





Acknowledgements

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

DTM	Displacement Tracking Matrix		
FGD	Focus group discussions		
GBV	Gender-based violence		
IDI	In-depth interview		
IDP	Internally Displaced Person		
IRC	International Rescue Committee		
IOM	International Organization for Migration		
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency		
NFI	Non-food items		
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council		
SEMA	State Emergency Management Agency		
WRC	Women's Refugee Commission		
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Background

The Boko Haram insurgency in north-east of Nigeria has resulted in mass displacement, gross human rights violations, protection risks and a deepening humanitarian crisis. Since the start of the conflict in 2009, up to 2.1 million people have been forced to flee their homes, 1.9 of whom are internally displaced and over 200,000 displaced across Cameroon, Chad and Niger. To date, 8.5 million people are reported to be in need of humanitarian assistance, over 50 percent of whom are children. The displaced, along with vulnerable host populations, are in critical need of interventions including food, water, sanitation, protection, education, shelter and health services.

Adamawa is the second state most affected by displacement. The majority of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the state are from areas directly affected by conflict in the northern parts of the state. In addition, thousands more who fled from Boko Haram violence from the neighboring state of Borno (the most affected state in the conflict) are also being hosted in Adamawa. Many fled the violence from southern parts of Borno and resettled into camps and host communities while others had initially fled to Cameroon but were brought to the state following the decision of the Cameroonian Government in July 2015 to expel refugees not resident in designated camps in that country. The Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) data finds over 91 percent of IDPs living in host communities, while 9 percent live in camps or camp-like sites. Displaced populations are concentrated around Adamawa's capital city, Yola.

The Boko Haram insurgency often results in mass abduction, including of women and girls, indiscriminate killings, sexual violence and slavery. Women and girls remain particularly affected by these attacks and subsequently experience multiple displacements. In addition, the Nigerian cultural traditions carry harmful practices against women and girls, such as female genital mutilation, forced marriage and widowhood practices. Due to entrenched, patriarchal tradition within the society, women and girls also suffer from domestic violence and early marriage.³ According to the British Council Nigeria 2012 Gender Report, one in three of all women and girls aged 15 – 24 has been a victim of violence.⁴ Female adolescents and women with disabilities are particularly affected by gender-based violence (GBV).

Against this backdrop, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) with the Women's Refugee Commission (WRC) conducted a baseline study in May 2016 in Malkohi IDP Camp in Adamawa State, to explore how women, men, and marginalized groups participate in the camp life and camp governance structures, and how women's participation may contribute to women and girls' perceptions of safety. Using qualitative methods, a baseline assessment was conducted to understand the barriers and facilitators to women's participation, and to generate key strategies to foster women and girls' participation in camp governance and camp life. Identified strategies from the baseline include: establishing a women's livelihood/skillsbuilding program; enhancing the mechanisms for information sharing and complaints; and providing leadership training among male and female IDP leaders. Some of these strategies as identified during the baseline have thus been piloted in Malkohi and in one other official camp in Adamawa State, Fufore IDP Camp, organized and managed by the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) and the State Emergency Management Agencies (SEMA). IOM implemented the pilot strategies from September 2016 to September 2017. This report outlines findings from an endline study conducted from August 21 to September 1, 2017, to explore what change, if any, in how women and girls participate in camp governance and camp life occurred as a result of these pilot strategies.

At the time of the endline study (August 2017), Malkohi Camp hosted 1,639 IDPs, of whom females made up 58 percent, and women and children comprised 81 percent of total camp population. Fufore Camp hosted 1,474 IDPs, in which just over 50 percent were female, and women and children comprised 83 percent of total camp population.

¹UN OCHA http://www.unocha.org/nigeria/about-ocha-nigeria/about-crisis

²Nigeria: Northeast Humanitarian Overview, September 2017

³National guidelines and referrals standards on gender-based violence in Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development, 2014.

⁴Gender in Nigeria report 2012: Improving the lives of girls and women in Nigeria, British Council and UKAID, Issues Policies Actions, 2nd Edition, 2012.

