

May 2018



# Constraints and Complexities of Information and Analysis in Humanitarian Emergencies

## Evidence from Nigeria

A FEINSTEIN INTERNATIONAL CENTER PUBLICATION 

Daniel Maxwell, Peter Hailey, Jeeyon Janet Kim, Erin McCloskey, Maria Wrabel

**Tufts**  
UNIVERSITY

FRIEDMAN SCHOOL OF  
NUTRITION SCIENCE AND POLICY

Feinstein  
International Center



Cover photo: Street vendors in harmattan, by Delondiny, Wikimedia Commons

Citation: Maxwell, Daniel, Peter Hailey, Jeeyon Janet Kim, Erin McCloskey, and Maria Wrabel. *Constraints and Complexities of Information and Analysis in Humanitarian Emergencies: Evidence from Nigeria*. Boston: Feinstein International Center, Tufts University, 2018.

Corresponding author: Daniel Maxwell  
Corresponding author email: [daniel.maxwell@tufts.edu](mailto:daniel.maxwell@tufts.edu)

This study—Constraints and Complexities of Information and Analysis in Humanitarian Emergencies—was funded by the European Commission Office of Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) under their support to Action Against Hunger-Nigeria. The study was a sub grant from Action Against Hunger.

Authors Daniel Maxwell, Jeeyon Janet Kim, and Maria Wrabel are with the Feinstein International Center, Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy, Tufts University, Boston. Peter Hailey and Erin McCloskey are with the Centre for Humanitarian Change, Nairobi.

Copyright 2018 Tufts University, all rights reserved.  
“Tufts University” is a registered trademark and may not be reproduced apart from its inclusion in this work without permission from its owner.

**Feinstein International Center, Friedman School of  
Nutrition Science and Policy  
Tufts University**

114 Curtis Street  
Somerville, MA 02144 USA  
Tel: +1 617.627.3423  
Twitter: @FeinsteinIntCen  
[fic.tufts.edu](http://fic.tufts.edu)

# Disclaimers

**ECHO.** This document covers humanitarian aid activities implemented with the financial assistance of the European Union. The views expressed herein should not be taken, in any way, to reflect the official opinion of the European Union, and the European Commission is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains.

**Action Against Hunger.** This report was developed as part of the “Integrated WASH and Nutrition for Vulnerable Persons in Yobe and Borno states, Nigeria” grant (ECHO/-WF/BUD/2016/91114 ) implemented by Action Against Hunger Nigeria. The report was commissioned via sub-grants to both Tufts University and the Center for Humanitarian Change. Therefore, the views and opinions expressed herein reflect that of the authors, analysts, and/or individuals interviewed and do not necessarily reflect or represent the official opinion or perspective of Action Against Hunger-USA nor the Action Against Hunger Nigeria country program. Action Against Hunger is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains .

# Acknowledgements

This research was funded by a grant from the European Commission Office of Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations to Action Against Hunger. We would like to thank ECHO for its financial support. We would also like to thank Action Against Hunger-Nigeria, its Country Director and staff for all their logistical and practical support, as well as support from the headquarters of Action Against Hunger-USA. We are grateful for the support of staff from the Feinstein International Center and the Centre for Humanitarian Change. Finally we are grateful for the contributions of the key informants interviewed for this study.

The Authors  
Somerville, Massachusetts  
May 2018

# Contents

Disclaimers	3
Acknowledgements	3
1. Brief introduction to Nigeria	6
2. Background to the current crisis	7
3. Dimensions of the crisis in Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe states	9
4. Background on the Cadre Harmonisé analysis	12
Origins	12
Current food security status	16
Nutrition and mortality information in Nigeria	16
5. Methodological note on case study interviews and analysis	19
6. Challenges and constraints to food security analysis in Nigeria	20
Funding	20
Capacity challenges	20
Coordination challenges	21
Uses of Cadre Harmonisé analysis	21
Data challenges	22
Timing and frequency of data gathering exercises for inclusion in analysis	23
Units of analysis	24
Technical consensus—or the lack of it?	25
Access and the impact of constraints on access	26
Displaced population	28
Causal analysis	28
Communicating results	28
Independence, consensus, and support for an impartial response	28
7. Conclusions: The politics of information and analysis in Nigeria	32
Lessons learned:	
Managing the influences	33
Synthesis	36
Annex 1. Timeline of the crisis and the response (2003–2017)	37
References	45

# Acronyms

**CILSS** Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (Comité Permanent Inter-État de Lutte Contre la Sécheresse au Sahel)

**CJTF** Civilian Joint Task Force

**FEWSNET** Famine Early Warning System Network

**EFSA** Emergency Food Security Assessment

**ERC** Emergency Review Committee

**FMoH** Federal Ministry of Health

**IDP** Internally displaced person

**IPC** Integrated Food Security Phase Classification

**ISIS** Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

**JAMBS** Jamā'atu Ans.āril Muslimīna fī Bilādis Sūdān

**JTF** Joint task force

**FAO** Food and Agriculture Organization

**FCT** Federal Capital Territory

**GAM** General acute malnutrition

**LGA** Local government area

**MNJTF** Multinational joint task force

**MoARD** Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development

**MoH** Ministry of Health

**NEMA** National Emergency Management Authorities

**NFSS** Nutrition and Food Security Surveillance system

**NGO** Non-governmental organization

**NNS** National Nutrition Survey

**NPFS** National Programme for Food Security

**SEMA** State Emergency Management Authorities

**SMART** Standardized Monitoring and Assessment of Relief and Transitions

**SoE** State of emergency

**UN** United Nations

**UNICEF** United Nations Children's Fund

**UNOCHA** United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

**WASH** Water, sanitation, and hygiene

**WFP** World Food Programme

# 1. Brief introduction to Nigeria

Nigeria is Africa's most populous country, with more than 190 million residents. It is diverse in language, ethnicity, and religion. Though English is the official national language, Hausa and Fulani are spoken widely in the northeast; Yoruba, Igbo, and other languages are spoken elsewhere. The country is almost evenly split between Islam (50 percent) and Christianity (40 percent). The north is predominantly Muslim while the south is predominantly Christian, though this common disaggregation obscures complex ethnic, linguistic, and class unions and divisions throughout the country (Ogunlesi, 2015). The population is young: 42.5 percent of residents are under the age of 15 and 19.61 percent are aged 15–24 years. Of these youth, approximately 7.7 percent are unemployed; the total unemployment rate is 13.9 percent. With 5.07 children born per woman, Nigeria has the thirteenth highest fertility rate in the world. The oil and gas sector contributes approximately 35 percent of the country's GDP, and petroleum accounts for 90 percent of exports (OPEC, 2017). The GDP per capita in 2016 was \$5,900, though recent growth rates show a decline of 1.5 percent due to decreased oil prices. Some 70 percent of the population lived below the poverty line in 2010 (OPEC, 2017).

The country is divided into 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). States are grouped into six zones and each state is subdivided into three sena-

torial zones and further into local government areas (LGAs), which are further subdivided into districts, wards, and villages. The zone of northeast Nigeria consists of six states: Bauchi, Gombe, Taraba, Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe (see map in Section 6). The latter three are nestled into the far northeast corner of the country. Yobe (capital: Damaturu) borders Niger to the north. Adamawa (capital: Yola) borders Cameroon to the east. Borno (capital: Maiduguri) borders Niger to the northwest, Chad to the northeast, and Cameroon to the southeast.

The original Borno Empire stretched across several current countries. Borno was a trade hub and the center of Islamic knowledge in Nigeria. Northern Nigeria has long been one of the most neglected, marginalized areas in the country. This was at least partially a result of the colonization process, but issues were not addressed after independence. Historically, the northeast and the northwest had the lowest social welfare indicators and high levels of inequality—both internally and vis-à-vis the rest of the country. These factors, among others, gave rise to the Boko Haram insurgency.

## 2. Background to the current crisis

The current crisis, centering on Borno state—but also affecting the neighboring states of Yobe and Adamawa as well as the greater Lake Chad basin—is the result of numerous factors, predominantly the insurgency of Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Await Wal Jihad, commonly known as Boko Haram. Boko Haram is an extremist Islamic group that has likely existed since the 1990s, though the exact details of its inception is disputed. Mohammed Yusuf, the group's initial leader, began preaching in mosques in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state, around 2005. The group's activities at this stage focused primarily on proselytization and recruitment and radicalization of new members, but it was associated with occasional attacks in Borno, Bauchi, Yobe, and Niger (Weeraratne, 2015; Mohammed, 2014). During this time Yusuf established a mosque and school in Maiduguri.

