daughters at an early age is due to insecurity associated with conflict and displacement conditions (Girls Not Brides, no date). Conditions in IDP camps are precarious and increases the vulnerability of women and girls to the risks of sexual exploitation and abuse, and so in a bid to ensure the safety and protection of the young girls from sexual abuse by predators.

Hierarchical structures depend on generalized understanding of the perceived natural relations between men and women- men as dominant and women as weak, subordinated,

[5] KII with Manguno, WHO officer at GSSS, Bama Camp, Borno, August 25, 2020-4pm

and meant to be sexually exploited. Hence, there is an interplay between gender and age, resulting in oppression of young IDW whereas other IDW may experience lesser or no oppression at all

However, Civil Society Organization (CSO) are increasingly creating awareness about child marriage and its grave implications for the girls, hence, child marriage is now prohibited in Bama camp and parents discouraged from marrying off their daughters at an early age[6].

3.2.4 Food Distribution Criteria

The criteria for the distribution of food aids and or cash assistance in IDP camps in Borno State, may constitute or exacerbate discrimination against IDW. According to Nagarajan (2017), distribution criteria that involves men receiving aids as head of households hardly obtains any longer in the practice of humanitarian intervention. However, this criterion is still in practice in places such as the Biu zonal IDP camp as IDP women in this location gave an account on how men were given priority over women in the distribution of food aids and assistance in camps. Also, reports show that men can usurp the control of resources from their wives even when the women are the beneficiaries of assistance, and sometimes the assistance given to men do not reach the intended beneficiary (Nagarajan, 2017). Nagarajan further cited cases where men confiscated cards (with credit) from their wives, meant for the purchase of goods for the family, sold the food items purchased with the card and kept it for personal use rather than the family.

Based on the above, men, as the head of the household, is advantaged due to his position as the family head and privileged by his position to misappropriate what was meant for the intended beneficiary, thereby disempowering women and other members of the family. As argued by March et al, (1999), opportunity to utilize resources (access) does not imply the power to take decision on how such resource is utilized and who is given access (control). This shows that access to resources does not translate to control of same. Although, women are having access to resources, they may not retain control over such given that men often take major decisions in the households and hence use veto power to decide how aids are appropriated within the household. However, recent distribution criteria employed in humanitarian practice targets women as beneficiaries since women are more likely to put resources to good use[7]. According to CARE (2018), women now take decisions on the appropriation of humanitarian assistance received in IDP camps. In the wake of conflict and displacement, and the accompanying loss of means of livelihoods assets and resources, the decision-making power of men has declined. Conversely, women's decision- making power has increased due to changing gender roles. While the decision-making power of IDW in Male-Heads of Households (MHH) has increased, IDW who are Female-Heads of Households (FHH) or Female-Only Households (FOH) have full control over appropriation of food aids and family resources (CARE, 2018).

The apparent change in gender relations and roles which was orchestrated by conflict and displacement has caused women to step out of their traditional gender roles. Consequently, their changed status and position has empowered and given a voice to the hitherto voiceless and powerless, thereby, challenging the status quo. The current criterion of distributing aids or assistance through women by humanitarian organization is an attempt to address both power dynamics and needs based on gender, and to bring about transformation of those dynamics to ensure greater equality (Holloway et al, 2019). Based on the aforementioned, Nagarajan (2017) asserts that many international donors often distribute food and aids through women because it is believed it would reach the intended beneficiaries and

[6] KII on Zoom with SEMA official-Babakura at GSSS Bama camp, Borno-July 28 2020-10.30am.
[7] KII -Zoom with camp official-Ahmed -July 28 2020-11.00am.

women are likely to use aids for the entire family. Ultimately, this criterion alters the power dynamics in families, empowers women and increase their participation in decision-making, and in the long run, enhance equality in gender relations. Further, UNDP (2016) argues that, gradual changes in gender relations would result in the transformation of long-standing patterns, with one change bringing about other changes, and the degree to which such change from intervention occurs would ultimately determine the extent of transformation that will have taken place. The application of gender transformative approach in intervention programs by humanitarian practice would help to address long-standing social inequalities that had led to an age long discrimination against IDW. However, this transformation may become short-lived if necessary strategies are not employed to mitigate unintended consequences that results from such approach.

3.2.5 Insights on Gender mainstreaming

Sequel to the Beijing conference (the UN Fourth World Conference on Women) in 1995, which proposed a gender perspective in policies and programmes and the full involvement of women, to enhance the empowerment and advancement of women, humanitarian organizations tend to mainstream gender in the design, implementation and evaluation of programs or interventions (Holloway et al, 2019). However, identifying gender issues with a view to adopting strategies that would address gender inequalities which a program is intended to address remains paramount for a successful intervention, while envisioning measures to mitigate the probable gender impacts (domestic violence) of such program (UNDP, 2016). Further, (Pillay, 2018) reaffirms that the political aim of feminists is for women to become liberated from patriarchal oppression, which had been integrated through gender mainstreaming. Pillay stated the political aim of gender mainstreaming as transiting from gender blind programming which often conceals the visibility of the specific needs, vulnerabilities, voices, and presence of women and girls, into programming which makes women visible. Despite the huge impact made in the humanitarian sector in both gender mainstreaming and gender analysis, it is yet to fully address specific issues that drive gender inequality, and also the challenge of achieving a sustainable change and transformation in the long run. In addition, Pillay and other feminists advocate the humanitarian world's extrication from patriarchal power relations, which would translate to providing emergency relief in conflict situation and attending to differences on the basis of gender and by ensuring that all IDPs receive fair and equitable treatment.

While an equitable society with equal gender relations is desirable, transformation may require small changes that happen overtime and eventual culmination in desired change. However, for such changes to translate to quantifiable impact in the lives of IDW, it is also pertinent for such change to reverberate across government institutions whose activities are gendered. Even though addressing underlying causes of gender inequality in the context of northeast Nigeria may prove difficult without change in sight, I would also align with the view of feminists approach to humanitarian assistance, which is ensuring every IDP is treated equally and fairly regardless of their gender, age, religion, ethnicity, etc.

3.2.6 Provision of Food aids and rations

Food aids are provided by World Food Programme (WFP) is outsourced to Danish Refugee Council (DRC)for distribution to IDPs in camps[8]. This criterion involves giving a ration card to every member of a household, including children which is used in food distribution. Food aids is distributed in cycles- once per month. At month end, every member of a

[8] KII-Babakura, July 28 2020-11am.

household receives specific food items in equal proportions. Items include four dishes of sorghum, two dishes of beans, two packs of salt, and one litre of oil[9]. Although, this criterion ensures that aids reach intended recipients, however, there is no empirical evidence to show what goes on within the households, whether this is being achieved or not and also to ascertain who is privileged or disenfranchised.

3.2.7 Food distribution in Families

While food and aids distribution in monogamous households assumes a criterion, what is obtained in polygynous households seems to differ with accompanying power dynamics in the relations between the husband and his wives, and between co-wives. Consequently, there is a tendency for a husband, as the head of household to be favourably disposed to a wife, while other wives who lack such privilege are discriminated against. According to Nagarajan (2017), a lack of consistent procedure or criterion of distribution of food and aids among household can cause tension in families- between husband and wives, as well as between co-wives. Not all wives receive aid in polygynous families, and in some cases where the husband is the custodian of distribution card, he may choose to give preference to certain wives while others who do not benefit from such gesture tend to be marginalized (Nagarajan, 2017). In addition, the sharing of aids or resources among co-wives in polygamous families often give rise to intrahousehold power dynamics that often result in risk or threat of divorce or unequal treatment by the husband (CARE, 2018).

