Review

Humanitarian crisis and internally displaced persons (IDPs): addressing the plights of youth and women victims in Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

The concept of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) has gained some currency in several parts of the African continent, particularly in war-ravaged and environmentally distressed countries, including Nigeria. In modern armed conflicts, millions of refugees, IDPs and other civilians affected by war have been affected by the psychosocial consequences of crisis. Many have suffered severe mental distress caused by traumatic experiences of having witnessed or been subjected to gross violations of human rights such as killings, torture, sexual violence, family separation and displacement from home. For Nigeria, causes of displacement are many, including terrorist activities, ethnic and religious strife, and natural disasters such as earthquakes, flooding, drought; epidemic; extreme temperature; insect infestation; and storm which can cause massive destruction, can lead to the development of anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. Humanitarian agencies are increasingly recognizing the need to implement psycho-social assistance programmes in emergencies, especially as it affects IDPs. The paper examines how burden-sharing and international solidarity could help in addressing the plights of IDPs in Nigeria. Some policy prescriptions are then suggested.

Keywords: Humanitarian Crisis, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), Burden-sharing, and International solidarity.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) has gained some currency in several parts of the African continent, particularly in war-ravaged and environmentally distressed countries, including Nigeria. In modern armed conflicts, millions of refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and other civilians affected by war have been affected by the psychosocial consequences of crisis. Many have suffered severe mental distress caused by traumatic experiences of having witnessed or been subjected to gross violations of human rights such as killings, torture, sexual violence, family separation and displacement from home. War-affected individuals run the risk of depression, anxiety disorders, post-traumatic stress disorders or other forms of mental distress caused by their experiences. The long-term consequences for children can be particularly serious. Similarly, natural disasters such as earthquakes, flooding, drought; epidemic; extreme temperature; insect infestation; and storm which can
cause massive destruction, can lead to the development of anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. Severe mental anguish will sometimes affect an individual’s life and community long after the war or the disaster has ended, causing continuing instability.

Humanitarian agencies are increasingly recognizing the need to implement psycho-social assistance programmes in emergencies. Over the years, international humanitarian agencies have often been stretched to the limit in their efforts to bring timely relief to stricken communities. Within the context of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR), agencies have constantly looked for ways of ensuring a more efficient, effective and coordinated response, by working to strengthen legal and physical protection; by addressing resource constraints on assistance; by improving consistency with United Nations political and development action; and by strengthening coordination tools and activities. Those efforts require consistent support from international donors, including for the “forgotten” emergencies. Burden-sharing and international solidarity have thus emerged as one of the most effective approaches in addressing humanitarian crisis across the globe, especially in addressing the plights of women and youth victims.

Statement of problem

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, and the eighth most populous country in the world. With an estimated population of about 180 million people, a rebased GDP estimate of $454 billion in 2012 and $510 billion in 2013 (compared with the $259 billion and $270 billion that were reported previously), the Nigerian economy is rated in terms of GDP size as the largest in Africa. Ranked as the 12th largest oil exporter in the world, and the 6th in Africa, Nigeria’s oil resources are located mainly in the Niger Delta region. Nigeria ranks 153/187 countries in the 2013 UNDP Humanitarian Development Index (HDI). According to the World Bank, over 70 per cent of the country’s 180 million people live on less than USD$1 per day. National surveys in 2013 and 2014 have shown the Northeast Region sitting at or near the bottom states in terms of key indicators related to Water and Sanitation, maternal health, and nutrition. The area under crisis being driven by the Boko Haram insurgency is to some extent within the Sahel region, which is characterised by semi-arid conditions, a relatively high degree of poverty, malnutrition and low levels of development.

Since the return to democratic rule in 1999, Nigeria has witnessed relative deterioration of its internal security. The trends and patterns of terrorism in the country have become a major source of concern. This, in addition to pockets of natural disasters across the country, has made the issue of IDP a major governance problem in Nigeria. The Nigerian government produced figures on internal displacement for the first time since IDMC’s monitoring began, and the official number of up to 3.3 million contributed to a rise in the overall figure for the region, from 10.4 million at the end of 2012. This made Nigeria the country with the largest IDP population in the region. The increase continued an upward trend set in 2012, linked mainly to worsening conflict and violence throughout the region, but also to an improvement in the collection of data on IDPs (Global Overview, 2014). According to a Zurich-based international displacement monitoring centre (IDMC). “The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) is the leading source of information and analysis on internal displacement. For the millions of people worldwide displaced within their own country, IDMC plays a unique role as a global monitor and evidence-based advocate to influence policy and action by governments, UN agencies, donors, international organisations and NGOs", a Norwegian non-governmental organisation in its 2014 report, Nigeria is home to the largest IDPs in the world after Syria (6.5 million) and Columbia (5.7 million) (Punch, August 23, 2015). The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) stated that the number of internally displaced persons in Nigeria is approximately a third of the IDPs in Africa and 10 per cent of IDPs in the world. "Nigeria sets new record; now has Africa’s highest number of displaced persons (www.premiumtimesng.com/news/161344-nigeria-sets".

IDMC reports that there are 3.3 million IDPs in Nigeria as a result of Boko Haram attacks, communal and religious violence in the middle belt, flooding, cattle rusting and competition for resources. This means that about 2% of Nigerians population have lost homes, family life, means of livelihood and businesses. About 800,000 children have had their education truncated, meaning that the future looks bleak for these children (Punch, August 23, 2015).

The Northeast Region is made up of 6 states—Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno Gombe, Taraba and Yobe with a combined population of 24.5 million people. Of these 6 States, a ‘State of Emergency’ (SoE) has existed in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe since 2012. Within these states, Boko Haram-affiliated insurgents were said to have influence over 30,000 square kilometres of territory by the end of 2014 (International Crisis Group, 2015). Besides the SoE states where they are predominant, IDPs can also be found in Gombe, Bauchi, Jigawa, Taraba, Kano, Kaduna, and Plateau states, as well as limited numbers in the Federal Capital Territory. The conflict centred in Northeast Nigeria is now driving a crisis with regional implications. Boko Haram has on several occasions attacked targets over the Nigerian border in Cameroon, Chad and Niger driving displacement and humanitarian needs in these nations as well. By January 2015 UNHCR reported 130,000 Nigerian...
refugees registered in Cameroon, Chad and Niger (OCHA, 2014).