Methodology

During the 2016 baseline study, IDP women and girls shared suggestions and recommendations that would facilitate their increased participation in camp governance and camp life. To carry out these recommendations, the IOM field team ranked the recommendations, then in collaboration with the IDP community designed and implemented several pilot activities.

Overall goal of the pilot activities: To improve women's participation in governance structures in camps and camp-like settings to reduce women and girls' perceptions of risks to GBV.

Key activities undertaken within the Malkohi and Fufore Camps:

- 1. Conduct skills acquisition trainings in various skills such as knitting, weaving, tailoring, etc. to selected beneficiaries.
- 2. Build safe space for entrepreneurship/skills acquisition that will be used to foster dialogue among members, and with men and boys on participatory processes.
- 3. Set up feedback mechanisms to ensure that beneficiaries can provide positive and negative feedback on the skills-acquisition activities.
- 4. Conduct two cycles of leadership training for IDPs leaders and camp managers. Topics include leadership skills, camp management, principles of respect and rights, good governance principles, participatory process on decisions and information sharing, ethical approaches, effective communication, and gender roles.
- 5. Conduct two cycles of GBV mainstreaming trainings for IDP leaders, camp managers and other partners directly working with the displaced populations. Relevant topics include gender roles, GBV in humanitarian settings, and effective communication.
- 6. Formalize mechanisms and structures of existing committees in the camp, including developing terms of reference and code of conduct develop and document roles and responsibilities for committee members.
- 7. Provide minimum lighting in areas surrounding women's latrines, living quarters, and other locations where women and girls reported not feeling safe at night.
- 8. Enhance safety features around the community kitchen to ensure that women, boys and girls feel safe while working in the kitchen.

IOM and WRC developed a study design with a mixed methods approach in order to examine if above activities contributed to fostering women and girls' participation in the camp life and camp governance and whether their participation led to any changes on perceptions of safety.

The following key questions were developed to facilitate discussions among the endline study participants:

- 1. Did the project activities contribute to improving women and girls' participation and sense of safety? How? If not, why not?
- 2. Did the project activities engage some women and girls but not others? Why?
- 3. How, if at all, did participation in the project activities improve women's feelings of representation? In decision-making in the camp?
- 4. What were facilitators and barriers to participation in project activities?

Evaluation tools, inclusive of a Stories of Change⁵ activity, were developed to facilitate participatory focus group discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews (IDIs) among IDP women, adolescent girls and men. Stories of Change activities (two meetings each) were held with the women who had participated in the primary IOM activities in livelihood skills training.

Data collection took place in Malkohi and Fufore Camps from August 21 to September 1, 2017, inclusive of data collection training. The study team consisted of 8 female and 4 male data collectors, some of whom work in the community and speak Hausa and Kanuri. Data collectors were trained and supervised by staff from IOM headquarters. Focus groups, indepth interviews, stories of change activities and a short quantitative survey were conducted by the data collectors; key informant interviews were conducted by IOM headquarters staff with an interpreter when necessary. Interview tools were translated and revised for cultural appropriateness by the data collectors (IOM Nigeria staff), and further adjusted after pilot testing the tools among IDP community members. Verbal consent was obtained from participants over the age of 18, written parental consent and adolescent verbal assent was obtained for adolescents; written consent was obtained for photos for all participants. All activities were conducted in Hausa, Kanuri or English. Transcripts were translated and transcribed in English through daily debriefings. The study team spoke with 8 key informants from 6 agencies and government departments,6 conducted 14 FGDs, and 4 stories of change, 1 in-depth interview, and conducted a quantitative survey with 178 participants and 179 non-participants (all female) of pilot activities. In total, the study team spoke with 90 individuals. Transcripts were coded and analyzed using NVivo 10 by WRC staff in New York and survey data were analyzed using SPSS 22.

Findings

Changes in the Context and in Governance Structure

At the time of 2016 baseline study, NEMA, with the support of SEMA, oversaw all activities related to camp life and camp governance in Malkohi Camp, including what assistance was provided. Camp management structure remained mostly unchanged at the endline (for existing governance structure at Malkohi Camp, see Nigeria Baseline Report, September 2016); except that due to the interruption of regular food distribution, the Kitchen Committee had been terminated. All camp decisions were still being made by NEMA/SEMA with little consultation with the broader camp population. The IDP Chairman, his deputies, the Women's Leader, and committee leaders primarily fill the roles of disseminating information to and from NEMA to the camp residents.