Beginning in 2009 Boko Haram's presence and activities in Nigeria escalated. Attempts to control the influence of Boko Haram led to increased radicalization and more violent acts. Ultimately, Boko Haram launched an uprising in the north. In July 2009, the police raided the group's compound in Maiduguri with numerous casualties. Yusuf was captured and killed in the raid. In 2010, after a brief period when the group went underground, Abubakar Shekau succeeded Yusuf.

The leadership transition marked a dramatic turn in the group's strategy. Boko Haram shifted from primarily employing guerilla tactics and proselytizing to using bombs and improvised explosive devices, rifles, grenades, and tanks. The frequency and intensity of attacks and the consequent fatalities increased dramatically after 2010 (Falode, 2016). The group expanded beyond the northeast into other Nigerian states and internationally in 2011, with bombings

of the Nigerian police headquarters and the United Nations (UN) headquarters in Abuja in July and August 2011 respectively (Mohammed, 2014; BBC News, 2011). Its primary targets have broadened from Nigerian security forces to civilians and public establishments, including schools, places of worship, and government infrastructure (Ordu, 2017), and it began working across borders. In August 2014, Shekau declared an Islamic caliphate in the territory under its control (BBC News, November 2016).

In reaction to this indiscriminate violence, Jamā'atu Ans.āril Muslimīna fī Bilādis Sūdān, also known as Ansaru or JAMBS, broke away from Boko Haram in 2012 (Weeraratne, 2015; Taft and Haken, 2015). This group focuses instead on Western targets and security forces, operating from Borno, Kano, and Katsina in the west. In August 2016, Abu Bakr al Baghdadi, the leader of ISIS, named Abu Musab al-Barnawi as the new leader of the Islamic State in West Africa Province, a re-branding of Boko Haram (Onuoha, 2016). This replacement was fiercely opposed by Shekau, who had sworn Boko Haram's allegiance to ISIS in 2015.

The group uses religion as a rallying cry, calling for a purer Islam and rejecting Western influences (Iyekekpolo, 2016; Aghedo and Osumah, 2012). It also exploits economic vulnerability. Northeast Nigeria has high levels of poverty and unemployment, and limited access to quality education. These economic and political factors create fertile ground for recruitment (Salaam, 2012). Boko Haram allegedly offered business loans to youth and used demands for repayment to force conscription. The motivations for conscription and continued support of Boko Haram are thus diverse and complex.

With the onset of the full-scale insurgency by Boko Haram, Nigeria declared a state of emergency in 15 LGAs in four states in January 2012. Nigeria subsequently designated Boko Haram and splinter group Ansaru as terrorist organizations in June 2013 (CNN, 2017). The government consolidated the military, state security services, and the police to create the Joint Task Force (JTF) to address insecurity in the northeast (Aning et al., 2017). The Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) was formed in Maiduguri in June 2013 to collaborate with military operations. However, in spite of these efforts, Boko Haram continued its attacks.

Following his election in May 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari reallocated resources to improve these operations, instigated a change in command, and moved the head of operations from Abuja to Maiduguri (International Crisis Group, May 2016). Buhari's new strategy focused on coordinating military efforts while reintroducing diplomacy and negotiations with Boko Haram. Though the group continues to launch attacks in the northeast and humanitarian access remains limited, these efforts have secured access to several previously held areas in the northeast and freed hundreds, if not thousands, of people from Boko Haram's control (Aning et al., 2017).

Regional and international actors have contributed to the Nigerian government's efforts against Boko Haram. Following the kidnapping of 276 school girls in Chibok in April 2014 and the corresponding international outrage, Nigeria and neighboring countries declared war against Boko Haram. The Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF)—comprised of Lake Chad Basin Commission members Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria, and Chad, as well as Benin—was deployed in January 2015 (Assanvo et al., 2016). Though its role has been controversial, the MJTF has contributed to the recapture of several towns on the Niger-Nigerian border (Assanvo et al., 2016). Internationally, the International Criminal Court released a report indicating evidence that Boko Haram had committed war crimes in August 2013 (International Criminal Court, 2013). The United States designated Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization in November 2013 (US Department of State, 2017). In May 2014, the UN Security Council added Boko Haram to its list of sanctioned groups (Ford, 2014). However, no UN or other external peacekeeping mission has been deployed in Nigeria. The Boko Haram conflict turned into a major security problem that led to widespread displacement and a major humanitarian catastrophe.



# 3. Dimensions of the crisis in Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe states

The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) estimates that more than 20,000 people have been killed since the start of the conflict, with 1.6 million remaining internally displaced and 200,000 living as refugees in neighboring countries (UNOCHA, n.d.). The September 2017 humanitarian situation update estimates that 7.7 million people are in need of life-saving assistance in the three conflict-affected northeastern states, with 6.1 million people targeted for assistance (UNOCHA, 2018).

Following an attack on the Nigerian Air Force base in December 2013, the government closed Maiduguri International Airport and suspended all air operations from the area (Sahara Reporters, 2013; Marama, 2015). This decision severely restricted public and humanitarian access to Borno State, limiting movement to insecure road travel. In late 2014 and in 2015, the military successfully reclaimed significant amounts of territory in Borno state. The federal government therefore reopened the airport in June 2015, citing improved security conditions. The United Nations Humanitarian Air Service commenced operations in Nigeria in mid-2015, with both fixed wing aircraft and helicopters (World Food Programme, 2015). The service currently provides air transport to 70 humanitarian organizations (World Food Programme, 2017). The combination of military access to previously held areas and improved humanitarian access from the airport revealed the extreme conditions under which the population had been living and the severity of humanitarian need.

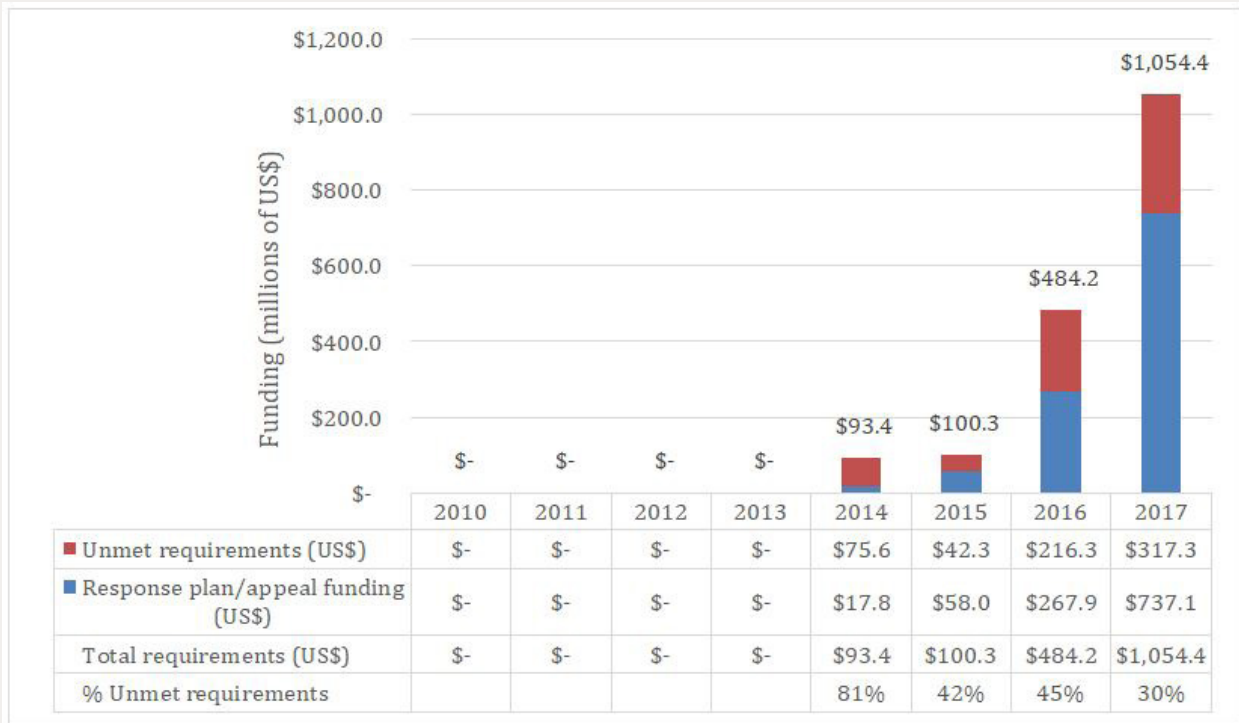
In 2012, devastating floods combined with escalating violence by Boko Haram led the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) to request assistance

from the UN to develop a joint strategy in March 2013 (UNOCHA, December 2013). UNOCHA first published a Strategic Response Plan for Nigeria in February 2014 (UNOCHA, January 2014). This plan cited the top five priorities in all of Nigeria as food insecurity, malnutrition, conflict, epidemics, and natural disasters, but noted, “access to most of northern Nigeria is constrained due to insecurity, making data collection for humanitarian planning a challenge” (p. 7).