Given the structuration of gender roles within the family as stipulated by societal norms, and as indicated by the state in policies and laws regarding the family, the husband as the family head is believed to have unrestrained access to resources and also has the power to appropriate same. This, at worst, keeps wives in a subservient position (limited access to family resources), thus, exacerbating discrimination against these women. The husband's differential treatment of his wives also culminates in different experiences for the wives, depending on the power status that is foregrounded per time. Thus, making the experience of discrimination worse, less or none at all. Overall, the organization of social relations, shape power hierarchies and the way such power hierarchies play out in the family; and also, the various ways such narrative creates and reproduces inequality and unequal relations among members of the family.

3.2.8 Organization of Families in IDP camps

In polygynous households, each wife and her children are allocated a separate tent while the husband is also assigned a tent. So, for a man with four wives, four tents would be allocated to the four wives[10]. Each wife and her children would then represent a household, and each household is given a ration card with which to access food and aid distribution[11]. This change in distribution criteria ensures equal relations amongst wives in polygynous family, to reduce discriminatory experiences of IDW, and to ensure that aids reach intended beneficiaries. As empowering as this approach might be, it is also capable of engendering domestic violence in families. Further, given that a change in organization of social relations also corresponds to change in power hierarchies or dynamics, it implies, that the one who was once disadvantaged has become privileged. However, transforming institutional practices, norms, etc. that

[9] KII-Babakura-July 28, 2020-11am.
[10] KII-Ahmed-July 28, 2020-10am.
[11] KII-Ahmed-July 28,2020-10am

drives and sustain inequality would go a long way in addressing unequal relations that cause discrimination.

The above-mentioned scenario also shows impact of programmes or interventions executed by humanitarian organization, on gender roles and decision-making, and how this also translates to a change in gender relations and power hierarchies within the households-between the husband and the wife or wives, as well as between co-wives and how this redound on the women's experiences.

3.2.9 Change in Food Distribution Criteria

Food distribution was previously managed by different state officials. According to Amnesty International (2018), NEMA-a state institution responsible for disaster management at federal level) provided food aids to IDPs but had to go through different intermediaries before it reached the IDPs. Food aids was transferred from NEMA to SEMA, SEMA to the military and CJTF, and then from here to IDPs. Here are some reasons the state supervised food distribution in IDP camps. The government exhibited an initial stance of being in control and in no need of external assistance (such as from International Non-Governmental Organizations-INGOs) due to the government's suspicion of INGOs as meddling in the state's affairs; lack of coordination among actors with limited understanding of their specific role and the fact that humanitarian response was quite slow ab initio or was rather an adhoc response-the scale that barely met the needs of IDPs (HPN, 2017). In view of the above gendered institutional practices, approach employed in distribution, and prevailing power relations, IDW tend to face challenges in accessing assistance, thereby worsening their plight.

While there is no evidence as to the reason for the change in distribution criterion to what obtains now, it may have been that due to diversion of food supplies by state officials (HPN, 2017). However, findings from interview revealed that, the federal government does not provide humanitarian assistance to IDPs, as IDP's sustenance is totally dependent on humanitarian assistance from INGO and national NGOs[12]. Given that WFP largely provides food assistance, it may also have had the prerogative to determine how food aid is distributed. Also, as a major humanitarian actor, WFP may have better knowledge of humanitarian principles than state officials who lack such expertise regarding food distribution among displaced population. Nevertheless, the dynamics of power relations within different families would result in different experiences for IDW. FOH and FHH may not experience discrimination within the family, while IDW in MHH will experience greater discrimination, thus, reifying how power relations within the family exacerbate discriminations against IDW in camps.

3.3 The State

3.3.1 Theoretical review

In this section, I put forward a brief theoretical review of the state before proceeding to discuss the state in detail. The state has been a largely contested concept. This is because the way one understands state influences to a large extent, how one engages with it (Chouinard, 2004). Chouinard argues that the conceptions of the state had varied over time; a historic perception of it as the focal point of elitism and empire building, as institutions through

[12] KII with Monguno-August 14, 2020-12pm

which justice and democracy are upheld in a rather egocentric and brutal world and conceptions of state as modes of regulation and governance, that often times empower few and oppress many.

Different concepts of the state abound. Modern concept of 'the state' is a historical contingent phenomenon and yet a predominant horizon of political life across the world (Quentin Skinner, 2010). Skinner further described the state as an agency which wields sovereign power and particularly, a monopoly of legitimate force, over some determined territory (normative concept). The modern state consists of three independent arms that function independently for ease of democratic governance. They are, the legislative, the judiciary and the executive (offices that implement and enforce the constitution and laws, defence, finance, commerce, foreign affairs, and other institutions and agencies).

According to Rajan (2003), the "state" is not an abstraction, and it is imperative to have both historical and institutional understanding of it. Rajan further stated that the vital realities of daily living, the "nation" as a location to inhabit, interjections as citizens, law as what "rules", and that to which citizens sometimes resort to, the transaction with the bureaucracy of the state. These are obtained with the context of the nation-state and has become inevitably problematic in terms of situating the understanding of gender issues. The perspectives of the liberal, Marxist, and social democrat, which lines up with the feminists are yet to come to terms with gendered nature of the state; and the description of state depicts patriarchy and masculinity (Pringle and Watson, 1998). Furthermore, according to Birte Siim cf (Pringle and Watson, 1998:212) "state policies can be said to reflect male dominance to the extent they have incorporated the dominant male assumptions and have been governed mainly by male interest, therefore have not permitted any real threat to male supremacy".

Similarly, MacKinnon (1989) argues that, male power is channelled through the state and constituted outside it and does not merely conceive state as an interlock on a network through which power circulates. MacKinnon further asserts that the state plays a key role in servicing male power constituted in some other place and is not in any way the source of power. Instead, the state partly institutionalizes male power through law. The law perceives and treats women just as men perceive and treat women; the liberal state employs coercion and authority in constituting the social order to favour men as a gender, through legalizing norms, substantive policies, and societal relations (MacKinnon, 1989). Based on the afore mentioned, the state remains at the beck and call of the male power it institutionalizes, and consequently, its actions will invariably serve male dominance while consolidating and reinforcing male power.

The traditional Marxist perceives the state as a branch of ruling class interest, essentially, the class and capital but also extends to racial, patriarchal, and other hegemonic interests (Rajan, 2003). Franzway, Court and Connell cf (Pringle and Watson, 1998), established a relationship between gender and the state and further stated that the state through its gendered practices, play a vital role in constituting gender inequality but does not in itself reflect such. Consequently, such gendered practices become institutionalized in historically specific state forms (Pringle and Watson, 1998). The gendering of some state's practices such as the division of power, and its sub divisions, division of labour, violence and resources are all gendered and often result in the restrictive participation of women in decision making or politics (Peterson and Runyan, 2005).

The primary role of state is to provide security and social services to civilians. However, in peaceful times and places, the state is found wanting in this regard and is the reason people make concerted effort (vigilante groups) to secure their lives and properties. Conversely, in wars or emergencies, the state is still unable to meet the purpose for its existence (security). Therefore, there is continuity of state's failure to provide security as in peaceful times.

This study employs the concept of modern state-in this context, made up of different agencies and institutions, and these to some extent operate a bit autonomously, guided by different approaches and objectives. These elements of the state operate independent of each other, but in reality, they constitute the state. Hence, this study examines and analyses the gendered activities of some state agencies or institutions that are involved in the provision of assistance to IDPs.