The interruption of regular food distributions led to other changes within the camps beyond the termination of a central Kitchen Committee. The main change was reflected in the transition from communal to individual cooking (household or room-level); sourcing for food became, as a result, a central preoccupation for IDPs. Additionally, collecting firewood, preparing food, and feeding the family has taken a greater part of women's daily life. Finally, IDPs were less reluctant to share feedback to camp management, including NEMA officials, as they did not fear as much as before of being seen complaining and consequently deprived of food/non-food item (NFI) distributions, withholding of services, or being evicted from the camp.

Moreover, since the baseline, the overall assistance provided by NEMA/SEMA, UN agencies, international and national NGOs within the two camps had decreased significantly, as humanitarian assistance had shifted to Borno State. IDPs previously had to obtain NEMA authorization to temporarily exit the camps, but with decreased presence of camp management officials and humanitarian actors, passes to exit the camps were authorized more easily.

⁵An evaluation tool developed by WRC based on the Most Significant Change (MSC) Technique and Guide to Its Use, R. J. Davies & J. Dart (2004), to document what change matter most to children and youth. Refer to: GBV-Disability-Youth-Toolkit-3-Participatory-Assessment-3G-Stories.pdf

⁶Representatives from NEMA, Ministry of Women's Affairs, International Rescue Committee (IRC) and Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC).

Consequently, IDPs were enabled to move more freely to seek livelihoods opportunities than previously.

Lastly, IDP women and men were previously living in segregated living quarters, as required by NEMA at the time of the baseline. By the endline, only about a quarter of the IDPs still remained in segregated quarters, as a larger part of the IDP population had been allocated emergency shelters in the camp, distributed by households, resulting in family reunifications.

Participation and Decision-Making

The study team generally noted limited change in the level of authority IDPs exert over camp decision-making; according to one key informant, women's decision-making authority has not increased, "it stayed stagnant". However, several women leaders shared that they felt "[women] are now more involved in all decision-making" even if "[women] cannot take decisions". One leader also explained that now "more women are also involved in other sub-committees in the camp, such as health, sanitation, and youth" than before. Other women also shared about improvement in their effectiveness as leaders, describing that they now know "how to relate better with other camp residents," and that they "learned to express [themselves] better to them".

Male respondents also corroborated this change in how women leaders are seen in the community, sharing that "the Women's Leader is respected by the camp leaders and her suggestions on women's issues are taken seriously, unlike last year where they were not paying much attention to her opinions." Whether this apparent change in how the Women's Leader is perceived means other women leaders' opinions also matter, many of the women leaders acknowledged that they felt "more listened to" than before in various camp meetings.

Participation in pilot activities

To enhance women's participation in camp governance and camp life, the project teams in Malkohi and Fufore Camps focused their efforts in increasing women's livelihoods opportunities in various trades and in training camp leaders in leadership skills and principles of participation. The teams strategically targeted both women and men for the livelihoods trainings and IDP leaders and camp managers in supporting an environment that fosters greater participation of women. This also included formalizing the governing processes of camp committees, strengthening camp feedback mechanisms, and addressing immediate security concerns for women and girls.

The study team noted that in general, women's strengthened livelihoods had enabled them to engage externally in the camp life outside of their traditional domain of participation – caregiving, cooking and cleaning within their household – and allowed them to increase their sense of purpose, as several women in group discussions were heard saying they were "no longer sitting idle." Women leaders, including old and new members of camp committees, reported increased leadership capacities and improved communication with camp residents, while community members that the study team spoke to, largely affirmed increased responsiveness of their leaders.

Impact of women's participation

Women's expanded scope of participation

While women's participation as perceived by male study respondents still primarily revolved around cooking, cleaning, and childcare, women's scope of participation in the camp life appeared to have expanded in both their individual and household-level activities, as well as in camp-level activities, according to both male and female study respondents. Women shared with the study team that they now "meet more often and this helps to discuss [their] problems, while the men took notice that women were actively resolving disputes, sharing such incidents

where "there was an issue of misunderstanding at water points between adolescent girls and boys and the women came in to solve the misunderstandings".