According to both the UNOCHA Financial Tracking Service and the Central Emergency Response Fund, humanitarian funding in Nigeria was limited, even nonexistent, prior to 2014 (Figure 1). With the increased international notoriety of Boko Haram, and the Nigerian government’s declaration of a state of emergency, funding flows escalated and humanitarian action scaled up dramatically. It roughly tripled each consecutive year from 2014 to 2017, but each year only about half to two-thirds of assessed requirements were met.

The relationship between the government and international humanitarian actors has been strained over the roles and responsibilities of responding to the conflict and the resultant humanitarian emergency. The strategies of both the Nigerian military and Boko Haram have humanitarian implications for humanitarian response as well as human rights. For example, Boko Haram’s guerrilla tactics and oppression of the areas under its control undermines livelihoods. Mass displacement caused by the conflict has interrupted businesses, agricultural production, and access to services and markets. Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are reluctant to return home due to the continuing insecurity and threat of violence,

Figure 1. Humanitarian Funding for Nigeria (in millions of US dollars), 2010–2017



Source: UNOCHA (Financial Tracking Service)

thereby straining already vulnerable economies and underdeveloped coping mechanisms (REACH Initiative, 2017). At the same time, after securing access to new areas, families are often separated for screening, with men and boys sometimes unlawfully detained, thus creating protection risks (Protection Sector, 2016). Also, by impeding trade and communications and limiting movement to the areas under Boko Haram’s control, the present military strategy may be hindering livelihoods and exacerbating humanitarian needs (International Crisis Group, August 2016).

The Nigerian military made a major push during 2016 and retook large parts of Yobe and Adamawa states, capturing a number of towns in Borno state where people displaced by Boko Haram had gathered. Conditions prevailing in these towns when the Nigerian military took control—the first time that humanitarian actors had access to many of these populations—were so bad that UN agencies

declared an internal “Level 3” Emergency in August 2016 (USAID, 2016). Cadre Harmonisé released a report on October 28, 2016, detailing the extent of the crisis. The CH analysis stated “that over 100,000 and 5,000 populations in Borno and Yobe State respectively may experience famine in June – August 2017” (CILSS, 2016, p.1). The Famine Early Warning System Network (FEWS NET) subsequently released a report suggesting that famine conditions had likely been prevailing in Bama, Banki, and similar enclaves in Borno and likely still were prevailing in areas outside the military’s control (FEWS NET, 2016).

Up to 2016, much of the response had been conducted on a somewhat provisional basis, with many surge staff quickly rotating in and out. The World Food Programme (WFP) only set up operations in March 2016, and only set up a permanent country office in August 2016 (O33).<sup>1</sup> There was a wide gap

<sup>1</sup> Numbers refer to interviews with key informants during the case study. Interviews were numbered in the order they were conducted.

between the beginning of widespread displacement by the violence (post 2009) and the beginning of the scale up of the international humanitarian effort (which really only began in earnest in 2015).

The November 2017 Cadre Harmonisé report indicates that while food security indicators are improving in Yobe state, portions of Borno state were classified as Phase 4 (Emergency), and almost 2,000 people in Adamawa state were under Phase 5 (Famine) conditions from October to December 2017 (CILSS, November 2017). A FEWS NET bulletin from September 2017 stated that northeast Nigeria

continues to “record the highest level of food insecurity in the region” of West Africa, though the report predicted improvement in October 2017 to January 2018 (FEWS NET, September 2017). In a January 2018 update, FEWS NET highlighted that the ongoing conflict’s impact on displacement, security, trade, and humanitarian and market access continue to drive acute food insecurity in the northeast. FEWS NET went on to say, “Analysis of contributing factors continues to suggest an elevated risk of famine (IPC Phase 5) in inaccessible areas” (FEWS NET, 2018).

# 4. Background on the Cadre Harmonisé analysis

## Origins

---

The Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (Comité Permanent Inter-État de Lutte Contre la Sécheresse au Sahel in French, CILSS) was established in 1973 in response to a severe Sahelian drought. It aims to improve food security and mitigate the effects of drought by investing in research and policies and promoting cooperation, capacity building, and information sharing. It currently has thirteen member states: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Togo. Though it is not a member, CILSS also monitors food security in Nigeria due to its role as a technical arm of the Economic Community of West African States, of which Nigeria is a member.

CILSS developed the Cadre Harmonisé in the early 2000s, establishing both a technical committee and steering committee in 2000. The aim of Cadre Harmonisé is to assess food and nutrition insecurity among member states using a consensual analytical framework and classification scale. Cadre Harmonisé gathers data on agricultural, nutrition, food security, meteorological, and economic indicators (CILSS, 2014). Cadre Harmonisé adopted the same classification system as the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) system, which was developed in Somalia in the early 2000s and is now in use in some 35 countries around the world. Thus, Cadre Harmonisé uses the same five phases to categorize food security status.

For many years after the founding of Cadre Harmonisé, Nigeria was not included in its analysis. After some advocacy for IPC-like analysis in Nigeria, given

the worsening conditions in the northeast, CILSS was requested to begin conducting Cadre Harmonisé analyses in Nigeria in April 2015 (002). Before Cadre Harmonisé was established in Nigeria, there was no specific analysis for food security and no combined food security, mortality, and malnutrition analysis (002). Cadre Harmonisé began in only eight north-eastern states but now covers 16 plus the FCT (002) across the whole of the north (007). When Cadre Harmonisé was introduced in 2015, nation-wide training ensued, and a core of analysis cells now exists in a number of states. Like the IPC, Cadre Harmonisé is intended to represent an “evidence-based technical consensus” on current and projected food security status (004).

In terms of procedures, Cadre Harmonisé includes five steps: Step 1, an inventory of the evidence; Step 2, reliability scoring of that evidence according to the rules on reliability in the Cadre Harmonisé manual; Step 3, overall classification; Step 4, estimation of population in each phase; and Step 5, finalization and validation of the report (001, 002 006; CILSS, 2014). The process is managed by the National Programme for Food Security (NPFS) a program embedded within the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MoARD) with technical assistance from CILSS and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (002). At a state level, the permanent secretary of MoARD is the lead (003) and a Cadre Harmonisé coordinator and focal point is designated from within the State MoARD (002). For nutrition and mortality, the State Ministry of Health (MoH) ensures that its two nutritionists are involved in the state cell analysis, and at the federal level, MoH assigns at least two nutritionists to the national validation cell (005). CILSS provides a team of “coaches” that work with each analysis cell (state level) and then oversee the finalization of the report and its validation. FAO

provides technical support and was instrumental in getting the process started. WFP is a major provider of food security analysis. A number of NGOs are involved, including some national and local NGOs (mostly under the umbrella of the NPFS) (O23). The information core on which Cadre Harmonisé is based consists of an Emergency Food Security Assessment (EFSA) conducted by the WFP, and a nutritional surveillance system and a nation-wide annual Standardized Monitoring and Assessment of Relief and Transitions (SMART) survey (conducted by the MoH, CDC, and UNICEF), with some small-scale SMART surveys conducted by partners such as Action Against Hunger.

Thus far, five Cadre Harmonisé analyses have been published: November 2015, March 2016, October 2016, March 2017, and November 2017. The first analysis (November 2015) covered eight states: Adamawa, Borno, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara. No areas were classified as Phase 4 (Emergency) or Phase 5 (Famine), though 820,365 people lived in an emergency situation and 54,242 people lived in a famine situation.