3.3.2 Camp Organization

The IDP camps are organized by camp officials, alongside SEMA/NEMA officials. Also, camps are often organized by gender and this has long constituted protection risks as well as challenge for camp management actors (HPN, 2017). However, reports from Amnesty International (2018) shows that young and single IDW were separated from married ones and confined to a designated to a specific section of the camp. This apparent segregation and separation from their families increases their vulnerability and exposure to sexual exploitation and abuse by soldiers and CJTF members. For example, the organization of Bama Hospital and Secondary School camps is such that young married women are separated from their in-laws and other people in the camps (Amnesty International, 2018). With this sort of camp arrangement, it is obvious that such separation would strip the IDW of the web of family and social support network, thus, enhancing the sexual exploitation of these women by the people who are meant to ensure their protection. Such gendered activities in the camp apparently, engenders inequality and reinforce male dominance over women, thus, exacerbating oppression and discrimination against IDW.

Again, camp arrangement is segregated by gender, marital status, and age[13]. Every married woman is assigned a tent with her children, widows are also assigned tents- each widow and her children to a tent, singles of same age group and gender (18 years and above) are merged in groups- a group of five to a tent, unaccompanied children between ages 10-14 are assigned to a tent with a care giver who lives with them, and married men are each assigned to a tent[14]. Camps are also segregated based on settlements (before displacement), and each settlement is headed by an influential leader[15], called *Bulama* (influential leader). Such seemingly benign criteria of camp arrangement predispose a certain category of IDW to certain risks and vulnerability.

3.3.3 Screening Operations

This is done by the military and CJTF before releasing displaced persons into IDP camps. The screening operation is deemed necessary for those arriving recaptured towns because these categories of people have long lived in areas controlled by BH (Amnesty International, 2018), Hence, it is important to determine their probable affiliation with insurgents, if any. The displaced population found in liberated areas undergo screening to identify BH members (ICG, 2016). After the screening process, the officials determine who to release into IDP camps and who to detain for further interrogation. It often involves arbitrary detention, violence, beatings, humiliation, ill-treatment, and separation of family members (Amnesty International, 2018). Since there is no standard procedure for the screening process, the process often involved various forms of violence and abuse of displaced persons, particularly those treated with greater suspicion. Young men between the ages of 14-40 are often targeted for abuse during screening exercise (Amnesty International, 2018). This is because these age

[13] KII-Ahmed-July 28, 2020-10.00am.
[14] KII-Ahmed-July 28,2020-10.00am.
[15] KII-Ahmed-July 28, 2020-10.00am.

groups are relatively young, typical of men of fighting age, and are perceived with suspicion by the security forces, as having ties with the AOG. (Nagarajan, 2017). The period of detention usually lasts for about 24 hours, a few days or weeks is characterized by lack of water, food, and shelter, and is much worse for women with children who watched their children die from starvation (Amnesty International, 2018).

The abuse and wanton violence could be due to suspicion that either the women or their husbands are Boko Haram associates since they were displaced from Boko Haram controlled areas. Rather than make appropriate interrogations to determine whether they are among the trapped populations in areas controlled by Boko Haram or that they actually have ties with the insurgents, screening officers just treat everyone as a suspect without giving them opportunities to explain their situations. The criteria for screening are based on gender, age group, marital status, whether women arrived (un) accompanied by their husbands, and women who arrived with children. Women with children are screened within a short time, those who travelled unaccompanied by husbands are screened for longer periods (days or weeks) due to suspicion of being 'Boko Haram wives', and depending on outcome of screening, detention can be longer. The single women are also screened to determine their extent of their affiliation, those forcibly displaced due to military operations spent less time during screening and are subsequently released to IDP camps (Amnesty International, 2018; ICG, 2016).

Although, the aim of screening operation is to determine the situation of the displaced people and probable affiliation, it may also help to further interrogate suspected or confirmed Boko Haram affiliates to help identify others who may be involved in insurgency. While the screening is expedient, it however, exposes women to violence in addition to discriminations and ill-treatment. The military involved in screening are all male, who sometimes ask women to strip themselves for screening. Also, the screening time for single women and women unaccompanied by their spouses is longer and may be as a result of suspicion that they may be 'Boko Haram wives' or may have lived in insurgents' camp, and thus, their being subjected to further interrogation to ascertain possible ties with Boko Haram. Albeit the procedures of the screening may be based more on assumption, than using information provided by these women to make informed decision about either release or further detention. Women with children are typically screened within 24 hours[16]. This may be because of the difficulty that is associated with detaining a mother of children and having to cater and make provision for them, as facilities available may be inadequate, hence, they are screened in less time.

The gendered screening operations of the military portrays unequal gender relations, resulting in gender inequality in these state structures, and this stems from how the military is structured, to employ coercion and authority in dealing with IDW, thus favouring men, and dominating women. And since such gendered practices have become institutionalized overtime, its strategies or policies works in the same way men perceives and treat women, thus, reinforcing the dominant male power.

3.3.4 Movement within IDP Camps

Findings from secondary data shows that movement in and out of camp is controlled and decided by the military and CJTF, and sometimes filled the vacuum that existed in governance, law, and order (Amnesty International, 2018). The movement restriction in the camps differs for men and women. While men can leave the camp to engage in livelihood activities, IDW's movement are prohibited (Amnesty International, 2018). In general, the movement restriction could be due to insecurity risks especially around IDP camps and the fact that insurgency is ongoing with a possibility of attack on IDP camps. Conversely, movement of

[16] KII-Ahmed-July 28, 2020-10.00am.

IDW is restricted more, probably because women are considered weak and incapable to flee in the face of danger or the perception that they are vulnerable to violence and abuse or probably due to the presupposition that some IDW may want to return to their Boko Haram husbands or may still be used as a source of intelligent gathering for insurgents.

Further, since the military controlled access to exit pass, they gave access to only IDW who are close to the village head or those who are 'girl friends' to the military or CJTF (Amnesty International, 2018). Typically, in camp situation, IDW are coerced by the military to barter sex for food, assistance and exit pass at such time when they controlled access to these (Amnesty International, 2018). Considering that the military were aware of the plight and vulnerability of IDW since most of their providers and protectors (husbands or male relatives) were either killed in conflict or still held in detention, hence, are in dire need for food, for themselves and their children. Therefore, it appears to be an organized and calculated attempt to block their access to food or aids and also deprive them of the opportunity to seek other means of livelihood to be able to provide for themselves and children, thus increasing their vulnerability. Consequently, some of these women resort to survival sex due to desperation for survival.

Given the power dynamics and unequal social relations involved in the above scenario, male IDPs enjoy greater access to movement in the camp, from their ascribed privileged position as head of family and institutional structures that work in their favour. Conversely, women suffer restricted movement due to their culturally ascribed position in the reproductive and private sphere and limited or no access to the productive or public sphere. Further, the experiences of different IDW will vary. The interaction of gender and movement access will mutually strengthen or weaken their experience of discrimination along this line.

SEMA controls access and obtaining an exit pass involves the following procedures[17]. An approval is required from the Bulama to ascertain reasons for an exit pass, the Bulama then takes the IDP to SEMA for issuance of a pass[18]. In general, all IDPs with a cogent reason such as, going to the market, or neighbouring communities in search of livelihood opportunities are granted a pass[19]. However, current movement restriction applies only to some married IDW whose husbands would say such things as stated by the SEMA official:

> *"A married woman should not go out…you will not go out mingling with shame"*[20]

While there is currently no movement restriction in camps, some IDW still experience movement restriction based on their social status. Due to interaction of gender and social status, IDW whose husbands restrict their movement suffer more discrimination than those who enjoy freedom of movement. The camp official also stated:

> *"not all men restrict their wives' movement, some allow their wives to do business, and support them by becoming part of the business, making progress and are both happier than before"*[21].