According to the NBS (2013) about 112 million Nigerians live below the poverty line. This followed another depressing disclosure by the World Bank, which also said that the population of Nigerians in poverty has increased considerably. The figure represents about 67 per cent of the entire population (World Bank, 2013). On the aggregate basis, the economy when measured by the Real Gross Domestic Product, grew by 7.68 per cent in the fourth quarter of 2011, as against 8.60 per cent in the corresponding period of 2010. Poverty incidence, measured by the headcount ratio, also worsened in all the geo-political zones and sectors (rural and urban) of the country in 2010 when compared to 2004 (Figure 1). It has remained higher in rural area and northern zones than in urban areas and southern zones. It is striking to note that the headcount ratio almost doubled in the south east zone (a zone which recorded the least incidence in 2004) and increased more in urban areas than in the rural areas. The trend in total population of the poor is shown in Figure 1. It reveals that more Nigerians are poor between 2004 and 2010.

**Figure 1. Poverty Prevalence by sectors and zones**

Source: NBS, 2013

In general, youths are seen as a universal stage of development between ages 15 and 24 years (United Nations, 1992). In practice, the operational definition of youth varies widely from country to country depending on cultural, institutional and political factors. In industrialised countries, the lower age limit usually corresponds to the statutory minimum school-leaving age. In Britain, for example, “Youth Employment Policy” generally refers to policies targeted at the 16 to 18 year olds while in Italy the term is used to describe policies for people aged 14 to 29 in Northern Italy and 14 to 32 in the South. In Africa, some countries have adopted the United Nations (UN) definition of youth (15-24 years) while others use the commonwealth definition (15 - 29 years). For policy purposes, the age range can be even wider. In some African countries, such as Ghana, Kenya and Tanzania,

**Conceptual clarifications and theoretical framework**

In this section, we shall attempt to (i) define two key concepts associated with this paper namely, concept of Humanitarian crisis and Internally Displaced Person (IDP), and (ii) provide a theoretical anchor for the research.

**Conceptual clarification**

The Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particulars, as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violation of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (Wasike, 2000). Guy Martin defined IDPs as those who have been forced to leave their homes and sources of livelihood but are still within the borders of a country under going violent internal conflict (Martin, 1995). As the number of the IDPs keeps on growing at an alarming rate, the plight of these people has largely become unaddressed by the international community such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The reason often cited for that is that, the responsibility for such IDPs lies with their home government. However, the international community is becoming increasingly interesting to provide such assistance where respective home governments are unwilling or have neglected such responsibility (Nowrojee, 1997).
the definition of youth used for policy purposes ranges from 15 to 35 years. In Nigeria, the NBS defines youth as any person aged 15 to 34 years; the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) specifies 30 years as the upper limit for youths, while the National Youth Policy specifies 18 to 35 years for them. South Africa’s National Youth Policy defines youth as any person between the ages of 14 and 35 years. In Nigeria, as in many countries of the world, citizens between the ages of 15 and 35 form more than 50 percent of the total population. This group is often regarded as the youth, and they comprise students, employees, workers, farmers and persons from various professions including the unemployed—educated or otherwise. These young people constitute a large force. They are energetic, enthusiastic and full of zeal. Unfortunately a large number of them are often victims of humanitarian crisis including insurgency/terrorist activities.

Theoretical framework

In population studies, population movements or migrations usually take two main forms – voluntary migration and involuntary or forced migration. Of the two types of migrations voluntary migration or what is now known as regular migration (Prothero, 1987) involves a permanent change in place of residence in which the decision to move has been taken in circumstances offering the migrant relatively free choice. The theoretical framework in this paper is anchored on the second type of migration that is, forced/involuntary or irregular migration because of the nature of the movement of the people concerned (the bomb blast, ethnic conflict, and natural disaster, especially flooding). This type of migration involves a change of residence under pressure which may therefore not be wholly permanent but may involve further movement, whose timing and direction are uncertain. Inherent in this is the ideas that force (war, conflict, ecological disasters and so on) being an external factor affecting a person acts as a push factor leading him to decide to leave their country and settle elsewhere. Historical record of population movements is punctuated by human crises such as among the Diaspora of the Jews, the expulsion of the Huguenots from France and the deportation of American Indians from their tribal territories.

Internal conflicts in Nigeria have forced thousands of people out of their homes. For instance over 500,000 Tivs were said to be displaced from Nasarrawa and Taraba states in the Tiv-Jukun clash of 2001. Particularly since civil rule re-emerged in Nigeria in 1999, the country has witnessed a series of internal conflict and terrorist activities that have displaced thousands of people from their homes. A few of these conflicts occurred in Ife-Modakeke, Zango Kataf, Kafanchan, Tafawa Balewa, Umuleri-Aguleri, Zaki Biam, etc. Since 2009 when, following the death of its leader, Muhammed Yusuf, the Islamic terror group, Boko Haram, stepped up its terrorist activities, several thousands of citizens have been forcefully displaced from their homes, particularly in the North eastern part of the country.

Most IDPs have been displaced from rural to urban areas; yet, violence in larger urban centres has led to substantial intra-urban displacement, signifying a shift in displacement modalities (Andrea et al., 2014). In many developing countries urban violence has been attributed to clashes between illegal armed groups and government forces, activities of post-demobilization groups, disputes over the control of urban areas that include profitable micro-drug trade, forced recruitment or labour, and pressure on communities to engage in illegal mining and illicit plant cultivation Andrea et al. (2014).

IDMC estimates that there were 33.3 million internally displaced people in the world as of the end of 2013. They were forced to flee their homes by armed conflict, generalised violence and human rights violations. This figure represents a 16 per cent increase compared with 2012, when we reported 28.8 million IDPs, and is a record high for the second year running (Global Overview 2014). As of the end of 2013, sub-Saharan Africa had the largest number of IDPs with 12.5 million, followed by the Middle East and north Africa with 9.1 million. Sixty-three per cent of all IDPs globally come from just five countries affected by conflict: Syria, Colombia, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Sudan (Global Overview 2014). Table 1 below.