Borno and Yobe states were classified as Phase 3 (Crisis), with 4.386 million people in this category throughout the eight states analyzed. The October 2016 analysis included an additional eight states: Bauchi, Benue, Gombe, Kaduna, Kebbi, Niger, Plateau, and Taraba. Five zones in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe were categorized as Phase 3, while three zones in Borno and Yobe were categorized as Phase 4.

In December 2016, FEWS NET published an IPC-compatible analysis outside of Cadre Harmonisé on select LGAs and IDP concentrations in Borno. This report concluded that “famine likely occurred in April-August in some IDP enclaves (Bama and Banki towns) and in other nearby inaccessible areas of Borno state facing similar conditions of limited access to food and health services and before the impact of Humanitarian Assistance” (FEWS NET, 2016, p.1). The Nutrition Surveillance System compiled available nutrition data (surveys and screening) to develop a picture of the situation. The analysis concluded, “These estimates should be understood to be representative of accessible areas of Northeast Nigeria. Acute malnutrition prevalence, mortality rates and other indicators are likely poorer in newly liberated

Figure 2. Cadre Harmonisé and FEWS NET Maps, late 2016

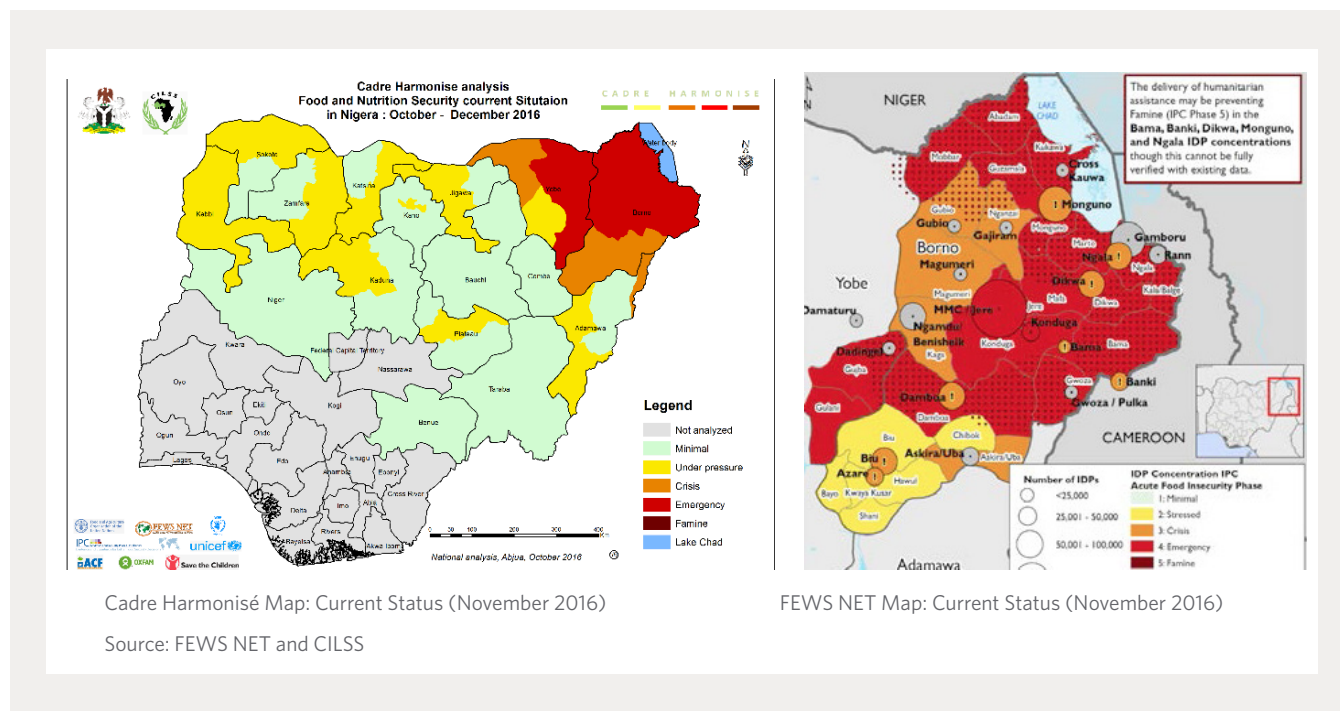
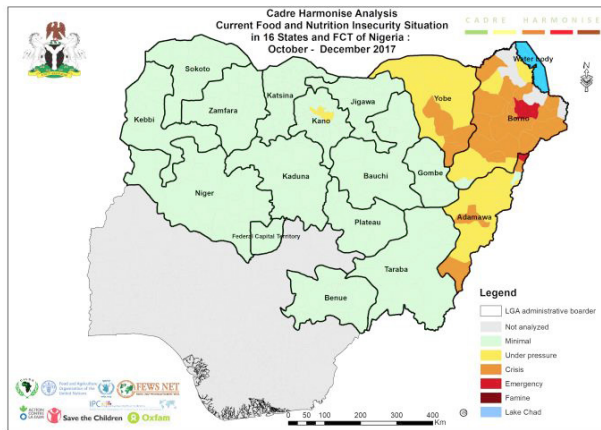


Table 1. Cadre Harmonisé Analyses: Population in Phases 3-5

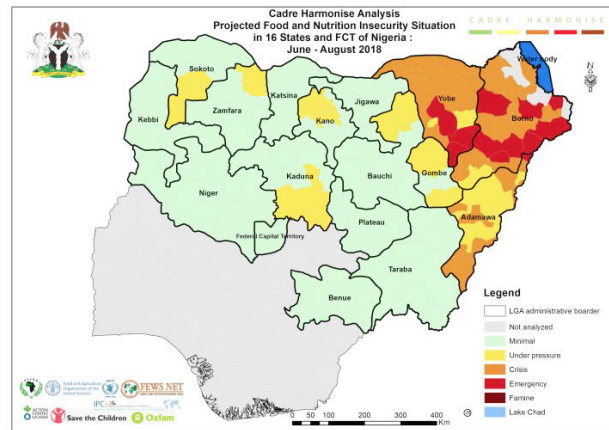
<b>October 2015 to December 2017</b>		<i>October-December 2015</i>	<i>March-May 2016</i>	<i>October-December 2016</i>	<i>March-May 2017</i>	<i>October-December 2017</i>
Adamawa	Phase 3	409,767	81,953	251,612	583,468	443,931
	Phase 4	81,953	-	5,815	197,099	96,657
	Phase 5	-	-	-	5,815	1,846
	Total (P 3-5)	491,721	81,953	257,427	786,383	542,434
Borno	Phase 3	1,898,477	1,410,297	1,823,462	2,118,059	1,221,455
	Phase 4	542,422	216,969	1,387,862	1,098,842	353,959
	Phase 5	54,242	-	55,013	38,078	
	Total (P 3-5)	2,495,141	1,627,266	3,266,337	3,254,980	1,575,414
Yobe	Phase 3	783,959	823,157	725,465	538,405	441,331
	Phase 4	195,990	-	423,609	87,948	4,442
	Phase 5	-	-	-	-	
	Total (P 3-5)	979,948	823,157	1,149,074	626,353	445,773
Grand Total	Phase 3	3,092,203	2,315,407	2,800,539	3,239,932	2,106,717
	Phase 4	820,365	216,969	1,817,286	1,383,889	455,058
	Phase 5	54,242	-	55,013	43,893	1,846
	Total (P 3-5)	3,966,810	2,532,376	4,672,838	4,667,714	2,563,621

Note: The large drop in numbers affected in Borno state between the March-May 2017 round and the October-December round reflects an error in earlier population figures and does not signal a dramatic improvement in the humanitarian situation in Borno. The earlier figures reflected a mistake in population estimates, which was corrected in the October-December round, reducing the population figure for Borno by nearly two million. Given that the number of people in Cadre Harmonisé Phases 3, 4, and 5 is calculated on the basis of percentages, changing the population figure lowered the total numbers in need, but this reflects the different population figure, not a substantial improvement in humanitarian conditions