3.3.5 Participation of IDW in decision-making

The participation of women in leadership position or decision-making capacity is abysmally low or non-existent, and women leadership roles are generally perceived to be restricted to

[17] KII-Babakura-August 11, 2020-11.00am.
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[20] KII-Babakura-August 11, 2020-11.00am.
[21] KII-Ahmed-August 11, 2020-11.00am.

women sphere (CARE, 2018). However, with the consequences of conflict and displacement situation, there seem to have been a shift, with women increasingly participating in decision-making both at the camp and community levels (CARE, 2018). Although, women are increasingly participating in decision-making within the camp, it seems to be limited to women-related association and does not go beyond that as cited by CARE International.

Nevertheless, IDW leaders in the camp are usually consulted on matters that affect IDW[22]. Also, women leaders serve as communication channel through which the camp management communicates to IDW. However, the official confirmed that decisions in the camp are taken by the camp management, which comprises only men[23]. With the gendered constitution of the camp management team, IDW are likely to be excluded in decision-making or possible, restrictive participation. This is due to the power relations that results from such practice and the perception of the place of women as private (reproductive) rather than public domain. Hence, their exclusion from participating in deciding issues that matter to them and reinforcement of the dominant power hierarchy.

Certain changes in observed in gender relations within the family is yet to reverberate in government institutions. Regarding the military personnel who guard the camp, the female amongst them are only a few[24]. The inclusion of female personnel among the security agency is mainly to facilitate same gender security check that takes place at the entrance and exit of points in camps[25]. If the government institutions desire changes in the system to address institutional inequalities, then, there should have been an equal or near equal inclusion of women among the security personnel since IDP population are majorly women and girls. The few women representation is at best a tokenistic inclusion, rather than a deliberate attempt to address the dominant unequal gender relations that perpetuates inequality. In addition, the fact that the military occupation is gendered and perceived to be for men only, women who venture into such traditional male roles are believed to be the "loose ones"[26]. Given the belief that Islam forbids women from taking up roles that are traditionally men's, those who transverse this exclusive reserve of men are viewed as wayward[27]. It may also be that women are reluctant to join the army due to stereotypic assumptions that surround women assuming roles thought to be men's. Also, since women are believed to be restricted to private sphere, any attempt to engage in the productive sphere risk being termed a 'loose woman'- (wayward and out of control). Again, this institutional practice engender inequality and seem to favour males and disempower women, through the reinforcement of male dominance which stems from the unequal gender relations that characterize the composition of state institutions.

Part of findings earlier mentioned revealed the state's lack of commitment to providing humanitarian assistance to the IDPs, worsens their plight, particularly women. Albeit the IDPs appear to be in a state of reckless abandon by the state, and this was further reaffirmed by an interview respondent; he said:

> *"the state has jettisoned most of her responsibilities to international humanitarian organizations, other humanitarian actors and CSOs"[28].*

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[24] KII-Monguno-August 14, 2020-12.00pm.
[25] KII-Monguno-August 14, 2020-12.00pm
[26] KII-Monguno-August 14, 2020-12.00pm
[27] KII-Monguno-August 14, 2020-12.00pm.
[28] KII-Monguno-August 14, 2020-12.00pm.

According to Brookings (2014), IDW who are within the borders of their own country remains the responsibility of their national government, hence, the state is responsible for providing assistance and protection them. However, this is not the case for IDW in northeast Nigeria. Based on the above narrative, it is evident the state who is charged with the protection and assistance of IDW are often implicated in the plight of these women, ranging from forced displacement from their habitual residence, perpetration of violence by the military, to reneging on their responsibility to provide assistance and protect them. Every form of assistance (such as provision of health care, food aids, cash assistance, etc.) that IDPs benefit from, particularly women are from the good will of other humanitarian actors. This kind of begs the question of what would be become of IDW and IDPs in general, should these actors pull out of Nigeria?

The Nigerian government seemed to have prioritized countering Boko Haram insurgency than making sufficient provision of assistance and protection for IDW. In both past and recent times, the state had allocated billions of dollars towards the fight against insurgency, but ironically, made no substantial commitment towards assisting people affected by these operations. Further, the state may have become laid back in its responsibility due to aids to IDPs from international community. Also, those saddled with implementation could deviate from the policy, possibly because situation met on ground differs from what was considered in policy formulation. Again, the military and politicians (particularly influential and those in decision-making positions) are dominated by men (from elite groups-upper class) who seem to determine how state's resources are appropriated, giving limited attention to the plight and destitution of the predominantly women IDP population.

Further, the needs of IDW may not be in tandem with the priorities of the state and as Dixon cf Kabeer (1994) stated explicitly, that whatever policy makers in state institutions formulate or implement (changes as the case may be), would be premised on their values, perceptions, identities and relationships which is incongruous with the realities of the IDW. Consequently, decisions are taken by the elites, with no preference to the needs of IDW, but for their personal and vested interest and this validates an interviewee's words, he said:

> *"some politicians and elites in state institutions do not want the insurgency to end because they are making money from it"*[29].

It is no longer news that there is deep-seated corruption in the military and other state institutions with vested interest that seems to nullify the efforts to end insurgency in northeast Nigeria. Little wonder the reason the insurgency has lingered with continuing displacement of civilians. The intervention framework utilized for national response lacks certain vital elements, particularly policy frameworks on internal displacement, that is a reflection of the 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of IDPs in Africa-the Kampala Convention (United Nations, 2017). The afore mentioned are meant to provide information and guidance on required responses, the establishment of the rights of IDPs, the State's obligation towards IDPs and responsibilities of different agencies for adequate coordination (United Nations, 2017). However, the Kampala convention is yet to be domesticated since ratification, and the national policy remains a draft (United Nations, 2017). Given that the Federal Government of Nigeria is yet to domesticate the Kampala Convention, which is a binding instrument that stipulates the obligations towards IDPs, there is no evident commitment from the state on doing enough to assist the IDPs.

Based on the foregoing, discrimination against IDW is not merely of unilateral origin, but rather, a complex connection of institutions and their gendered practices, unequal

[29] KII-Monguno-August 14, 2020-12.00pm.

relations which culminate in power hierarchies, perceived private domain ascribed to women, etc. All these intersect to create structural barriers, multiples layers of discrimination and systems of oppression. Hence, an intersection of power relations embedded in state institution shape the experience of IDW, and the experience of each IDW would depend on the number of intersecting statuses of power in these structures. In addition, an interaction of these statuses of power and other identities of IDW often result in multiple layers of discrimination.

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter has examined and analysed the gendered activities of institutions, with focus on the family and state. What emerges from the findings are interrelationship of these institutions and how certain practices have become institutionalized, resulting in structural inequalities, and resulting plights of IDW. The next chapter focuses on gendered stereotypes and lived experiences of IDW in IDP camps.

Chapter 4: Gendered Stereotypes and Experience

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will be concerned with gender stereotypes around certain categories of IDW. Section 4.2 will focus on categories of IDW, section 4.3 on stereotypic assumptions, 4.4 on lived experiences of IDW and 4.5 on experience and effects of stigmatization. The chapter ends with a concluding remark, and highlights of the next chapter.