Greater access to services and other camp-level activities

As women began engaging in livelihoods activities and spend more time outside their homes, women were accessing a greater range of services and activities than before. One woman in a group discussion shared, "because of what I learned [through trainings], I can now also participate in other camp activities," indicating increased engagement in the camp life. One key informant also mentioned that now "women go out to access services whenever they want," and "they go out to sell their products and buy whatever they need," accessing markets in and outside the camps. Women were also reportedly enjoying more openness to discuss family planning with their husbands, according to another informant who indicated that women "can freely access family planning services without fear."

Greater interactions with stakeholders outside camp

Women in group discussions mentioned that because they were engaged in earning activities, that they "visit places [they] did not know before to sell," entering new markets and conducting business with host community members outside the camps. Another woman shared her participation in the local church, "we go for church services outside... we get to relate with the pastor and other members of the community." The study team noted that IDPs who practice Christianity had strong ties to churches located outside the camp perimeters. This greater interaction with stakeholders outside camp may not be solely attributed to women participating in the pilot activities, it is however, worth noting that as permission to exit the camps were now easier to acquire from NEMA, IDPs had more freedom to engage with host communities.

Increased self-esteem

Women who participated in the pilot activities shared with the study team they felt more listened to, more productive being involved in meaningful activities (as opposed to sitting idle), and generally perceived themselves as being in a better situation than before. One group of women claimed that because "we now have our own source of income... we don't have to depend on others," and that participating has given them opportunities to think about something other than their painful past, explaining, "now that we are busy, we don't have much time to remember the past and our pains." Moreover, one key informant from a service provider illustrated how women's increased participation may contribute to improved self-esteem, that "it has given them the opportunity to meet the authorities, they feel that they are engaged into something important in the camp." Finally, one group of women, encouraged by camp medical staff to train as midwives, excitedly shared that they "learned how to safely deliver a baby, even in the absence of a nurse," and that they were now "involved in the well-being of other women, especially pregnant women."

Increased capacities to meet household financial needs

The women who were selected to participate in the livelihoods activities were initially largely unable to support their families, having no source of income and completely reliant on aid. Many of the selected women were widows, had disabilities, or were single mothers, supporting their children and other family members. Engaging in skills training and now being able to earn incomes, in their own words, has "changed our lives". Many of the women shared about how they "used to wonder how the children would survive," but through gaining a livelihood, they were "taking good care of them" and "providing for the family." Husbands of some of the women acknowledged the positive impact, sharing that "she now helps in buying food and other needs for the family... she could not do before" and that women's supplemental incomes to the household also helps to "solve problems of the family".

Study respondents also shared that the livelihoods activities enabled the women not only to

become self-reliant, but also contribute to the wider community. One husband proudly shared how his wife was "not only helping the family, our relatives, and other camp members, she teaches others in the trade (knitting). The study team also noted that women were teaching others who were not selected to participate in the trades they learned and sharing the fruit of their work, as one woman mentioned, "now I also teach people how to make hats and help them for the design," while another was able to "give money to my fellow women without asking them to pay me back."

<u>Improved relations among IDP leaders and between leaders and camp</u> residents

The study team spoke to several women and men who had observed "positive change among leaders..." and that "there is unity among the leaders unlike before when there were lots of complaints and disagreements." They also mentioned increase in the responsiveness of leaders, sharing that "more often they advise the IDPs" and that "even at room levels, they [the leaders] meet frequently to discuss issues that concern different groups of the IDP community."

The study team observed that the IDP community generally seemed to confide in their leaders,

as one woman from a group discussion shared, "if we have any problems, we go to our leaders and they listen to us." Further, one man in a group discussion explained that his leaders were trustworthy, "whenever we report our needs and concerns to them, they report the same to the camp managers and in the end, give us an answer as to whether our needs will be provided for, or that we will have to wait.... They always get back to us with a response." One man particularly found the "Chairman to be very kind in his approach to IDPs." This is a noticeable contrast in how community members describe IDP leaders and their leadership; at the baseline, IDP leaders were often described as lacking in responsiveness and integrity, reportedly even treating some residents unfairly over others. It is also worth noting that while both female and male respondents viewed the IDP leadership more positively than before, female respondents tended to have more mixed perceptions than male respondents, who generally shared more positive views toward the IDP leadership.