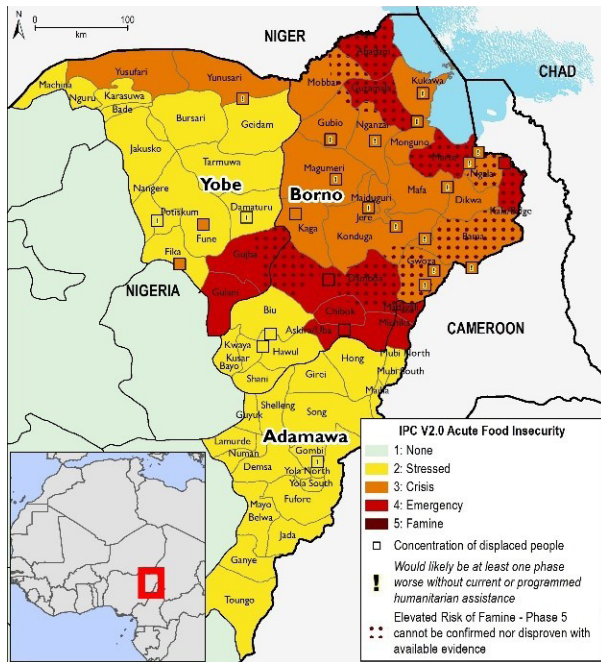
Figure 3. Current IPC and Cadre Harmonisé Maps



Cadre Harmonisé Map: Current Status (November 2017)

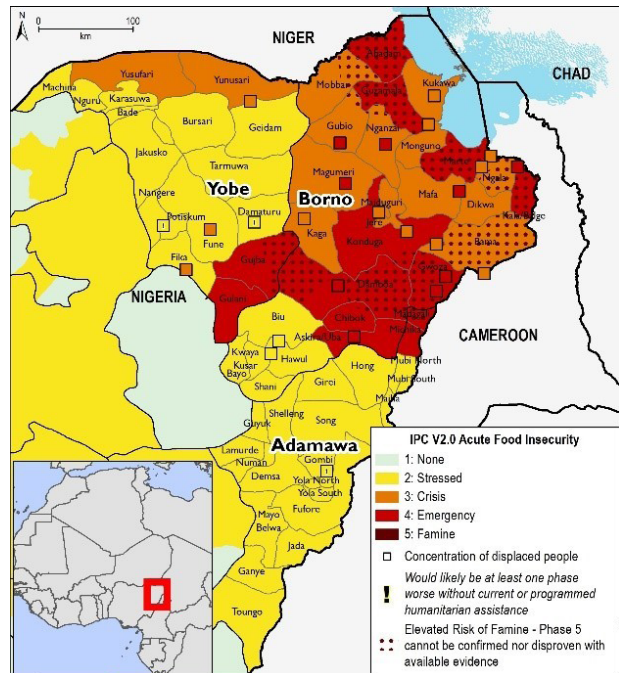


Cadre Harmonisé Map: Projections (mid-2018)



FEWS NET Map: Current Status (November 2017)

Source: FEWS NET and CILSS



FEWS NET Map: Projections (2nd Quarter 2018)

and inaccessible areas. Large areas of the assessed domains remain inaccessible, particularly in Borno.”

The report goes on to say, “These data have raised concerns about potential areas with possible emergency or even famine levels of malnutrition” (UNICEF, 2016). While in some ways, the Cadre Harmonisé map depicts a worse overall situation in late 2016, it was the depiction of areas having “elevated risk of famine” (shown by black dots on the map in a number of locations in northern and eastern Borno) that could not be determined on the basis of existing evidence due to inability to access these areas, that caught people’s attention (Figure 3). FEWS NET noted the current response would be insufficient to meet the needs of the 4.7 million people requiring emergency food assistance (FEWS NET, 2016).

## Current food security status

As of November 2017, food security indicators across the states under analysis had generally improved due to above-average yields in staple and cash crops, with the exception of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa states. The report estimated that about 3.16 million people across the 16 states and FCT of Abuja would be in the three critical food insecurity phases: 2.7 million in crisis, 455,058 in emergen-

cy, and 1,846 in famine phases. This is projected to increase to 3.7 million in June-August 2018, with 12,536 at risk of famine in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe states (OCHA, 2018). These classifications incorporate under-five mortality rates and crude mortality rates for Borno and Yobe, though this data is unavailable for other locales and the report is not clear if the data came from the Nutrition Surveillance system or from health center reporting.

Figure 3 depicts current status in northeastern Nigeria, according to both Cadre Harmonisé and FEWS NET. It is clear from the maps that the two analysis groups (Cadre Harmonisé and FEWS NET), though using the same—or very nearly the same—methodology, do not come up with the same summary results. These maps reflect a divided food security analysis community of practice, which is discussed in more detail in Section 5.

## Nutrition and mortality information in Nigeria

A nation-wide National Nutrition SMART Survey (NNS) was started in 2012 and was to take place twice a year (during harvest and lean seasons). It began in the eight states along the northern border

Figure 4. Seasonal Calendar for Northern Nigeria.

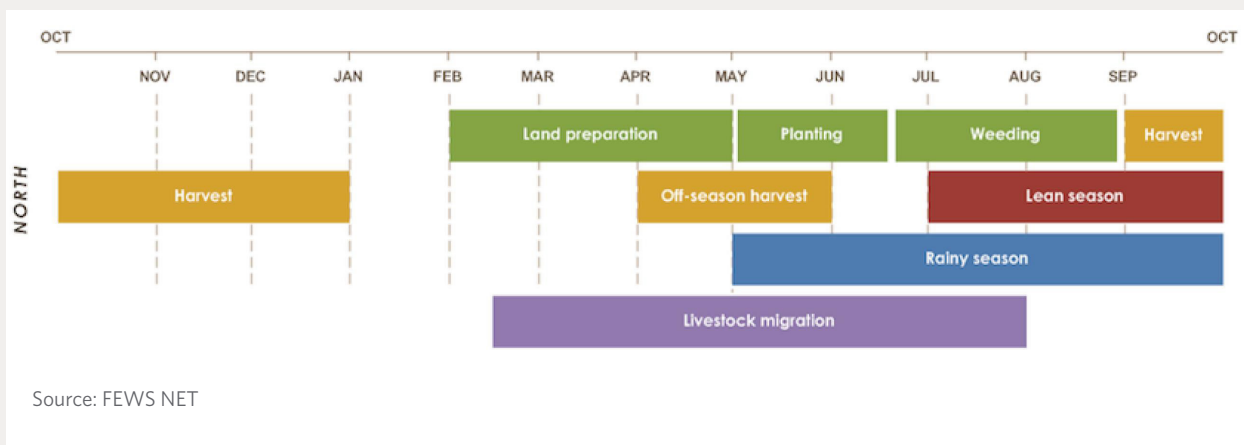
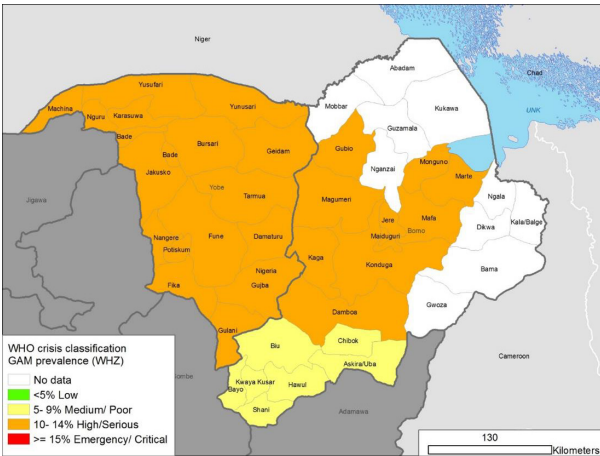
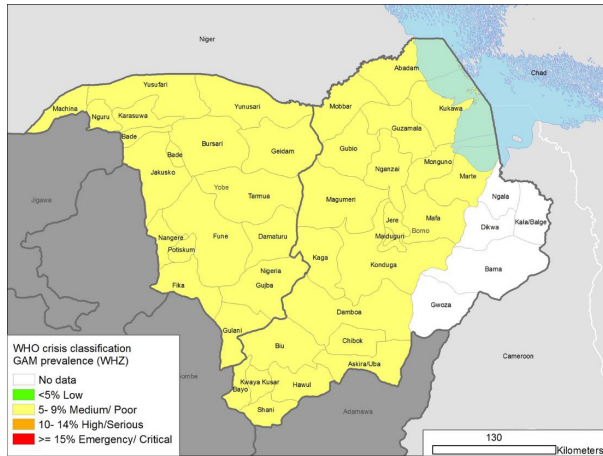