4.2 Categories and Identities of Internally Displaced Women

A large number of women and girls (IDW) were abducted or coerced under threat to join BH sect, many joined voluntarily, some joined as a result of influence of family members, others literally accompanied by a family member who is male or relative- a father, brother or husband, or better still, some became members as means to avoid marriages arranged by parents or relatives (Nwaubani cf ICG, 2019). IDW comprise of three main categories; the first category comprises those forcibly displaced as a result of counter-insurgency operations of the Nigerian military (those from villages previously under the control of BH but have been reclaimed by the military), the second category of IDW consists of those who were abducted and coerced to join Boko Haram (victims) and the third group include those who joined voluntarily (perpetrators) and rescued from Boko Haram captivity during military rescue operations.

IDW in the second and third categories are suspected or believed to have subsisting affiliations with Boko Haram, hence, they are often referred to as "Boko Haram wives or brides" and "Sambisa women" (Sambisa forest is the base or major settlement camps of Boko Haram insurgents). Overall, the IDW associated with BH identify as abductee, wife, mother, slave, BH member, supporter, victim, and sympathizer (ICG, 2016). In general, IDW are women of all ages, divorces, single mothers, widows, heads of households, displaced women, poor, lower class women, vulnerable, limited or no education, and some were former Boko Haram wives, slave, or fighter.

4.3 Stereotypic Assumptions

There are stereotypical assumption that women associated with BH were either coerced or tricked to join by their husbands, served as slaves (responsible for all forms of errands in the insurgents' camp, hence powerless), and those who joined voluntarily, either became combatants or got married to BH fighters or surrendered fighter (ICG, 2019). The identities created around some IDW stem from the suspicion that these women have unsevered affiliation with BH. Such ties are viewed as a source of threat to families and camp communities. Further, these presupposed ties fuel speculations that some women associated with BH may still be well involved in the insurgency (since insurgency is still ongoing), by acting as spies (intelligence gathering) and recruiting others to join the group (ICG, 2019). Even though some of these women have been deradicalized and are supposed to be harmless and reunited to their families, some family members and other IDPs in the camp find it difficult to accept the women back. Consequently, there is a feeling of distrust for IDW. The high level of distrust is due to fearful thoughts that these women had been radicalized and hypnotized, hence, it would be extremely difficult for them to turn a new leaf and not perpetrate any

form of evil or constitute danger to the communities by continued alliance with their fighter husbands.

IDW are doubly discriminated against in northeast Nigeria given the prevalent patriarchal dominance and Islamic religious practice of purdah in northern Nigeria , including the enactment of Sharia law and its adoption by most northern states including Borno- which restricts the freedom and rights of women to livelihood opportunities and education and certain social norms such as the practice of purdah which results in exclusion of women from community and social life (ICG, 2016). However, the experience of these women stems from the interaction of gender and affiliation with BH and status of return. These power relations underlie the differences in experience of this category of IDW and IDP in general, making experience of discrimination either more severe or less and for some IDW, none at all.

4.4 Lived Experiences of Internally Displaced Women

The experience of discrimination is perhaps worse for young girls and women who were former BH wives. The way this category of IDW is perceived severely affect their lived experiences and often result in stigmatization. While other IDW women marry easily, IDW affiliated with BH often face the challenge of low marriage prospects which stems from their antecedents (ICG, 2019), leading to increased low life chances that result from their discriminatory experiences. The chances of marriage or remarriage may be more difficult for those with children as opposed to those without children, since having children is perceived as extra responsibility for a prospective suitor (ICG, 2019). Also, while other IDW have the chances of reuniting with family members in the camp, the family members of IDW associated with BH are usually not willing to accept these women which further causes seclusion and ostracism.

In some cases, IDW (and their children) are not be accepted by their husbands and fathers. In others, IDW and their children are accepted back by their husbands (International Alert and UNICEF, 2016). The decision to either accept or reject is shaped by whether the women and girls joined BH voluntarily (perpetrator) or were abducted (International Alert and UNICEF, 2016) (victims). Those who accepted the women believed it was not their fault as it was a situation beyond their control. Also, it could have been easy for the children to be accepted as well especially with the understanding that the children had no control or choice over their paternity, hence should not be treated based on the actions of their fathers or referred to with stereotypic assumptions that culminate in ostracism and social rejection. On the other hand, those rejected are believed to have joined voluntarily and may still retain ties with their fighter husbands, hence the suspicion and mistrust that their acceptance portends a potential risk, particularly with the current war against insurgency.

Some IDW returned from captivity with the children (either by marriage or rape) they bore for BH fighters. These children are perceived in host communities and IDP camps as having "bad blood" from their BH fathers and risk rejection by the families and camp communities (ICG, 2016; GCPEA, 2018). The perception of children fathered by BH, as having the blood of BH or "bad blood" is due to the fact that they are viewed as potential enemies since they are offspring of insurgents and therefore, likely to possess the traits of their fathers. Having such bad blood is believed to increase the propensity of perpetuating the lineage of the much-dreaded Boko Haram.

According to International Alert and UNICEF (2016:9) , "some also believe that the children conceived as a result of sexual violence or sexual relations with BH members will become the next generation of fighters, as they carry the violent characteristics of their biological fathers". This is a mere perception by other IDW and other IDPs, of children born

to BH fighters. There is no evidence that violence is genetic or hereditary, and there is no scientific basis for such stereotype. However, such an idea of children having 'bad blood' could be as a result of ignorance as well as feeling of apprehension that children born to insurgents portend great risks and would likely lead to a repeat of cycle of conflict that resulted in loss of lives and properties that they had experienced. Also, there is a general perception that these are already "terrorists" and terrorists never change no matter how well they have been deradicalized. Again, it sort of follows the popular perception of 'like father, like son' which implies that children inherit their parents' behaviour. This again shows how views and perception shape the belief system of the people even though such does not necessarily have any genetic undertone.

4.4.1 Vulnerability to Sexual Abuse

This category of IDW are also at a higher risk of sexual abuse than other IDW since they lack the protection of husbands or other male relatives, unmarried, abandoned by relatives, or whose family networks was destroyed by conflict (ICG, 2019). The younger IDW in this category will be at a higher risk of sexual abuse and harassment in the camp than the older women. Also, young women without children experience higher vulnerability than those with children, and of course the vulnerability to sexual abuse of this category of women would be higher than IDW who have their husbands or male relatives with them in the camp. Hence, the experience of discrimination of each woman may differ significantly from others. In addition, the segregation of tents in the camp where IDW affiliated with BH are allocated, contributes to, and increases their vulnerability to sexual exploitation abuse, as opposed to other IDW who have their husbands or male relatives in the camp and enjoy the protection thereof. Thus, creating easy access to perpetrators of abuse since they lack any form of male protection (either from absent husbands or male relatives). Since women are perceived as subservient to men, some men (camp officials, military and perhaps other IDPs) believe they can get away with such acts since such belief is premised on women subordination which is a reflection of the power hierarchies that is dominant in the camp.

There are certain words, idioms, and popular talks used in stigmatizing IDW and their children. They include: "I would never marry a Boko Haram man", children borne to BH fighters are viewed as having "bad blood" from their fathers, "the blood of Boko Haram" "Boko Haram bride or wives", "criminal", "annoba" (epidemics) (GCPEA, 2018; International Alert and UNICEF, 2016). Stigma of association hinders the reintegration of these women into the community and hampers their ability to live a normal life (ICG, 2016). In some of the IDP camps in Maiduguri both the victims (those abducted) and perpetrators (those who joined voluntarily) experience the ordeal of stigmatization (ICG, 2016).