Nigeria’s humanitarian crises and the plights of women and youth

In Nigeria, humanitarian crisis results from a combination of factors including terrorist activities, deplorable environmental conditions and ethnic and religious violence. By far the activities of the radical Islamist armed group Boko Haram proved to be the singular most important factor in the increasing number of IDPs in the country. Even when its activities were more lethal and proved highly destructive in the north-eastern states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe Boko Haram’s brutal attacks triggered the displacement of majority of citizens who presently occupy many of the IDP camps across the country.

It is significant to note that of the victims of most violent attacks, women and girls have been the most affected, with the abduction and forced marriage or sale of girls a defining feature of the Boko Haram insurgency. It is estimated that over 50% of the IDP population are children; nearly half of the people impacted by the conflict are under the age of 18 years and they are most at risk of violations of their rights. Reprisal attacks on communities accused of sheltering Boko Haram insurgents by the Nigerian armed forces
have also added to the number of displaced people in the north east. Nigerian soldiers have been accused of sacking whole communities and destroying the homes of Boko Haram suspects or alleged sympathisers. In 2013 for example, soldiers allegedly sacked the town of Bama killing 200 civilians after an attack by suspected Boko Haram insurgents on an army checkpoint that left one soldier dead.

In addition, escalating communal clashes in different parts of the country has also resulted in many people fleeing their homes and properties. Inter-communal violence, caused by competition between local farming communities and nomadic herdsmen, has plagued Nigeria’s Middle Belt (Benue, Kaduna, Plateau, Nassarawa, and Taraba states) for many years and is spreading to other states in northern Nigeria. It is led in large part by the Fulani ethnic militia (ACLED 13/01/2015). In 2014, around 1,700 people died in inter-communal violence (ACLED, 2014). In September, inter-communal violence in the Middle Belt killed 200 people (International Crisis Group 01/10/2014). Clashes between these two economic groups have continued to leave a bloody trail, with its attendant destruction of properties, farmlands and whole communities. Human Rights Watch (HRW) said more than 1,000 people have been killed in communal clashes since last December. “The violence has been almost on a daily basis in some places like Benue State and in a few other places you’ve had it almost on a weekly basis,” said HRW Nigerian Researcher, Mausi Segun (see Human Rights Watch Daily Brief, 31 July 2015). In Benue, NEMA said more than 100 villages were sacked by suspected Fulani herdsmen in 2012 alone. Earlier in April, the agency set up 11 camps for over 100,000 people displaced in eight local governments in the state. Also, many of the victims of flooding caused by heavy rainfall across the country in 2012 are yet to be provided permanent place of residence. Flooding in that year alone displaced over two million people according to NEMA (Human Rights Watch Daily Brief, 31 July 2015).

Occupants of IDPs have continued to suffer lack in the most critical areas of existence. First, due to insufficiency they scavenge for food everyday. A mother of four, Mrs. Asabe Abel, said “in this camp. “The Aningo camp according to findings is sheltering about 10,000 displaced persons, most of whom are women and children. They came from villages like Akuni, Gidan, Gambo, Galo, Assakio, Amawa and so on. A visit to the IDPs camp in Aningo village revealed that they live as though in the wild, sleeping in what looks like nests”. I am living with my children as if we are in an orphanage home, no food, nowhere to sleep, we have escaped from crisis but we don’t know how to escape from hunger. Hunger will soon kill my children”. The displaced people are in need of shelter and non-food items (NFIs). Recurrent ethnic and inter-communal clashes is also responsible for displacement of persons largely due to destruction of houses, schools and markets, thereby occasioning the urgent need for non-food items and shelter to address needs, reduce vulnerabilities and offer protection to displaced and affected communities. In most of the camps, IDPs face acute accommodation problem as there was always not enough houses to accommodate them. Particularly in the SoE states the displaced people live in churches, mosques, town halls, abandoned and uncompleted buildings, and where available, other forms of make shift camps which are grossly inadequate and unsustainable for accommodating the surge in displaced populations. The IDPs usually make do with a makeshift arrangement; they simply gathered grass and sticks, fix the stick together on the ground in a circular shape and thatch the grasses on the sticks. The increasing number of IDPs living in inadequate public or private shelters indicates that the coping mechanisms of both IDPs and host communities have become overstretched. Many of the communal and makeshift shelters are overcrowded and unsuitable in terms of water and sanitation facilities, cooking and privacy, especially for women.

Livelihoods of millions of population in the northeast have been disrupted following over five years of insurgency and conflict. According to Fewsnet; households in the northeast worst affected by conflict continue to face acute food insecurity, with limited access to income-earning activities and markets. The northeast is a food-producing region as well as a passing point for livestock, and the BH insurgency has contributed to greatly reducing household capacity to continue typical livelihoods, as well as decreased market function and trade flows. In Adamawa, Borno and Yobe States, markets are strongly impacted by the conflict. Major

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<th>Countries with largest displacement related to conflict and violence</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Syria 6.5 million</td>
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<td>2. Colombia 5.7 million</td>
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<td>3. Nigeria 3.3 million</td>
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<td>4. DRC 2.9 million</td>
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<td>5. Sudan 2.4 million</td>
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<td>6. Iraq 2.1 million</td>
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<td>7. Somalia 1.1 million</td>
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Source: Global Overview 2014: People Internally Displaced by Conflict and Violence, TECHNICAL REPORT - May 2014

http://www.researchgate.net/publication/264117902
assembly and cross border markets are not functioning and many more are functioning well below normal levels. Consequently, stable food and livestock trade flows within and outside these states have been significantly restricted. Markets stocks are further limited by the significantly below-average local production. This is leading to above-average food prices which are also high relative to neighbouring areas.

One of the noticeable negative effects of BH insurgency is the problem of food insecurity. Within the NE states for instance, cultivation of the major staple food crops (sorghum, maize and millet) was restrained during the 2014 season due to security challenges, and only about 20 percent of the usual land was cultivated for these crops. This will seriously impact the level of food availability and access to the populations even in the immediate period after harvest. Dry season activities within the area will also be limited. An estimated 90% of IDPs are staying with host communities and most are dependent on host families for food. The already limited resources of host families are now under serious strain posing a precarious food security and nutrition.