Contributing Factors to Participation

Decreased humanitarian assistance resulting in increased IDP self-reliance

Incidentally, the overall decrease in humanitarian assistance provided at the camp level, particularly in the interruption of regular food distributions over the project period has forced IDPs to become more self-reliant. The study team noted one woman explaining this situation that their "sense of dependency really decreased because [IDPs] can no longer wait for assistance from anyone."

Presence of humanitarian actors

Despite the decreased humanitarian assistance, the presence of humanitarian organizations remains essential in raising women's voices and concerns within the camp. During the baseline, the study team repeatedly heard from respondents that "women are not allowed to speak in front of others" or "voice their complaints," and although more women now feel they are heard, cultural norms have changed little since. One key informant from a service provider remarked that women still "prefer that NGOs call a meeting to hear women's concerns and share them with the authorities or link them with other service providers," while another NGO informant commented that "there is a limit to what women can say... when humanitarian workers meet with them, they can be open and speak their mind. But they can't talk to the camp leaders because they fear they will be upset... they think we have a better chance to convey their concerns and give them more weight." Indeed, key informants shared that women and girls who feel they cannot reach out directly to camp authorities "meet elderly women in their rooms to complain and the elders meet the Women's Leader to forward their complaints" or that "girls would raise their concerns to their teachers and the teachers then inform NEMA officials."

Increased representation of women in informal structures

As mentioned earlier, more women have been raised up as leaders since the baseline study to participate in camp committees, such as health, sanitation, and youth. Although these are not part of the Camp Executive Committee, they are nonetheless perceived as part of IDP leadership structure where collective decisions are made, and women's concerns are heard. Moreover, a key informant from camp management in Fufore Camp further demonstrated that since the leadership training they received, they had integrated women into "all aspects of decision-making, including in education and vigilante committees where women were not represented before." This is in fact a remarkable shift in representation of women, given the factors that include low school enrollment of girls in the camps, low literacy levels of women, and as security issues have historically always been managed by men.

Improved understanding of roles among IDP leaders

Alongside increased representation of women in camp committees, the leadership skills training conducted among IDP leaders and camp managers seems to have improved the IDP perception that the leaders listen to them, report their concerns, and share relevant information. IDP leaders in group discussions shared that they "now know [their] job descriptions better," and that the acquired skills have "made [their] leadership easier." One male leader also shared that they have learned "how to lead by example" as being more effective, as opposed to forcing camp residents to participate in activities as often done in the past. Community members corroborated this and "noticed a lot of changes" among their leaders since receiving training, that when for instance, a camp cleaning activity is called, the "camp leaders themselves join the sanitation activities," illustrating leading by example.

Inclusion of marginalized groups in camp governance and camp life

Marginalized groups, particularly persons with disabilities, were not represented in camp governance structures and were seldom consulted or involved in camp activities. The study team heard community members say that "they [persons with disabilities] don't have any persons to meet (to complain)" or that they have "never seen any disabled person complaining"; others mention that "they are not really listened to… we don't have any persons with disabilities among the camp leaders".

However marginalized women with disabilities may be in camp governance structures and in camp life, the project teams intentionally made efforts to reach and include them in the pilot activities. As a result, the participation of women with disabilities in this project was positively underscored by all study respondents. Women with disabilities who had engaged in the livelihoods activities shared their experiences with the study team: "my disability does not stop me from being active," a sentiment heard consistently among participants. Rather than focusing on what they could not do, their stories were filled with what they can do, such as cooking and cleaning, buying and selling, helping neighbors and teaching, as one woman in a stories of change activity was heard acknowledging, "my life has changed so much because I can do something meaningful despite my disability."