4.5 Experience and Effects of Stigmatization

Stigmatization impacts on their chances of participating in economic activities. Given that the women who were married to Boko Haram fighters no longer have their husbands with them, particularly the fact they have to become providers, they are faced with additional challenge of providing for themselves and their family while keeping up with reproductive and care work. When the food distribution in the camp is inadequate or none, they are forced to resort to sex for survival to prevent starvation. Also, given that they experience movement restriction out of the camp for security reasons, and may not be given an exit pass to give them access to livelihood opportunities outside the camp, it further worsens their situation. Again, for those with children, the absence of school in some IDPs and the fact that they

have to spend more time caring for children makes it a herculean task to source for a means of livelihood to support themselves and their children.

Also, the absence of partners or male relative that would have afforded the opportunity to access market opportunities is also lost due to stigma of association experienced. Hence, they are unable to get help from the people that ought to have been of help to them. Further, during deradicalization and rehabilitation of these women, the government spent more time and resources on working and monitoring how these women's ideology (due to indoctrination by BH) had changed to a desired outcome that they invested little time and resources in skills acquisition and training that would have equipped and prepared these women for a more independent economic life. Hence, there were no mechanism in place to enable them swoop into action with skills acquired. On the other hand, skills training provided may not have been based on assessment of local demands that would translate into steady income generation, and also the gross lack of resources from both the federal and state government that could have assisted the women as seed capital.

The experience of severity of stigmatization and rejection would also differ for these categories of IDW based on whether they returned with pregnancy and or with children conceived of BH. First, being a victim of sexual abuse or rape in northern Nigeria is perceived as 'iskanci' (immoral) although the victim was coerced and taken advantage and had no means of warding off the predator. It is considered immoral because it is believed that the victim has betrayed the 'honour of the family' by allowing herself to be raped or sexually abused even though she obviously had no control over the situation. Sexual abuse or rape in Nigerian and particularly the north and IDP camps, are often seen as the fault of the woman- the victim is always blamed for her woes with no stiff penalty for the perpetrator who roams about freely and seeking the next prey. The experience of stigma by an IDW (formerly married to a BH fighter) who was sexually abused but somehow did not result in pregnancy nor children would differ from the IDW who was sexually abused, became pregnant and returned from captivity pregnant, and this would also differ much more from the one who was sexually abused, conceived for BH fighter, bore children for the insurgents and also returned with the children from captivity. These arrays of variation make the experiences of these women different, due to the interaction of multiple power statuses, and depending on the degree of affiliation and status of return, an IDW of this category would experience more or less discrimination or none at all.

In general, there is a tendency for IDW in camps to be construed as 'victims' (who lack agency) in humanitarian intervention framework, which contravenes the actual role they play in keeping up with their responsibilities (Ajayi, 2020). Giving the arrays of aftermath of conflict and displacement, women have had to experience a change in their traditional gender roles. Despite the provision of aids and assistance by humanitarian organization (which is barely adequate), women take initiative in exploring other means to augment what they receive in IDP camps. Even though they appear to be victims of insurgency (once independent and now dependent on aids), and also being in a disempowering situation, they do not resort to fate and fold their arms, rather, they exhibit resilience by figuring ways to access resources, through seeking livelihood opportunities (agency). This goes a long way to prove their ability to take appropriate decision in the face of challenges, hence, not lacking agency as misconstrued.

Therefore, the importance of participation in decision making in matters that concern them comes to fore (which includes providing their basic needs), they are to be accorded their human rights, as "equal partners with right" rather than their being treated as "passive beneficiary of aid" (Brookings Institution, 2014). According to Goetz cf March, et al, (1999), development bureaucracies including humanitarian intervention approach, and other similar organization are gendered, in relation to outcomes, rules and culture. This implies that in

societies where patriarchy is dominant, the outcomes, rules and culture of the organization tend to tilt towards the values of males. Hence, they result in male domination and the subordination of women, and hence, the perpetuation of gender inequality.

Contrary to one's expectation of the segregation of IDW affiliated with BH, findings from KII with camp official revealed that, all IDW are treated alike and there is no form of segregation that is capable of exacerbating discrimination or stigmatization. As stated by the camp official, he said:

> *"It is almost difficult to tell who has had an affiliation with Boko Haram insurgents unless you have a personal interaction with them"*[30].

The above indicates the extent to which the stereotypic assumption and stigmatization around this category of women is gradually waning. It is evident how these stereotypic assumptions engender discrimination and stigmatization against IDP women. Albeit this situation may also vary across IDP camps given the dynamics in the camp management and the fluidity of procedures and the fact that variability of gender, across time, context, and space.

4.6. Conclusions

This chapter analysed the stereotypic assumptions around certain categories of IDW, expounded on their lived experiences and effects of stigma. The next chapter will examine and analyse the intersection of gender with certain relations of power.

[30] KII- Ahmed, July 28, 2020-10.00am.

Chapter 5: Gender Discrimination

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the thesis will show how gender interacts with age, social status, and position in the family. Section 5.2 focuses on the intersection of social status and gender, 5.3 on age, position in the family and gender and 5.4 on age and gender. The chapter will end with a summary and a prelude to the concluding chapter.

5.2. The Intersection of Social status and Gender

A single IDW's experience of gender discrimination differs from that of a married, widowed, or separated IDW. A single IDW experience increased vulnerability and risk to sexual abuse and exploitation, in addition to the gender discrimination and is more likely to engage and thrive in livelihood opportunities than do some married women. While a married IDW may be less susceptible to sexual exploitation, some of the married IDW experience movement restriction from their husbands (making them unable to engage in livelihood opportunities outside the camp, and yet still, other married IDW (from vulnerable and poor families) are allowed by their husbands to move freely and engage in income generating activities. A widow already experiences discrimination as a result of loss of social support (husband), vulnerability to sexual exploitation, also suffer from lack of livelihood opportunities, particularly becoming a provider.

Before conflict and displacement, many IDW were predominantly restricted to the private sphere, as caregivers to children, and the elderly. Hence, they possessed limited or no requisite skills training, had no experience in business nor access to livelihood opportunities. Owing to such exclusion from the productive sphere (due to social norms), they are unable to engage in livelihood opportunities since they lack the capacity (numeracy skills-owing to their low literacy level) to succeed in business. For a widow, this becomes even more difficult since she has to fend for herself and children without support. According to the camp official, he said:

"they don't happen to catch up with business despite trainings".

An instance was given, of a widow whose situation was appalling and deplorable until DRC intervened with cash assistance with which she started tailoring. Other than that, it was a hopeless and helpless situation especially since no specific assistance is provided for widows and or single parents in IDP camps and this reflects the experiences of widows and perhaps separated IDW in camps.

The interaction of social status and gender, result in differences in experience of different IDW. Nevertheless, the intersection of these power statuses reinforces culturally and historically constructed stereotypes of exploitation, domination, and privilege and consequently, multiple layers of discrimination and oppression that result from such interaction. Thus, the location of IDW in these statuses of power makes some to be in better position, with less discrimination or none and yet others can be in lowly positions with worse experience of discrimination.

5.3. The Intersection of Age, position in the family, and Gender

IDW in polygynous families have unique experiences that stem from their age and rank among multiple wives in the family. So, an older and first wife would have a different experience of discrimination compared to those in the middle, and from the younger and last wife. While the younger and last wife may enjoy greater privileges, the older and first wife may be marginalized since the husband maybe drawn to the last wife than to the first and perhaps other co-wives.