Across the Northeast in particular affected populations are having increasing difficulty in accessing health services. Boko Haram insurgents have attacked numerous health facilities and health workers, meaning that in large areas of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa the health system is barely functioning at all. As of March 2014, only 37% of facilities in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states were functional (OCHA, 31 March 2014). Outside of these areas of conflict and Boko Haram-held territory, those fleeing the violence have only minimal access to health services, the majority of which are women and children. Although IDPs camps are usually located away from hazards yet sanitation and hygiene concerns in the camps remain causes for concern to ensure that disease outbreak is curtailed especially in areas where adequate WASH facilities are lacking. Only one third of healthcare facilities remain operational after numerous attacks on healthcare workers and destruction of healthcare infrastructure. Lack of access to vaccinations is also having serious consequences. Primary health care services that remain functioning have been overwhelmed by the recent influxes of IDPs.

For communities hosting large concentrations of IDPs, the additional caseloads for local health facilities has placed the health system under severe strain. Health facilities in the north-east were already poorly resourced before the current crisis, and additional resources have not been provided to meet the needs of populations swollen by displacement (IDMC 2014). Primary health care (PHC) services in particular have been overwhelmed by the recent influxes of IDPs. Outbreaks of disease have thus increased in areas affected by displacement. Lack of access to vaccinations constitutes serious consequences making worse the already problematic situation. The number of cholera cases among IDPs and host communities in 2014 was estimated at 35,732 and 753 deaths compared with 6,600 cases at the same period in 2013. The lack of water and sanitation facilities raises serious concerns about the outbreak and spreading of diseases in IDPs camps. As of December 04, 2014, five north-east states namely Adamawa, Borno, Yobe, Bauchi and Gombe States alone accounted for about one-third (2925) of the 9020 suspected measles that were reported from all 36 States and the FCT. This attests to the level of access to measles vaccination in the States affected by the crisis.

Most IDPs in host communities have limited access to health services due to various constraints such as lack of information on services and transportation costs (OCHA, 02/10/2014). In Taraba, outbreak of diseases has led to the death of about 70 persons in the IDPs camps situated in Bali, Bali Local Government Area. Cholera reportedly killed 48, while measles killed 13 and 9 other died of other ailments. The camp where victims of attacks by Fulani herdsmen in Tiv communities were accommodated was set up in March 2014 and has provided shelter for more than 2,000 people, about 126,000 people have been reportedly displaced by the crises where 1,000 houses in more than 60 villages and farm settlements were destroyed. In addition, some 35,909 cholera cases, including 753 deaths (2.1% case fatality rate) were reported January–November 2014. Reported numbers decreased from 792 cases in the last week of October 2014 to 35 in the last week of November 2014 (UNICEF, 12/01/2015).

Persistent attacks on schools and communities have severely impacted education in the northeastern states. This is in addition to the fact that most of the displaced people are camped in schools thereby interrupting learning and other schooling activities. Access to education is thus severely impacted by widespread closures, occupation of schools, and attacks on educational facilities by the insurgents. Since 2012, Boko Haram has burned more than 300 schools in the north (AllAfrica, 07/01/2015). Nearly 6.3 million, or 60%, of the 10.5 million out-of-school children in all Nigeria are in the north of the country. One-third of primary-school children and one-quarter of junior secondary-school children are out of school (OCHA 24/07/2014). Girls have limited opportunities to access education and livelihoods outside of the home or marketplace (OCHA 30/06/2014). Universities are also affected. After students were killed by BH, Adamawa State University in Mubi closed indefinitely (AFP 10/09/2014).

More children are exposed to the dangers (abduction/kidnap etc.) associated with insurgency with more opportunities for separation of children from fleeing parents. Children who have been abandoned or separated from their families become ‘adopted’ by warlords or community vigilantes who recruit these.
children into their groups. Education supply (teachers) have fled from communities due to fear of attack. Households highly affected by conflict in northern Adamawa and southern Yobe and Borno States have experienced much greater difficulty in maintaining their livelihoods. 

There is a growing recognition of the need to better identify and assist IDPs living outside camps and the populations who host them. In Nigeria, current estimates place the proportion of IDPs staying in host communities vis-à-vis those staying in camps is about 90%. IDPs living outside camps may have the opportunity to integrate and overcome their displacement, and it is perhaps this perception that drives people in that direction. The downside, however, is that non-camp settings, whether urban or rural, can be hostile environments where IDPs encounter threats to their safety and wellbeing. The fact that displacement often has multiple and overlapping causes calls for wide-ranging responses that promote peace building, governance, stability and reconciliation. Such comprehensive interventions require the coordinated engagement of a wide variety of organisations and institutions. The challenge ahead lies in overcoming the perception of internal displacement as a solely humanitarian issue and positioning it as a matter for development agencies, private companies and others to address.

In 2013, IDMC identified three areas in which such responses need to be improved. Firstly, for practical and sometimes political reasons assistance has focused on IDPs living in camps. The simple fact that responses tend to not reach those outside camps and their host communities needs to be addressed. On the practical level, this has not happened in part because IDPs outside camps are more difficult to locate and identify, which goes some way to explain why, in most cases, assistance for them tends to be ad hoc and insufficient at best. Much of the work is left to local and faith-based organisations, but the sheer number of IDPs thought to be living outside camps means that greater recognition of the issue is urgently needed. In Pakistan, for example, about 95 per cent of IDPs live with host communities in urban settings.

Government’s response to humanitarian crises in Nigeria

The Federal Government has adopted the approach of counter-terrorism in the attempt to deal with security challenges. The strategy involves not only the police, but also the army and other security agencies. In June 2009, the Federal Government adopted an Amnesty Programme as a strategy for resolving the crisis in the Niger Delta. The programme entailed a disarmament scheme, non-violent training of ex-militants and a compensation scheme. It has had a positive impact, in terms of reduction in the number of kidnappings, stability in crude oil production and overall peace in the Niger-Delta. In February 2011, the National Assembly passed the Anti-terrorism Act, which criminalises terrorism and prescribes penalties for violation of its provisions. The Federal Government also adopted dialogue as an instrument for resolving the conflict between the state and Boko Haram from 2009 to 2012. This strategy is yet to yield the desired results. Nonetheless, offences other than terrorist attacks appeared to have either stagnated or declined in Nigeria. The rising insecurity particularly terrorism has motivated the government to be relatively more committed to establishing a comprehensive youth employment programme that will be internally consistent and effective in solving youth unemployment.