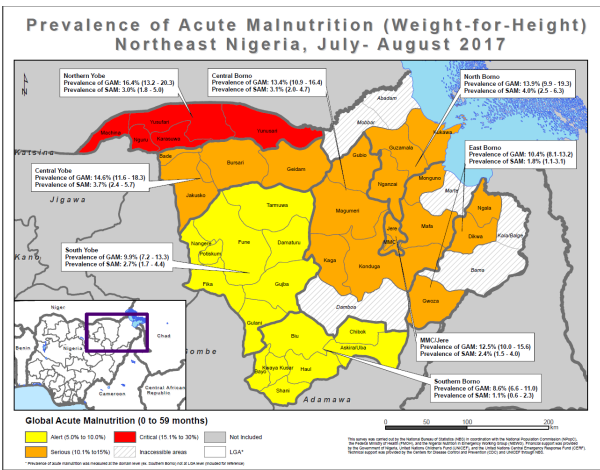
Figure 5. Nutrition and Food Security Surveillance Maps, Acute Malnutrition and Crude Mortality



Cadre Harmonisé Map: Current Status (November 2017)

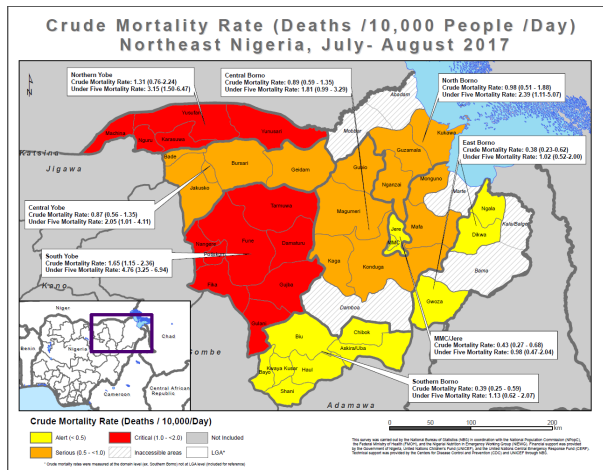


Cadre Harmonisé Map: Projections (mid-2018)



FEWS NET Map: Current Status (November 2017)

Source: FEWS NET and CILSS



FEWS NET Map: Projections (2nd Quarter 2018)

and was representative at senatorial district level in the northwestern states, and at LGA level in the northeast. Coverage gradually increased to include the whole of the country. But finding funding has been increasingly difficult, so currently the survey is only conducted once a year, the last one having been done in September-October 2016. There was no funding for a NNS in 2017 (005). A Nutrition and Food Security Surveillance (NFSS) system began in October 2016.

The surveillance system started covering 10 “domains,” each consisting of a group of four to eight LGAs with similar characteristics, in the three northeastern states. A full SMART nutrition and mortality survey is conducted in each domain. Data are collected on women and child acute and chronic malnutrition, underweight, crude mortality, and under-five mortality rates; dietary intake; morbidity; and water and sanitation. The surveillance system does not project results for the subsequent period. The federal office of the MoH chairs the

nutrition information technical working group, with the Nutrition Sector Coordination Mechanism acting as a secretariat, which verifies and clears all nutrition survey protocols and then reviews data quality, reports and authorizes their release. The federal MoH and the Nutrition Sector also provide admissions data from nutrition programs to the Cadre Harmonisé when requested. The three rounds of data collection each year are in March (Land Preparation), July (Lean Season) and November (Harvest Season) (see Figure 4). To date, four rounds have been conducted, with the November 2017 results yet to be reported.

Results from the three rounds of surveillance show improvements in March 2017 followed by worsening of the acute malnutrition situation throughout Yobe and Borno in July 2017.

Determining which nutrition and mortality data was used in each round of the Cadre Harmonisé analysis has proven difficult, and as a result how much the Cadre Harmonisé or FEWS NET analysis includes nutrition and mortality data is unclear.

The maps also show how different survey or surveillance mechanisms are representing access to collect information, showing more or fewer areas as not classified. The domain approach to collection of malnutrition and mortality data in the NFSS also results in less resolution in identifying hot spots within the domains surveyed.

# 5. Methodological note on case study interviews and analysis

This report synthesizes information from a comprehensive desk review and key informant interviews. First, a research assistant at Tufts conducted a review of the literature on the crisis in northeastern Nigeria, the Boko Haram insurgency, and background to Cadre Harmonisé process. Second, a team from the Feinstein International Center and the Centre for Humanitarian Change conducted interviews, either in person or via Skype, with respondents from the donor community, UN agencies, international and local non-government organizations, and members of the government who were familiar with and/or directly involved in the Cadre Harmonisé process. During these interviews, inquiries were made regarding the technical aspects of the data collection and analysis process and, in particular, potential gaps in upcoming analyses that might be addressed by quick donor action in advance of the next Cadre Harmonisé analysis. These interviews were conducted mostly in September 2017. Third, the field team visited Nigeria between October 3 and October 14, 2017, to conduct in-person interviews with key informants in the Government of Nigeria, UN agencies, international NGOs, local organizations, and specialized information agencies. Follow up interviews were subsequently held with regional offices or key informants who had been outside the country at the time of the field team visit.

For all key informant interviews, respondents were identified either on the basis of their positions and engagements with the Cadre Harmonisé analysis, or via snowball sampling based on earlier interviews. In person and by Skype or telephone, the team conducted 50 interviews, with 58 informants. During each interview, detailed field notes were taken, noting phrases and terminologies used by

respondents to capture their narrative. Questions were open-ended to avoid leading respondents to particular responses. In several of the interviews, respondents clearly were changing their minds about the topic of conversation as the interview went on. Simply the nature of the questions implied that perhaps there may have been external influences on the analysis of the humanitarian crisis in Nigeria, but the respondents simply hadn't thought about it that way before. Interview O27 is a particular example, but not the only one. It gave an example of the so-called "Hawthorne effect," a reaction in which people modify an aspect of their behavior, simply because they are aware of being observed (or in this case, change the way they analyze their experience in response to being questioned about that experience). This may mean that the research itself is changing people's knowledge, perceptions, and attitudes towards the topic of the research.

Interview notes were coded using the qualitative analytical software, NVivo, Version 11.4.2. An iterative coding approach was developed with codes determined both deductively from study instruments and inductively from transcripts. Emergent themes were then used to draft the initial outline of this report, with coded information categorized and synthesized accordingly. The Tufts University Social, Behavioral and Economic Research committee granted Internal Review Board clearance for the overall research program on May 31, 2017. Sources are noted by reference to an interview number in parentheses. Interview respondents or agencies are not identified in the report.

# 6. Challenges and constraints to food security analysis in Nigeria

This section analyzes the findings from the interviews conducted during the field case study. Although it was late in getting started and “conservative” in its outcome, by and large, the Cadre Harmonisé process in Nigeria has done what it was expected to do: highlight the food security dimensions of a major humanitarian emergency; provide a broad picture of the crisis including the estimated number of people whose food security has been affected and how severely they have been affected; and the broad geographic dimensions of the crisis. Likewise, virtually all respondents interviewed noted that the Cadre Harmonisé process has improved with each succeeding round of analysis. This section intends to be neither a criticism, nor a summary evaluation of the Cadre Harmonisé process. Rather it intends to highlight the points where either the process itself or concerns about the way the process has been rolled out allows for the contextual influencing of technical information, recalling that the objectives of the study were, first, about understanding the extent that political influences shape the analysis and the degree that analysts involved in the process were aware of and responding to them. (The evidence suggests that these influences may come from a variety of actors engaged in the process.) And, the second objective was to identify practices that have emerged to limit these influences and to protect the integrity of the analysis.