As for adolescents, the study team remarked that they are generally unable to influence and are excluded from camp decision-making processes. Formal and informal camp committees are typically represented by adult men and women, including the youth committee, which predominantly consist of male youth. There are mentions of football teams made up of adolescent boys, while adolescent girls are primarily recognized for their cleaning/caregiving roles: "girls sweep and take care of their young siblings". Nonetheless, adolescent girls appeared to participate in collective activities along with other women, "they [adolescent girls] are also involved in all camp activities like cleaning and general sanitation," as one woman mentioned.

 $^{^7}$ Based on IOM Nigeria's discussions with camp officials and primary school teachers, only 10% of girls are reported to be in school.

Remaining challenges to participation

Cultural norms challenging women from speaking up

Although the study has highlighted some positive changes in women being able to express their concerns, the traditional roles women remain unchanged. Cultural norms still dictate that women are subservient to men and women and girls' primary roles are to cook, clean, and raise children. The pilot activities opened opportunities for a limited number of women to enhance their participation in collective action and in building economic skills to help them be more self-reliant. Most women and girls living in the camps still face numerous cultural challenges – shyness, lack of confidence, fear of stigmatization, punitive measures such as denial of services and/or assistance, as one woman in a group discussion illustrate this point, "we cannot talk because it might lead to being chased from the camp... so we keep quiet".

Lack of resources to further collective action

While women have been able to successfully take collective action in some areas of the camp life, such as in hygiene promotion and camp sanitation, they still lack cohesion as a group to move beyond these activities. One female leader shared with the study team that while there may be "different issues we have, all we do is talk about it. If there are any means or help to come, fine!" For the most part, they "wait for help to come," as another conceded; women lack the capacity and resource to address other needs, such as creating women and girls' space in existing common spaces (i.e. youth centers), or establishing a women's business cooperative.

Decrease in presence NEMA in camp

As humanitarian assistance has decreased in the region, NEMA's presence had also become less regular within the camps. IDPs' perception of the decreased presence of NEMA in camps further reduces opportunities for women to express their needs and views. One woman who participated in the pilot livelihoods activity shared this setback, "we have good relationship with NEMA Staff at first because everything was available in the store but now since the store is empty they don't come to the camp as before and there is no way for us to go to NEMA to raise our concerns".

Linguistic barriers and lack of social cohesion among different ethnic groups

The study team noted that because the primary language used in camps is Haussa, with minority Kanuri speakers, women and girls who speak Kanuri tend to experience barriers in accessing services and communicating their needs. Few NGO staff and camp managers speak Kanuri; even fewer Kanuri speakers are represented in camp governance structures. One key informant explained this challenge, "communication with those women [Kanuri speakers] is hard... because of the language barriers we have. We need people that could understand both languages." Communication barriers further illustrate the lack of social cohesion among all the ethnic groups within the camps, as demonstrated by another key informant, "for example the Women's Leader comes from Goza, so most of the Goza women are informed about distributions or other activities, while other women in turn miss out."

Participation and Safety

Camp lighting increases perceptions of safety

As part of the pilot activities, safety concerns shared by women and girls during the baseline was addressed through installing solar lighting across the camps. As simple as providing lighting around latrines help women and girls feel safer, the study team heard from multiple women about how "the toilet areas used to be very dark at night.... Now we can go to the toilets in the night". Lighting also increased productive hours for women to be engaged in

activities, "some even come out as early as 4 am to start their work because of the lights. We are no longer scared to get out early," as mentioned by a woman leader. Finally, study respondents also felt that their children were safer due to enhanced lighting, "our children can now play at night and we are not afraid," as shared by another woman.

Livelihoods activities resulting in increased economic security

One of the most significant positive change mentioned by women and men arising from the livelihoods activities is how they felt more financially secure at the household level. Women spoke of their feelings of empowerment, being able to use their earnings to support their families, "we can do more for our families in terms of supporting our husbands to provide for us," while husbands acknowledged their wives' contributions, that "she is helping the whole family." One key informant also recognized the link between participation in the economic life of the camp and greater participation in household decision-making, indicating that as "women are now engaged in activities and they are helping their husbands, the husbands in turn feel her to be important and engages her in decisions of family issues."