Rationale for burden-sharing and international solidarity

In addition to political violence, natural disasters have been known to bring devastation in some of the poorest countries of the world. In Mongolia, unusually severe snowstorms had wiped out hundreds of thousands of cattle, herds on which the people rely for their livelihood. The two earthquakes that struck Turkey in August and November 1999 killed some 18,000 people and injured almost 50,000 in the northwestern part of the country. The cyclone in Orissa, India, resulted in the deaths of almost 10,000 people and affected over 12 million others in October 1999. The worst floods and mudslides in a century hit Venezuela in December 1999, where an estimated 25,000-40,000 were killed or reported missing. The worst floods and mudslides in a century hit Venezuela in December 1999, where an estimated 25,000-40,000 were killed or reported missing. The worst floods and mudslides in a century hit Venezuela in December 1999, where an estimated 25,000-40,000 were killed or reported missing. Another 600,000 people were affected by the catastrophe. In southern Africa, cyclones Eline and Gloria brought devastating flooding to parts of Botswana, Madagascar, South Africa, Zimbabwe and, most severely, Mozambique, where up to one million persons were affected. The period that the crises lasted was marked by emergencies in which the predicted worst case scenario was far surpassed illustrating the need for effective contingency planning and a rapid-response or “surge” capacity among humanitarian agencies. In Nigeria, the outbreak of hostilities in the Northern part, especially the North-East geopolitical zone, consisting of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe states since 2009 only meant that several thousands of people have been displaced from their natural abode. Although the federal government declared a state of emergency in three
most affected states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe, the political crisis in the zone is far from being resolved. This has led to several thousands, particularly of youth and women, being mostly vulnerable, fleeing the war-ravaged states in search of safety of their lives and properties. In addition, several thousand of Nigerians across the country have been affected by one form of environmental disaster or the other. It is either there was flooding that washed away peoples’ properties, or there was earthquakes leaving the people dead, wounded or stranded. In all this, the women and youth are known to be the worst hit.

The concept of international solidarity and burden – sharing in relation to refugees has been present since the inception of the office of the High commissioner in 1950. Paragraph 4 of the preamble of the 1951 Convention underscores the importance of the responsibility and burden sharing; It states as follows: "……… Considering that the grant of asylum may place unduly heavy burdens on certain countries, and that a satisfactory solution of a problem of which the United Nations has recognized the international scope and nature cannot therefore be achieved without international co-operation………………..". The concept of responsibility and burden sharing is also contained in Article 11 (4) of the 1969 OAU (now African Union, (A.U) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugees Problems in Africa in which it is articulated that; “……Where a Member State finds difficulty in continuing to grant asylum to refugees, such Member State may appeal directly to other Member States and through the OAU, and such other Member States shall in the spirit of African solidarity and International cooperation take appropriate measures to lighten the burden of the member state granting asylum……..”. This Convention was an explicit recognition by African states of the nature and scope of modern refugee movements in Africa, and it marked a departure from the then internationally accepted standards for the extension of state protection to persons forcibly displaced across international boundaries. In Africa, examples of protracted refugee situations are abundant. The 1972 Burundian refugee case load in the old settlements of Katumba, Mishamo and Ulyankulu in Tanzania provides us a vivid example. The long presence of Angolan refugees in Zambia as well as those from the DRC and the continued presence of Rwandese refugees in Uganda are but a few other good examples. Protracted refugee situations are results of a political action and inaction, in countries of origin resulting in the persecution or violence that leads to flight. These protracted situations endure because of ongoing problems in the countries of origin. Today, a large number of refugees find themselves in protracted situations around the world. Many such situations are to be found in Africa. As with most protracted refugee situations, durable solutions for their plight are particularly dependent on permanent political solutions in addressing the root causes of the conflicts that led to the refugee situations.

Current statistics show that nearly half (45%) of the world’s IDPs are in Africa. Yet given the underdeveloped nature of most economies of Africa, the continent continues to carry the biggest burden of hosting millions of refugees. Albeit a good proportion of this population falls under the protracted situations, yet with unparalleled generosity, commitment and determination, African states continue to demonstrate the spirit of true humanity by hosting refugees and asylum seekers, providing protection and facilitating essential humanitarian interventions on their behalf in keeping with relevant provisions of International Human Rights Law and International Humanitarian Law. However, because of limited and meagre resources, many of the countries in Africa cannot provide the required services such as health, water, education, infrastructure etc, to sustain the protracted situations. This situation is compounded by the ongoing global financial and economic crisis which is already starting to affect many of the economies in the continent, has already taken its toll on many of the protracted situations making the continued bearing of this burden, exceedingly unbearable. It is against this background that the idea of burden-sharing becomes exceptionally appealing.

The rationale for the need for international burden sharing is also enshrined in EXCOM Conclusion 32 of 1981 relating to the protection of asylum seekers in situations of large scale influx which noted the following:
1. A mass influx may place unduly heavy burdens on certain countries and a satisfactory solution could not be achieved without international co-operation.
2. States should, within the framework of International Solidarity and burden - sharing, take all necessary measures to assist at the request of states that have admitted a mass influx of refugees.

Over the years, the focus of humanitarian assistance has been on the general situation of (IDPs), as well as on their plight in crises-prone countries such as Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Sudan, Rwanda, Colombia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, among others. However, given the increasing spread of protracted crises across the globe, the need to expand the scope of humanitarian assistance has become imperative. Current estimates suggest that the number of persons displaced worldwide may total as much as 100 million. This number is inclusive of refugees (those having crossed an international border in their search for safety "Source: UNHCR. These figures do not include an additional 1.3 million asylum seekers"), and IDPs, whose statistics are much less precise, due to several reasons, including the lack of a clear agreement on the point at which a person ceases to be counted as internally displaced, lack of monitoring capacity, lack of access in some countries,
reluctance of some Governments to recognize internal displacement as such and use of different definitions by different entities. Although refugees and IDPs share the basic predicament of having been forced to flee from their homes, there are major differences in the international response to their plight. Because a refugee is by definition a person who is outside his or her country, he or she is entitled under international law to international assistance and protection under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, and other relevant regional instruments.