## Funding

---

Funding for the initial rounds of Cadre Harmonisé analysis workshops came from the European

Union (from ECHO via FAO and from EU/Devco via CILSS). The cost is reportedly about \$148,000 for one round of analysis (just for the analysis workshops and write-up) (002). The cost of one round of nutrition surveillance is about \$85,000. In the initial rounds of Cadre Harmonisé, in 2015–16, FAO conducted the food security survey with their sourced funding. Since 2017, WFP led data collection collaboration with the National Bureau of Statistics. UNICEF sources funds for the nutrition and mortality surveys and surveillance system (002). NGOs source their own funding for their contributions to data collection, analysis, and inputs in the CH analysis process. Funding for Cadre Harmonisé analysis is secure through CILSS through 2019. But funding—for the CH process itself and for the data contributions of the CH stakeholders in Nigeria—is the biggest issue for the sustainability of Cadre Harmonisé. Funding for much of the future analysis is not firmly committed (007). Given the aim to expand Cadre Harmonisé analysis to as much of Nigeria as possible, funding is the main constraint (002). The UNICEF-supported nutrition and mortality surveillance system has limited funding for the coming rounds of surveillance. Funding is sometimes the reason for missing information—for example, funding is cited as the reason that more small-scale SMART surveys are not carried out (006, 021).

## Capacity challenges

---

Overall, the general observation of the field team was that the baseline capacity for analysis is probably higher in Nigeria than in other countries at

risk for famine, such as South Sudan. But the Cadre Harmonisé process is still quite new and there has been a high level of turnover among the participants in analysis, so the actual on-the-ground capacity for complex analysis like Cadre Harmonisé often varies. In some cases, strong capacity exists (albeit often at national level only); in other cases lack of capacity and experience with Cadre Harmonisé analysis—or food security and nutrition analysis generally—is a real constraint (O37, O39). As one respondent put it “every agency in Maiduguri has a very high turnover of staff—especially international staff” (O17). In some cases, this results in misunderstandings about how to interpret food security and nutrition indicators (O10). CILSS makes “coaches” (technical staff who assist in the analysis) available to support the process from state to national level but this eats up an enormous amount of CILSS’s capacity (O36). It also means that the reservoir of capacity for Cadre Harmonisé analysis is outside the country most of the time.

## Coordination challenges

---

Ownership of the Cadre Harmonisé process is clearly located within the Government of Nigeria apparatus, but in multiple different ministries and between the state and federal levels. And there are multiple international, UN, and non-governmental actors as well, so coordination remains a challenge. The biggest of these is around the timing of the elements of Cadre Harmonisé analysis (see below). The field team observed several coordination challenges. The collection of food security, nutrition and mortality data are not well coordinated (O10). This results in some categories of information (most frequently nutrition and mortality) not being available for Cadre Harmonisé analysis because the information is considered out of date or from a different season by the time Cadre Harmonisé analysis workshops take place. Attempts to incorporate nutrition information into the EFSA surveys has been used in other countries but have not worked in Nigeria, and efforts to incorporate food security information into the NFSS system haven’t fully worked in Nigeria (O10, O33). Another problem concerns timing for the rounds of the nutrition surveillance and the Cadre Harmonisé rounds. Data

older than three months is excluded from the Cadre Harmonisé analysis. Presently, given the differences in timing of the EFSA and NFSS, nutrition and mortality data from the NFSS often cannot be used. When nutrition data are too old, analysts try to extrapolate from the trends (O05, O08). The net result has been to make information unavailable—or at least render its reliability score too low to be included—for Cadre Harmonisé analysis, even though a system exists to collect the information in the country. There is capacity for small-scale nutrition and mortality surveys and respondents reported that planning for these surveys takes into account seasonal timing, “hot spot” identification, and the need for information for the Cadre Harmonisé (O05, O08), but others felt this system lacked clarity and inclusivity.

In the area of food security information, supplementary data from sources other than the EFSA appear to be limited, although other agencies do collect relevant food security and contextual data for their program purposes. A few respondents felt that issues of coordination of data collection timing, coverage and hot spot targeting contributed limited the inclusion of the supplementary data in the CH analysis.

## Uses of Cadre Harmonisé analysis

---

Most respondents agreed that the Cadre Harmonisé analysis sets overall strategic direction and overall numbers but the information is not particularly useful for operations or operational planning. A number of respondents noted that Cadre Harmonisé analysis lacks detail, and it is not sufficiently granular for operational or programmatic applications (O14, O26, O33). Agencies still have to do their own assessments and targeting exercises and meet other programming information requirements (O26). NEMA and the State Emergency Management Authorities (SEMA) use Cadre Harmonisé to plan operations (O02), especially the geographic targeting of food aid (O05).

These observations suggest the need to clarify the primary objectives of the CH analysis: to provide a picture of the overall strategic needs or to use as

a tool for operational planning of the response to specific populations?

## Data challenges

Perhaps the biggest challenge to Cadre Harmonisé analysis is the availability of data (007, 021, 036). Some of the agencies that have a lot of information are not Cadre Harmonisé partners and are not engaged in the Cadre Harmonisé process, so often their data are not available—sometimes the reports are public and can be used, but the data are not (007). Some data are persistently missing—most frequently mortality and nutrition, and in some cases the difference between traumatic and non-traumatic mortality (001, 004, 023). In addition, a lack of clarity about what can be included in and what is excluded from the Cadre Harmonisé analysis results in important data and information sources (particularly qualitative data) being excluded.

A second major challenge is the lack of means to identify “hot spots”—meaning that there is no early warning system (EWS) (001). An effort has been made to develop a nation-wide EWS, but it is not yet up and running. In the meantime, the Cadre Harmonisé “projections” are as near to an EWS as Nigeria has, but there is little experience with projections or contextualizing seasonal information or other drivers of food insecurity over the coming four to six months. This makes the projections somewhat difficult and often somewhat arbitrary (006, 007,

033). Identification of “hot spots” (small areas of acute need or rapidly worsening status) is largely on an ad hoc basis—on particular areas where they are working—but of course this by definition means hot spots are not identified outside of current operational areas.

A third challenge is population data. Population data are not reliable and in many cases are known to be out of date and to overlook population displacement or movement of other kinds (001). The population data are so unreliable that some partners doubt that it is worth the effort to put proportions of the population into different Cadre Harmonisé phases. Clearly, the numbers up to and including the March 2017 analysis in the Cadre Harmonisé estimates differed widely from the numbers in the EPI program. But for the November 2017 analysis, Vaccination Tracking Service (VTS) population numbers were used (adjusted using the Displacement Tracking System (DTS), but some reported that several issues remain unresolved (009). Table 2 depicts the differences in population estimates for the three conflict-affected northeastern states.

Numbers of displaced people are also reported to be often either missing or unreliable. In theory, these numbers can be estimated based on the numbers of IDPs in camps, and some of the estimates of populations in informal camps and living with host communities are highly variable. Despite progress, there remains some doubt about the population figures (006). This is critical as these population and displacement figures drive the Humanitarian Response

Table 2. Population Estimates by Different Sources (in Millions)

State	National Population Council	Vaccination Tracking Service (expected)	Cadre Harmonisé (2016)
Borno	5.3	5.6	7.9*
Adamawa	4.1	3.5	4.3
Yobe	2.9	4.6	3.2

Source: OCHA

\* This is the figure that was revised before the November 2017 analysis, to come more in line with the VTS figures. Hence the estimated population of Borno was reduced by nearly two million, creating the dramatic decline in population in Phases 3, 4, and 5, as depicted in Table 1.

Plan. This is a relatively “young” response—the entire response was really only ramped up in 2016, and Cadre Harmonisé analysis has only been going on for three years. So the information and data challenges are not surprising (O33, O34).

At a different level, the data in Cadre Harmonisé analysis is of limited scope: like IPC analysis, it is all “outcome information,” and mostly only for food security, nutrition, and mortality. Little or no information on health or water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) sectors is included, and very little or no causal analysis, and no conflict or political analysis is done. There is little use of qualitative information. None of this is specific to Nigeria—this is the way that both Cadre Harmonisé analysis and IPC analysis elsewhere is structured.

There are notable differences in food security and nutrition and mortality outcomes (O01). The limited contextual analysis and analysis of drivers leaves more space for differing interpretations in the analysis and of the motivations of those leading the analysis. So for example the nutrition situation in Northern Yobe appears more serious on the nutrition maps than Borno, but the current counter-insurgency conflict is mostly in Borno. There is also little in the way of cross-border comparison between food security, nutrition and mortality figures in Borno and Niger or Cameroon.

The reported lack of clear protocols for sharing of data, clarity on quality checks also creates suspicion of ulterior motives and damages ownership of the process. Some agencies that collect data do not share the actual data files—they only share reports and analyses. One agency noted that it had helped to construct the questionnaire, but was not permitted to see the data, only the results of analysis (O10).