The power relations embedded in age, position in the family and gender, and their interaction culminate in differences in experience of IDW in polygynous families. In addition, the number of power statuses foregrounded can either weaken of strengthen the experience of discrimination by IDW in such families. Further, an outplay of power dynamics among co-wives exacerbate their plight, in addition to other intersecting axes of oppression inherent in various social structures and institutions that are connected to these women. These culminate in unique experiences and makes each IDW distinct from the other. Nevertheless, the interaction of multiple power statuses of these women can either make their experience of discrimination better, worse or nothing but also depends on how they are positioned in these social categories.

5.4. The Intersection of Age and Gender

Young IDW are much more vulnerable than older IDW to sexual exploitation or violence and abuse. Their age intersects with their gender (with accompanying gender roles such as fetching of woods and water) as specified by social norms, which increases their susceptibility to sexual exploitation and domestic violence, etc. On the other hand, the elderly experience discrimination in a different way. There is an increase in vulnerability among older IDW, which implies a reduction in mental and physical capacity (UNHCR, 2016). There is no provision for specific needs of elderly IDW in camps, and some are left to raise their grandchildren or unaccompanied minors, thereby constituting additional burden and strain on their frail bodies and without provision of special care (Amnesty International, 2018). In some cases, they have to fend for themselves and children under their care and their situation is worsened if they had lost their children in conflict or if their children have left the camp in search of livelihood opportunities (Amnesty International, 2018), leaving them in a dire situation.

According to Crenshaw (2018), intersectional analysis analyses how different systems of power intersect and how this affects those who are discriminated against the most in the society. In addition, it unearths the differences in experience of discrimination by different people and enables one to see how individuals encounter peculiar experiences of gender discrimination or inequality. Although IDW have similar experiences as displaced population, however, each IDW has unique experiences that stem from the interaction of age, socio economic status and gender, which can weaken or strengthen each other, giving rise to differences in experiences. For instance, while a young IDW is able to get by in camps since she is young and able to engage in livelihood opportunities than an elderly IDW is frail, with limited capacity to engage in economic status. Hence, the interaction of these statuses of power can cause either younger or older IDW to experience greater or lesser discrimination or none at all depending on the number of power statuses that come to fore.

5.5. Conclusions

This chapter analysed the intersection of gender and various social categories of IDW. Also, the intersectional analysis helped to unveil the different experiences of IDW that emanate from interaction of multiple identities. The next and final chapter presents a summary of the research findings and highlight of the paper's contribution to the study of gender and intersectionality.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

6.1. Introduction

In synthesizing the thesis, chapter revisits with revisiting the main question that this study sought to answer and summarizes its main findings. Also, it highlights the study's contribution to theoretical debate regarding the use of the concept of gender and intersectionality in understanding how gendered activities of institutions exacerbate the plight of IDW, as well as the how multiple social categories interact with gender to create different experiences for different IDW. The chapter concludes by indicating areas for future research.

6.2 Revisiting Gender/Intersectionality: A synthesis

This paper started by examining the main question: How do gendered practices intersect with specific power relations to exacerbate the plight of IDW in IDP camps in Borno Nigeria? Chapter one discussed problems, engaged with relevant literatures, gave a contextual background, and presented research questions. The research questions focused on ways in which gendered institutional practices discriminate against IDW, how gendered stereotypes influenced their lived experience, and how gender interact with social status, age, and family position. Sources of information, research process, methods and analysis were also discussed in this chapter. In chapter two, the concepts of gender and intersectionality were examined in order to make meaning of secondary and primary data.

In chapters three, four and five, the paper presented the findings and analyses, using gender and intersectionality as tools of analysis. Gender aided the understanding of how gendered activities in the family and state agencies result in power hierarchies, thereby, empowering men and disempowering IDW, as well as the embeddedness of this inequality in institutional structures. Intersectional analysis helped to understand how IDW's positioning on multiple power statuses (age, social status, and position in the family) make their experiences of discrimination vary, one from the other, because interaction of those social categories can mutually strengthen or weaken each other.

Ultimately, gender, age, social status, and position in the family are important factors that influence the experiences of IDW and gendered practices in IDP camps. However, gender alone cannot explain how IDW located in these social statuses of power experience multilayered discrimination. These power relations intersect to either mutually strengthen or weaken each other. The gendered practices of institutions and the experience of an internally displaced woman are dependent on how a woman is positioned on these three social categories. The different location of IDW in multiple power statuses explains the differences in individual experience of discrimination. Thus, IDW, placed in better social statuses experience discrimination in ways different from those in lowly positions. This indicates that the experience of discrimination is dependent on specific contexts and the power relations involved in gendered activities of the family and state are vital for understanding the experiences of IDW in IDP camps.

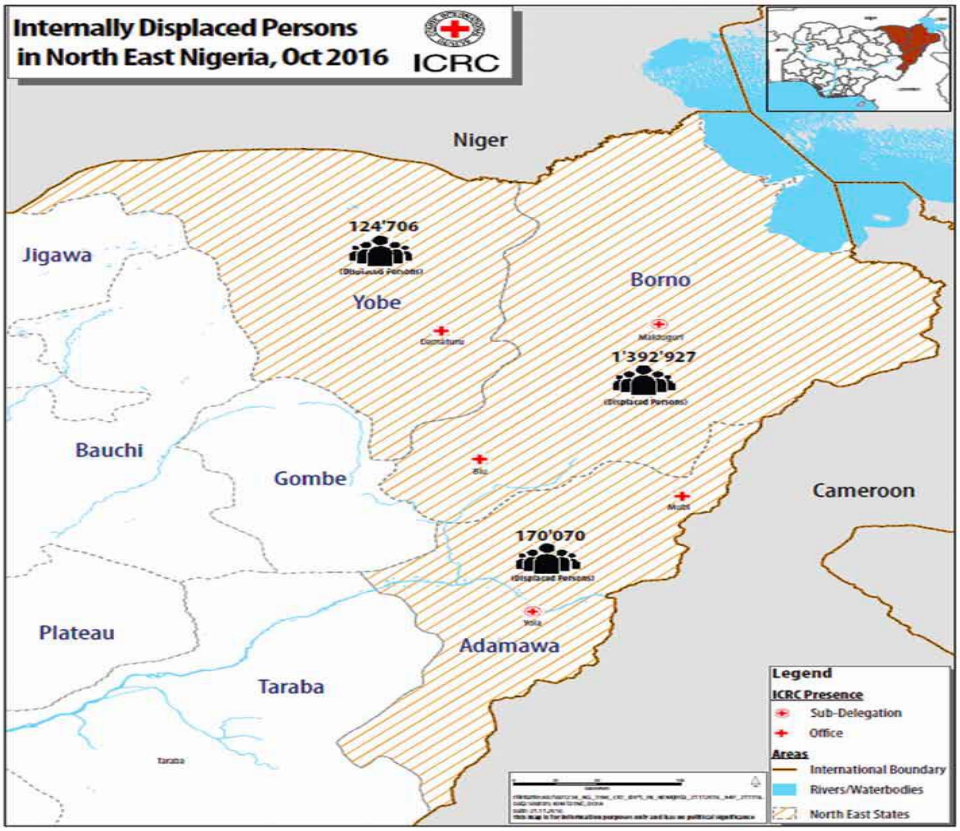
6.3 Suggestion for Further Research

Although this research addressed the research questions, there were, however, difficulties encountered in conducting field work. Therefore, I suggest that this study be explored further, but with focus on the current experiences of IDW, and researchers making contact with these women (ethnographic) and observing their experiences in IDP camps. In addition, this research did not include the theory of agency given that I could not see how IDW exercise their agency within the study scope. Hence, I suggest future research that demonstrates how they do so.

Figure 0.1
A cross-section of IDW

Source: ICRC, 2016.