IDPs, on the other hand, remain in their own country and the *de jure* responsibility for guaranteeing their rights as citizens rest of course with their own Government. However, in many cases of civil unrest, people are displaced in areas where there is no effective civil authority. The precarious situation of people uprooted by natural or environmental disasters can in some cases make them vulnerable to infringements of their rights, especially when protracted situations of internal displacement caused by natural disasters overlap with conflict. However, the predicament of these IDPs is related primarily to the loss of homes and livelihood. The main task of Governments and international organizations in such cases is to bring relief in an effective manner. The constraints confronted in such operations are related mainly to the availability of resources and the capacity for rapid response. Persons displaced by armed conflict or generalized violence are usually also in need of assistance, in the form of emergency relief and support for social integration and durable solutions. Their overall predicament is not so easily addressed, however. The causes that led to their displacement may not have been removed, making it impossible for them to return to their homes in the foreseeable future. It may also not be easy to guarantee their security and basic human rights in the areas to which they have been displaced.

According to Crisp (2001), there are three stages to the settlement programme. First, refugees are given relief aid and transported to camps, to inhabit houses built for them or which they are expected to build for themselves. During the second stage they are provided with and, tools and seeds, and primary education is organized. During this period refugees are expected to be motivated to work and get on their own feet quickly, by being told that there will be a gradual reduction in their food rations after the first harvest. In the third stage, aid is withdrawn, on the grounds that the refugees should by then be ‘self-sufficient’ and ‘integrated’ into the local community (Harrell-Bond, 1985). By the end of the 1970s, the states most directly concerned with the refugee problem in developing regions were beginning to consider the need for alternative models of assistance. Countries of asylum, many of them affected by the related ills of political instability, the global recession and economic mismanagement, stressed the need for ‘international burden sharing’, so that they could cope with the adverse impact of refugees on their economy, environment and infrastructure. Donor states, many of whom were keen to limit their overseas aid expenditure, were becoming increasingly reluctant to devote their resources to open-ended ‘care and maintenance’ programmes for refugees in low-income countries.

The international community’s response to this situation, formulated in a series of meetings during the late 1970s and early 1980s, became known as the ‘refugee aid and development’ strategy. In contrast to the established model of refugee relief, this approach stipulated that assistance should be development-oriented from the outset, and thereby enable beneficiaries to move quickly towards self-sufficiency. Rather than focusing specifically on refugee camps and communities, the new strategy also emphasized the need for a focus on refugee-populated areas. International assistance, it was agreed, should be used not to provide open-ended relief but to promote sustainable development. And both refugees and the local population should benefit from that process.

Several different types of activity were envisaged under the refugee aid and development rubric. These included, for example, projects to provide agricultural, wage-earning and income-generating opportunities to both refugees and local people; initiatives to strengthen the physical and social infrastructure in areas where large numbers of refugees had settled; and new efforts to combat the environmental degradation damage resulting from the long-term presence of large-scale refugee populations. The refugee aid and development approach was an ambitious one, not only in aims, but also in its envisaged scale. Thus at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (‘ICARA II’), held in 1984, 128 different refugee aid and development project proposals in Africa were presented to the donor community. The total amount requested for these projects amounted to some US$362 million - an average of just under US$3 million per project and almost as much as UNHCR’s total global expenditure the previous year, which had amounted to $397 million.

In intellectual, institutional and economic terms, the refugee aid and development approach appeared to make a great deal of sense. It met the concerns of both host and donor states. It promised to bring tangible benefits to refugees and local populations alike. It represented a far more cost-effective use of resources than the maintenance of extended refugee relief programmes. It provided UNHCR with the opportunity to launch a high-profile international initiative. And it offered an opportunity to bridge the longstanding gap between those organizations concerned with refugee relief and those mandated to promote development.

At a global level, however, the refugee aid and
development approach proved to be seriously flawed. As a UNHCR review concluded:

The efforts made to date in the area of refugee aid and development have had limited results, mainly due to a lack of funding. Paradoxically, the projects which have not been funded are mainly those in Africa, where large numbers of refugees are to be found in some of the least developed countries of the world, and where the presence of a large concentration of refugees in care and maintenance situations is regarded as an important impediment to development (Stevens, 1991).

The very limited achievements of the refugee aid and development approach can be ascribed in large part to the essentially ambiguous nature of its objectives. As Barry Stein asked in a paper prepared for UNHCR, was its purpose to promote the settlement and eventual integration of refugee populations in countries of asylum? Or was its aim to ameliorate the situation of refugees, the host community and state, pending the day when those refugees returned to their country of origin? (Stein, 1994). By way of contrast, the donor community was much more interested in finding lasting solutions to refugee problems than they were in the principle of burden sharing or the notion of compensation. Their aim, in simple terms, was to reduce the number of refugees on the international community's books. They certainly did not want to invest very large sums of money in refugee camps and settlements which were going to remain dependent on external assistance for an indefinite period of time. Nor did they want to pour resources into settlement areas if the refugees concerned were going to leave their country of asylum and return to their country of origin. Thus the donors felt that the refugee aid and development concept was being used as a means of mobilizing additional development funding for some hard-pressed (and in many cases badly governed) states, instead of constituting a genuine effort to resolve refugee problems. This suspicion was reinforced by the somewhat grandiose scale of the projects which they were asked to finance and the limited capacity of the countries concerned to make effective use of such large resource allocations.

The late and post cold-war period witnessed some fundamental changes in the international community's perception of and response to the refugee problem. As a result UNHCR ceased to be an organization that was ‘reactive’, ‘exile-oriented’ and ‘refugee-specific’, and became increasingly ‘proactive’, ‘homeland-oriented’ and ‘holistic’ in its orientation (UNHCR, 1995: 19-55). Thus, UNHCR was transformed from a refugee organization into a more broadly-based humanitarian agency. This is consistent with the view that “there is a growing consensus that UNHCR can contribute most effectively to the prevention of refugee-producing situations through its efforts to consolidate the durable solution of repatriation and reintegration in countries of origin, thereby reducing the risk that violence, armed conflict and population displacements will recur.” (UNHCR, 1998). It is believed that the starting point for a more integrated humanitarian-development response is a more coherent, co-operative planning process that utilizes organizations' particular strength in particular situations. This, in turn, could drive, and be driven by, more coherent funding arrangements (Ogata and Wolfensohn, 1999; More, 2000).