Decreased dependence on husbands

Women also spoke about how earning their own money had allowed them to depend less on their husbands. "I can now buy food from the money I get when I sell my caps...I don't have to always ask my husband for food," as one woman remarked when asked about her current situation. Domestic violence was reportedly the most common type of GBV in the camps; women shared that their increased earning capacities decreased their exposure to risks as they were less financially dependent on their husbands. One service provider key informant explained this: "5 among 10 cases we have per week are domestic violence. When we look into it, we often find out it is related to finance. Husbands control the use of resources. If the women feel that the husband has money but refuse to give it to her to meet her needs, or that he gives it to his other wife instead, it creates issues. By engaging in earning activities, they don't have to ask their husbands for money to buy soap, for 'chopmoney',8 they can depend on themselves and this reduces the violence at home. Although the study team did not verify changes in report of domestic violence cases, according to one key informant, there were fewer reports of cases, sharing that "husbands and wives used to fight but there are no more reports. Men now know their wives are important since they are supporting the family financially, and women now know their rights".

Reduction of petty arguments

The study team also concluded that the increase in women's participation and engagement in the camp life has also reduced their exposure to petty arguments, which at times could turn violent. One woman shared how the "idleness has caused [them] to fight unnecessarily and gossip... and even fight with our children... now we are too busy to fight," while another woman corroborated, "living here among other religious groups, we don't feel safe. But since this livelihood activity began, it's keeping us busy, we don't have to stay at home all day and listen to religious threats. By the time we come back from the shop, we just go to sleep, no time for little fights."

⁸ Daily, weekly or monthly housekeeping allowance commonly given to wives from husbands.

Alternative livelihoods reduced need to pursue work outside camps

Women could apply the trades they learned within the perimeters of the camps, although occasionally they may leave the camps to sell their products and buy more raw materials. The pilot livelihoods activities allowed more women to remain in the camps where they generally feel safer than making prolonged trips outside – sometimes as far back from where they fled – to engage in livelihoods such as farming. One woman in a group discussion explained this concern, "if you don't have a livelihood, you will have to go out of the camp to source for money. I can just stay here and knit my cap," while another woman shared her improved sense of safety, "I sew, I sell and take care of my family. I am safer now." their views and needs regarding camp services would be beneficial. Persons with disabilities and other at-risk groups should also be actively recruited to participate. Create a space for dialogue with men. Without the support of men, efforts to foster women's participation can result in further mistrust and backlash. Men and boys must be involved and actively engaged in creating a supportive environment for women and girls; a space is needed where men and boys can openly dialogue about their roles in improving the quality of life for all members of the community.

Quantitative survey on pilot participants and non-participants

A simple, three-question survey was designed to generate some quantifiable information among women participants of the pilot activities to assess the following: 1) change in their perceptions of safety; 2) whether they feel women have representation; and 3) whether they agree or disagree that women have the ability to participate in camp decisions. The survey was conducted among women participants at the start of the pilot activities and again at the end with the qualitative endline study. Women who did not participate in the pilot activities were also surveyed to provide a comparison of information between those who participated and those who did not participate.

A total of 357 women were interviewed for the survey. In the pre-intervention baseline survey (taken in December 2016), 115 participants were surveyed and asked the three questions. Age segment of participants at the endline was as follows: 15-18 years = 3%; 18-29 years = 45%; 30-49 years = 37%; 50-64 years = 8%; 65 and over = 7%.

Women who did not participate in the project were identified by convenience sampling; selecting a random house and then going house by house ensuring the neighborhood demographics reflected those who had participated (i.e. Haussa vs Kanuri speaking). Age segment of non-participants was as follows: 18-29 years = 24%; 30-49 years = 56%; 50-64 years = 12%; 65 and over = 8%.