Map 1.1
Map of Northeast Nigeria



Source: ICRC, 2016.

Appendices

Appendix 1
Operational manual/Interview Guide for Camp/SEMA Officials

Sub question 1: In what way (s) do gendered institutional practices discriminate against internally displaced women in IDP camps in northeast, Nigeria?

The following questions will help to obtain information on how the state as an institution discriminate against internally displaced women in IDP camps in northeast Nigeria.

The security agencies (military, police, etc.) camp officials, SEMA and NEMA are treated as part of the state.

a. What are the obligations and roles of various state agencies in the assistance and protection of IDW and how do they result in discrimination of IDW in IDP camp?

NEMA/SEMA/Camp officials

- Who distributes food and aids in the camp and to whom?
- What are the criteria for distribution of aids and camp management and coordination?
- Who benefits and who is discriminated against?
- How are camps organized or coordinated by SEMA/NEMA?
- What explains the gender segregation of camps?
- How is it done?
- How does segregation of IDW by categories (victims and perpetrators) lead to discrimination of some?
- Are the categories segregated based on age and marital status?
- Are there other criteria for segregation?
- What are they?

Security agencies

b. What are the criteria used to categorize women in screening camps and how do these discriminate against IDW?

- Does the quality and number of categories change overtime?
- Do criteria change when there is a change in administration?
- How does the military categorize women for screening in the camps? Is it by marital status, age, reasons for displacement or suspicion of affiliation with Boko Haram (those abducted victims or coerced marriage to members of Boko Haram)?
- What are the criteria for detention? Is it based on suspicion of being "Boko Haram wives or because the presented unaccompanied by their husbands"?
- What are the procedures for screening?
- What determines the duration for screening?
- What explains the reason some are screened for shorter or longer duration than others?
- Who is detained and who is released?

c. How does the military restriction of movement in and out of the camp discriminate against IDW?

- Who experiences stricter movement restriction and who has less restriction in terms of age, gender, marital status, and affiliation with Boko Haram?
- Who controls access?
- What are the conditions for obtaining a pass?
- How is it negotiated?
- Who benefits from this?
- Who is disadvantaged?
- How does movement restrictions affect the lives of IDW in the camp?

d. In what way does arbitrary detention of husbands and male relatives by the military exacerbate discrimination against IDW in IDP camps?

- How does the absence of husbands and male relative affect IDW?

e. How does the segregation of young and single IDW contribute to sexual abuse, exploitation, and discrimination?

- What are the criteria for segregation?
- Who becomes increasingly vulnerable to sexual exploitation?
- Who is less vulnerable?

State

f. How does the state exclude IDW from participation in decision making and how does this exacerbate discrimination against these women in IDP camps?

- How are IDW excluded from decision making in the camps?
- Who takes decision in matters that affect IDW?
- Are they consulted in such matters?
- Are their opinions considered in such decisions?

The family

The underlisted questions will help in interrogating how the family as an institution discriminate against IDW in IDP camp, northeast, Nigeria.

g. How do parents adapt and cope with new situations in IDP camps and how does this result in discrimination against young girls in IDP camps?

- What are the reasons parents marry off their daughters at an early age?
- Who takes the decision?
- Who is empowered?
- Who becomes disadvantaged?

h. In what way (s) does cash assistance or aids distribution discriminate against IDW in IDP camps in northeast Nigeria?

- What are the criteria for distribution of cash assistance?
- Who receives the cash assistance or aid?

- How is the aid or cash assistance appropriated?
- Who is privileged or who benefits from it?
- Who is discriminated against?

i. In what way (s) does the responsibilities of IDW in the family, as dictated by social and cultural norms, increase their risk of sexual abuse and violence in IDP camps, in northeast Nigeria?

- Who assigns responsibilities or chores in the family?
- What are the criteria for assigning such chores?
- Who becomes vulnerable in the process?
- Who is not or less vulnerable?

j. In what ways are IDW in polygamous families discriminated against?

- How are aids and food distributed in polygamous families?
- Who takes decision within a polygamous family?
- What are the criteria for distribution?
- Who is privileged in terms of age, gender, and position among wives?
- Who is marginalized, excluded, or discriminated against?

k. How does the family's treatment of IDW who were former Boko Haram wives result in discrimination?

- How does the family perceive women who were former Boko Haram wives?
- What are the experiences of either the victim or perpetrators?
- Who is discriminated against the less or more?
- In what way does their experiences differ?
- How does this affect their life chances?

Sub question 2: How do gender stereotypes influence the lived experiences of internally displaced women in IDP camps in northeast, Nigeria?

To answer this question, the following underlisted questions will help to interrogate available literatures to understand how gender stereotypes affect the lived experiences of IDW in IDP camps in northeast Nigeria.

a. How are IDW perceived and how does this exacerbate discrimination in IDP camps?

- How are certain categories of IDW perceived in IDP camps?
- What are the categories of IDW affected by gender stereotype?
- What category is discriminated against the more or less?
- What stereotypic words are used to describe these categories?
- What stereotypic representation is used to describe children that born to this category of IDP women?
- How are gender stereotypes created around the experiences of IDW?

b. In what way (s) do experiences of gender stereotypes result in discrimination and stigmatization of IDW in IDP camp in northeast Nigeria?

- How does gender stereotypes affect their marriage prospects?

- How does it affect their children?
- What are the identities they generate for themselves to counter gender stereotypes?
- What do they do to prove people wrong?
- In what way do IDW resist identities that engender gender stereotypes?

c. In what way (s) does provision of assistance for this category of IDW engender stereotypes and discrimination?

- What are the criteria for provision of aids?
- Who is advantaged?
- Who is discriminated against?
- How does aid to this category of IDW discriminate against other IDW?

d. In what way does segregation of this category of IDW culminate in discrimination in IDP camps?

- How are they positioned in the camps?
- Are there segregated cluster of tents for this category of IDW?
- How does this segregation worsen exclusion and stigmatization?
- In what does this segregation increase vulnerability and risk of abuse?

Sub question 3: How do IDW experience gendered discrimination differently based on their social status, age, position in the family, and affiliation with Boko Haram in IDP camps in northeast Nigeria?

To answer this question, I will ask available literatures and sources the following questions to understand how IDW experience gendered discrimination differently based on their social/marital status, age, affiliation with Boko Haram.

a. How do IDW experience gendered discrimination differently based on social or marital status in IDP camps in northeast Nigeria?

- In what way (s) do single IDW experience gendered discrimination?
- How do married IDW experience gendered discrimination?
- In what way do divorced or separated IDW experience gendered discrimination?
- What are the experiences of widowed IDW with regards to gendered discrimination?
- Who is privileged?
- Who is more disadvantaged?

b. In what way do IDW experience gendered discrimination based on their age in IDP camps, in northeast Nigeria?

- How do young IDW experience gendered discrimination?
- In what way do elderly IDW experience gendered discrimination?
- Who is advantaged?
- Who is discriminated against?

c. How do IDW experience gendered discrimination based on their affiliation with Boko Haram in IDP camp in northeast Nigeria?

- In what way do victims (those abducted by Boko Haram) experience gendered discrimination?

- How do perpetrators (those who joined voluntarily) experience gendered discrimination?
- Who enjoys privileges?
- Who is disadvantaged?

d. What are IDW's experience of gendered discrimination based on their position in the family in IDP camps, northeast Nigeria?

- How do Female-Head of Household IDW experience gendered discrimination?
- In what way do Child-Head of Household experience gendered discrimination?
- Who is advantaged?
- Who is disadvantaged?

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