Areas of focus in Burden-Sharing

In responding to crises of internal displacement, Governments and international organizations must cooperate to develop capacity and mobilize resources in three ways: (a) targeting the special needs of internally displaced persons as an integral part of strategies to respond to the needs of populations affected by humanitarian crises; (b) reaffirming the importance to internally displaced persons of sustainable livelihoods while displaced, and of durable solutions, even while the crisis is ongoing; and (c) providing assistance to and protection for civilians during and after their flight.

The special needs of the internally displaced in an overall context of instability

The needs of the displaced are multi-faceted and a large range of activities is required in response. Emergency relief and immediate protection for civilians during their flight must be complemented by care and maintenance programmes to stabilize the condition of those who have reached areas of relative security. And even while the crisis is still evolving, longer-term efforts must aim at guaranteeing the safety and future livelihood of the displaced and at finding durable solutions. Many IDPs live in camps or camp-like settlements where assistance can be targeted at their specific assessed needs. However, many others are taken in by host communities, often staying with family or friends. The most effective assistance strategy is usually to address the needs of internally displaced persons together with those of local residents also affected by the crisis. Host communities share the burden of the displacement crisis and may require outside support themselves. International assistance is currently being provided to host communities and the displaced living with them, inter alia, in Afghanistan, Angola and Uganda. A balance has to be found between cases where the internally displaced receive help from specially targeted activities and those cases where they are better assisted through more general effort. As a matter of principle, in virtually all displacement crises, humanitarian organizations strive to respond
to the needs of the war-affected communities in an inclusive manner. The needs of the internally displaced cannot be dissociated from those of the broader population affected by crises. The response must be embedded in a comprehensive strategy for reaching those in need. This will be preceded by defining the special needs of IDPs, and within an overall strategy, addressing the needs of all vulnerable groups in specific crises. This was the case in the consolidated appeals for Angola and Burundi, the approach in which the needs of the displaced were identified separately.

Sustainability in displacement and durable solutions

Protracted conflicts may result in long-term displacement. Even if hostilities come to an end, it is often difficult to revert to the demographic situation that existed before the outbreak of the crisis. Large numbers of displaced persons may be forced to remain where they are, with no prospect of return. Sometimes considered unwelcome in their own country, those people may remain victims of frozen political situations where their rights are not recognized, becoming dependent on outside assistance for many years. Although the complexity of most displacement crises necessitates a strategic response with a medium- and long-term horizon, the international community and donors often concentrate their attention on short-term relief operations. Few resources are left for longer-term action. However, even during an ongoing crisis it is essential to seek ways to restore the self-sufficiency of the displaced and to promote their integration in the local community, where they can lead productive lives.

This means, for example, working with local authorities to provide them with land, seeds and tools and access to the labour market. It also means ensuring that local services, such as public transport, housing, medical and social services, children’s education and professional training are extended to them. The right of the displaced to live in dignity with a sustainable future livelihood, regardless of their location and circumstances, must be reaffirmed as a matter of principle. A sustained commitment of donors is required in supporting activities aimed at achieving this right.

Problems are often encountered when trying to promote the integration of the displaced and to seek solutions that would allow them to reconstruct their lives while in displacement. However, recent experience, for example in Georgia, demonstrates that, when return is not immediately feasible, integration of the displaced into their new environment with the objective of promoting their self-reliance can be the best strategy to prepare them for ultimate return, when conditions allow. Agencies should systematically cooperate with national and local authorities in exploring the full range of options for durable solutions, even in ongoing displacement crises.

Protection

Frequently, forced displacement results from violations of international humanitarian law or human rights law. International human rights instruments, as well as the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and the Optional Protocols thereto of 1977, which contain a number of provisions for the protection of civilians during armed conflict, are of direct relevance to IDPs. Since the appointment in 1992 of a Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons, substantive progress has been made in mobilizing international attention to the problems of the internally displaced and identifying their specific rights and needs. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, issued in 1998 as a result of those efforts and based on existing principles of international law, offer important guidance. Agencies have recognized them a valuable instrument for strengthening the linkage between assistance and protection in all phases of displacement.

Protection is best promoted through a multi-dimensional approach. The dissemination of international law, operational, legal and judicial initiatives, reinforced international presence, negotiations with state and non-state actors and the incorporation of protection features in assistance programmes may all be elements of an overall strategy. Governmental and non-governmental entities, civil society groups and a wide range of international organizations have a role to play in promoting the protection of the displaced.

In the words of Masha (2009), Burden-Sharing as a tool has the capacity to address the following:

The economic consequences

The presence of large refugee populations often leads to substantial demands on food, energy, transportation, employment and public services such as education, health and water. These financial costs have to be seen in the context of structural adjustment programmes being implemented simultaneously in many of the developing countries.
The environmental consequences

The sudden influx of large refugee populations often lead to serious, uncontrolled environmental imbalances which can affect entire eco-systems. Refugees also often create unexpected and massive demand for scarce natural resources such as land, fuel (firewood and charcoal) water, food and shelter materials, with long term implications for their sustainable regeneration. In discussions regarding the impact created by the presence of refugees, the case of Tanzania is apt. In 2003, the World Food Program (WFP) experienced an acute shortage of food supply in its food pipeline and was forced to cut down food ratios to refugees by 50%. This decision had a massive impact on the refugees who incidentally resorted to riots and all forms of misbehaviour, inconsistent with the rule of law. In the process, the government was forced to call for a donor conference to address the food shortage. In the mean time, refugees continued to loot adjacent local farms raising tensions between refugees and the local population. When the food pipeline was eventually restored, it was not before heavy damage had been done to the relationship between refugees and the local population, as well as the ecosystem. The massive depletion of trees in the search for firewood, the poaching, the destruction of infrastructure, roads, the overstretching of health, water and education facilities during early periods of the influx are challenges many Tanzanians are still dealing with till date.