	Baseline - Participants (n=115)	Endline - Participants (n=178)	Endline - Non- participants (n=179)
Generally, how safe do you feel around the camp?	Very safe: 63% A little safe: 33% A little unsafe: 4% Very unsafe: 0%	Very safe: 44% A little safe: 23% A little unsafe: 17% Very unsafe: 16%	Very safe: 66% A little safe: 32% A little unsafe: 2% Very unsafe: 0%
Do you feel that the women here are represented in the camp decisions?	well represented: 69% somewhat represented: 31% not represented: 0%	Well represented: 37% somewhat represented: 45% not represented: 18%	Well represented: 48% Somewhat represented: 43% not represented: 9%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement, "Women can participate in the decisions made in this camp."	Totally agree: 78% Agree a little: 22% Disagree a little: 0% Totally disagree: 0%	Totally agree: 30% Agree a little: 9% Disagree a little: 17% Totally disagree: 44%	Totally agree: 73% Agree a little: 19% Disagree a little: 7% Totally disagree: 1%

Interestingly, women who did not participate reported considerably higher levels of response across all three questions – on perceptions of safety, representation, and ability to participate in camp decisions – than women who participated in the pilot activities. Moreover, among the women who participated, there are large negative change across all three questions between their pre- and post-intervention response. One explanation may be that as women expanded their scope of participation from primarily at the household-level to being more externally at the camp-level, their perceptions on safety decreased, as they had more exposure to issues of camp safety. A similar explanation for representation and ability to participate in camp decisions could be that as women gained knowledge on the meaning of participation and their rights to participate, their perceptions may have decreased over time, reflecting a more realistic state of women's representation and capacity to influence decisions. These findings are worth noting but further research is needed to explore the complexities behind these differences among participants and non-participants.

Recommendations

In order to advance women and girls' participation in camp governance and camp life within Malkohi and Fufore Camps, further work must be done to enable them to participate in decision-making within their households and their communities. Increasing women's economic opportunities appeared to be an effective approach to men and women realizing the value of women's contributions to household decisions and in the wider economic life of the community. Because cultural norms that create barriers for women to speak out is particularly strong in these contexts, it is also critical to work with men and boys to raise awareness on the benefits of women and girls' participation on families and communities. Given the significant reduction in humanitarian assistance and the perceptions on decreased presence of NEMA in camps, it is also important to ensure that feedback mechanisms, in multiple formats that consider the capacities and diversity of women and girls, are strengthened so that their concerns reach camp managers. To sustain the outcomes observed by this pilot study and continue the efforts already undertaken, the following are key recommendations for camp management actors and service providers:

- Expand all pilot activities to cover more women and girls: the study team repeatedly heard from across all interviews and group discussions about the need to continue building upon the pilot activities, and to cover more women and girls, including those that are particularly hidden. Minority ethnic women, married or parenting girls, women and girls with disabilities, and caregivers of family members with disabilities should be among target beneficiaries.
- Provide childcare/caregiving options to increase participation in camp-level activities, including trainings and livelihoods activities: when including women and girls with particularly challenging caregiving responsibilities, it is essential to provide options for caregiving so that they can attend meetings and trainings. Find supportive ways to work around their schedules where they might find alternative care for their children and/or family members.
- Extend or build an exclusive space for women's livelihoods activities: Women and men
 were currently sharing the use of the "shops" the spaces which were created to
 implement the livelihood activities. Many of the women respondents shared their desire
 to use the space more often than they had access to.
- Organize regular general meetings involving both camp authorities and IDP population:
 where there were only meetings between camp management and IDP leaders, expanding
 community-wide meetings where IDP residents are invited to join in meetings with their
 leaders and the camp managers can improve transparency, accountability, and may
 reduce the need to duplicate information transfers between IDP leaders and residents.

- Ensure simultaneous translations are available for camp-level meetings: Kanuri women
 and girls may have less access to information, activities, and other benefits if meetings
 are not accessible to them due to language barriers. Not only NGO staff, but IDPs could
 serve as interpreters.
- Form a women's advisory group to support the Women's Leaders: advocating with the Women's Leaders within both camps, establishing a group of women with whom they can always consult before taking women's issues up to camp management, and report back to, may improve the perception of women's representation in camp governance. Such a group of women should include women with disabilities, elderly women, ethnic minority women, etc. as much as possible.
- Consider a more transparent process for electing IDP leaders: Women's Leaders have been traditionally selected by NEMA; giving IDP women the opportunity to select their own future leaders could help improve trust and enhance their participation in governance structures.