The consequences related to peace and security

The presence of large refugee populations can have serious implications for internal security, particularly in situations where the ratio of these populations to the local population is high. It can also be a factor in regional stability. The problems of the politicization and militarization of refugee camps and settlements are well known. As a result, substantial demands are often put on police and the armed forces of Countries of asylum and Countries of origin in order to ensure the security and stability of areas affected by large refugee populations and countries of origin. For example, in 1994 at the height of the Rwanda genocide, in addition to the 540,000 plus Rwandese refugees residing at the Great Benaco Camp (at the time the largest in Sub-Saharan Africa), Tanzania received an influx of an additional 375,000 refugees fleeing from Burundi following the assassination of Burundian President Melchoir Ndadaye. This influx of refugees into Ngara District of Tanzania brought the total population of refugees to over eight hundred thousand (800,000), outweighing by far the local population of three hundred thousand (300,000). To complicate the situation, the Great Benaco refugee camp was being heavily militarized by the presence of the Interahamwe militants from Rwanda.

Forms of burden sharing

It is undeniable that the burden placed on countries of asylum by refugees populations has been borne primarily at the national level. However, there have been many examples of regional and international burden sharing. While some burden sharing arrangements have been limited to agreements between States in a particular region, there have been a number of comprehensive approaches which have included countries and international organizations from outside the region concerned. For example, in Africa the 1981 and 1984 International Conferences on Assistance to refugees in Africa (ICARA 1 and II), was such an endeavour aimed at addressing the refugee problem by soliciting financial and material support. Burden sharing thus assumes different forms depending on the problem. It could take any of these forms:

Financial and material support

1. Contributions to agency programmes for bilateral assistance,
2. The provision of human resources,
3. The temporary admission of Refugees or their resettlement.

There is an underlying assumption that while regional solutions depend principally on cooperation between countries most directly affected in particular regions; a comprehensive approach should be able to call on the assistance and cooperation of countries outside the region. In International refugee law, resettlement is considered as one tool of durable solutions. Resettlement to third countries especially countries of the developed north (such as the US, Canada and Norway) is also considered as an aspect of International responsibility and burden sharing. However, the past decade or so have witnessed decreased number of resettled refugees, accounting for only 1% of the global refugee number.

Partnership

The key to responding effectively to protracted refugee situations is a true partnership with all stakeholders to enable astute planning, and effectively increase the utility of available resources. With refugees, partnerships can entail taking a community-based approach: with host governments it can encompass joint problem analysis and the implementation of the programmes that benefit both refugees and host populations; with development actors it requires persistence and advocacy to ensure refugees and refugee – hosting areas are both taken into

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account on development agendas; and with the international community (governmental and non-governmental) it involves joining forces to ensure that responsibilities and burdens are shared. In Tanzania, a special project on refugee affected areas commonly referred to as SPRAA (Special Programmes for Refugee Affected Areas) was an initiative by the Donor Community to address the effects created by refugees on hosting communities. Unfortunately, as is the case with many of the host communities affected by the presence of refugees, this project was short-lived. Even the impact on the host community was yet to be felt.

CONCLUSION

In many armed conflicts, civilians have been deliberately targeted for attacks, abducted, raped, forcibly relocated or denied access to assistance. It is therefore imperative that measures are taken to protect civilians caught up in situation of armed conflict. Enhancing the protection of civilians in armed conflict is a multi-faceted task, requiring cooperation between many parties on a wide range of issues. There is a prevalence of grave violations of children’s rights, including forced recruitment into armed groups, attacks on schools and sexual violence. Most of the school age children in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe have had their opportunities for schooling severely constrained. The destruction of schools and indiscriminate killing of students and teachers by Boko Haram insurgents has left many schools deserted and deprived children of their right to education. The rapidly increasing numbers of IDPs will continue to challenge the child protection system in the short and medium term. The trauma of armed conflict is severely impacting the psychological wellbeing of children and families.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to address humanitarian situations effectively, the following recommendations are put forward:

- The root causes of the problems leading to internal displacement of people should be critically looked into. Thus, government should take bold steps in addressing problems of poverty, unemployment, and environmental degradation across the country.
- The financial and logistics requirements for catering for occupants of IDPs camps are enormous, and this calls for sustained synergy among relevant stakeholders. The international community, wealthy individuals and other organisations in any state housing IDPs camps should assist with shelter, bedding, food and other relief materials as the problem was beyond the capacity of the state to handle.
- Lack of clear mechanism to monitor and track the displaced people living with host communities/families hinder proper targeting planning for humanitarian assistance. There is the need for periodic census of IDPs in camps for proper targeting and planning
- There is also the need for greater collaboration among NEMA, the respective State Emergency Management Agencies (SEMAs), response agencies, Red Cross Society and recognized volunteers in the establishment and management of the camps where the internally Displaced Persons are temporarily accommodated.
- In addition to terrorist activities and ethnic and religious strives, occurrences of natural disasters in West Africa is now on the increase. In the main, this is attributed to climate change coupled with vulnerability of the sub-region in relation to the rest of the world. Thus, until a permanent solution is found to reverse or abate the menace of climate change, it is the responsibility of agencies charged with the task of disaster management to reduce its impacts on the populace.
- There are issues regarding proper identification of authentic IDPs in many of the camps across Nigeria. In order to ensure that genuine persons are registered as IDPs, there is the need for the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) ensure their proper identification.
- Provision of relief materials is crucial. Therefore occupants of IDPs camps should be provided food and non-food items, including blankets, mats and mattresses, to alleviate their sufferings before other relief measures could be given to them.
- There are report of mismanagement of funds and financial irregularities within the camps officials. The opposition is demanding that the state government come out and explain to the people what they did with the N200m donated by Aliko Dangote to victim of insurgents.
- Where local integration is appropriate and feasible, the provision of financial assistance and other forms of support, including development assistance, for the benefit of refugees and the communities hosting them should be considered so as to assist countries of asylum in integrating refugees locally.
- Given the experience of some African countries of asylum, there is the need for mobilization of support for rehabilitating refugee-impacted areas in the host country from which refugees have returned. This will serve as encouragement for such countries to host more refugees in future (see Conclusion on Protracted Refugee Situations No. 109 (LXI) – 2009 EXCOM Conclusions, 8 December 2009)
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