## Timing and frequency of data gathering exercises for inclusion in analysis

As noted, the timing of data collection for Cadre Harmonisé analysis is weakly coordinated, so

frequently data are disqualified from the analysis because they are considered out of date (O01). For example, in 2016 in Bama, the mortality and nutrition information from the first screenings, showed a very high level of wasting and child mortality, but the data

**Table 3. NFSS System Data Collection and Reporting Timing**

Report	Survey Date	Publish/ Presentation Date
Round 1	October- November 2016	February 13, 2017
Round 2	February- March 2017	May 1, 2017
Round 3	July- August 2017	August 30, 2017
Round 4	October- November 2017	Yet to report

Source: NFSS

**Table 4. Cadre Harmonisé Survey and Analysis Timing**

Report	Survey Date	Publish / Presentation Date
Oct-Dec 2015	October 2015	November 5, 2015
Mar-May 2016	February 2016	March 4, 2016
Oct-Dec 2016	October 2016	October 28, 2016
Mar-May 2017	February 2017	March 10, 2017
Oct-Dec 2017	October 2017	November 2, 2017

Source: Cadre Harmonisé

were based on rapid mass screenings and judged to be of low quality (and were thus disqualified from Cadre Harmonisé analysis). By the time a proper assessment was mounted, the food security and nutrition situation had improved dramatically, so the actual status of the area at the time it was recaptured by the Nigerian Army remains unclear. Obviously, humanitarian access made a dramatic difference in the status of civilians in recaptured enclaves, but a reliable assessment of areas still outside of Army control remains impossible. An accurate assessment of conditions in the enclaves at the time they were captured by the Army would have yielded significant information. However, no single agency has the authority to implement such an analysis, so analysis is frequently not as complete as it could be (022, 033, 039).

Key informants highlighted the difficulties experienced in synchronizing the timing of the NFSS data with that of the EFSA and, therefore, the Cadre Harmonisé (and FEWS NET) analysis. So, as noted above, this results in some data either being ruled out or deemed to be unreliable because they are more than three months old and often collected in different seasons.

The NFSS, the EFSA, and Cadre Harmonisé have data collection and analysis phases timed to represent the situation in the lean and harvest seasons. However judgment on the optimum weeks within these periods for collecting data are slightly different. The NFSS requires more time to collect the full rounds data, around six weeks. The length of time between the end of the survey and the report is also considerably longer for the NFSS.

This problem does not have an easy technical answer and instead its resolution relies on making compromises both within the Food Security and the Nutrition Mortality data planning, collection and analysis approaches. Some respondents suggested incorporating nutrition information into the EFSA; others suggest including food security questions in SMART surveys—both have been tried elsewhere with problematic results. Other alternatives include smarter interpolation of data trends. This is a matter of judgment and opens the door to other problems in interpretation in the absence of hard data. Clearly,

shortening the time for the NFSS to report would be a first step. Furthermore, a careful discussion about the optimum seasonal timing of each survey with a view to bringing them closer together would also allow for optimization of the process.

## Units of analysis

---

Units of analysis<sup>2</sup> for Cadre Harmonisé have been variable, and the subject of much debate and disagreement. Up to 2017, data was often only representative at the state level (001). Even in the northeast where the crisis is the most severe, much of the analysis was limited to the senatorial district until 2016. During the peak of the crisis in 2016, the LGA became the unit of analysis in Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa states (006, 039). But this does not match the unit of analysis for the nutritional surveillance, which uses its own “domains”—usually a cluster of 3–4 LGAs (006, 008). The grouping of the domains reportedly takes into account livelihood zones and other contextual factors. During the second round of the NFSS, Action Against Hunger carried out small-scale SMART surveys partly to check the validity of the domain results at an LGA level. Targeted LGAs were selected based on Action Against Hunger programming areas and the Nutrition Information Technical Working Group assessment of LGAs that may have divergent malnutrition and mortality status when compared to the rest of the domain. Results from the four small-scale surveys were not statistically different from the result found in the whole domain.

Even when LGAs are the unit of analysis, in some—in Borno in particular, but also parts of Yobe—only a very limited part of the LGA can be accessed for assessment (or response) purposes. Typically this is the main town or market center in the LGA, which is occupied by the Nigerian Army or the CJTF, with a civilian population in the center under their control and protection. But often no information is available about civilian conditions outside of that protected

<sup>2</sup> A “unit of analysis” is the geographic area (and human population within it) to which data collected in an assessment can be accurately extrapolated. If different units of analysis are used by different data collection methods, combining the results becomes difficult—and largely a matter of human judgment, rather than statistical analysis.



zone. Given the presence of the army, distributing humanitarian assistance in these towns is possible. So, on the one hand, the presumption is that the populations in the towns are probably better off than populations outside (and that food and other forms of humanitarian assistance available in the center is an incentive for people in Boko Haram controlled areas to move into the towns). On the other hand, given the lack of information, surrounding areas in the LGA are frequently classified the same as the towns or market centers where information is available. This likely means that inaccessible areas are being under-classified, but there is no data to confirm this (006, 009, 022, 026, 036).

During the October 2016 and March 2017 analyses, this issue was raised, and some agencies suggested using ward-level data, where available, to distinguish between accessible, partially accessible, and inaccessible areas. Given the lack of state-wide information at the ward level, some partners rejected this idea, and a consensus could not be reached to utilize ward-level data—even where available—leading to accusations about trying to cover up information that depicted how bad the situation might be in the inaccessible areas (023, 029, 036, 039, 040). This was a major reason for the difficulty in reaching consensus conclusions in those analyses (see next section).

All the units of analysis are defined by administrative units or some combination thereof—including states, senatorial districts, the nutritional surveillance “domains” (groups of LGAs), LGAs and wards. None of these have any distinct link to livelihood zones (037). FEWS NET has developed a set of livelihood zones, constructed on Living Standards Measurement Survey data from the World Bank, but so far these have not been the units of analysis for Cadre Harmonisé procedures (FEWS NET, 2017). The NFSS uses a variation of livelihood zones to cluster LGAs into domains.

Synchronizing the level of analysis between the nutrition surveillance and the EFSA has been discussed. The EFSA teams were arguing for the nutrition surveillance to be conducted at LGA level, but the resource requirement to conduct so many representative nutrition and mortality surveys was too high

to consider. Perhaps this is a further argument for using hot spot planning to target scarce nutrition and mortality survey resources.

There was also a significant argument over the IPC rule that famine could be declared at the level of a population of 10,000 because this would enable declaration of famines in “enclaves.” Some parties did not agree with famines being declared for such limited population groups (036), although other countries have set a precedent for this. Likewise, identifying “hot spots” in Phase 5 within areas designated at Phase 4 was also unacceptable to some parties (036).

## Technical consensus— or the lack of it?

---

Cadre Harmonisé analysis is intended to be a technical consensus—built on the convergence of evidence and evidence-driven conclusions about the severity of food insecurity. However, sometimes the imperative of consensus findings limits the degree of independence in the analysis. During the meetings, disagreements are frequent (especially on state-level analysis). Sometimes the meeting has to stop while those disagreeing have one-on-one meetings to find a compromise (002). If there is a strong focus on the evidence, these disagreements are resolved but if the data “go off expected trends” (005) or if they are subject to divergent interpretation—and particularly when it comes to missing data or the need to extrapolate from data in one area to another area for which there is not information, these discussions can become heated, and in the absence of a technical consensus, a consensus may be imposed. NGOs noted that this process is heavily driven by government and CILSS coordinators, and NGOs views are often marginalized; local NGOs have little or no voice in the process. Sometimes these divergent views have led to individual agencies issuing their own reports (006, 036, 037, 039, 040). The difference in analysis is evident in Figure 3 (between Cadre Harmonisé and FEWS NET in this case). It can be difficult to challenge the consensus in analysis, leading in some cases to speaking outside the “consensus.” As

several respondents said, it boils down to the question, “Can you talk about famine in Nigeria?” (O31, O33, O36, O40). There is a clear trade-off between the imperative for a “technical consensus” and the independence of the analysis and different interpretations of the evidence (O36, O37). For example, no consensus was reached on the number of people in Phase 5 in 2016. This is exacerbated when original data are not shared among stakeholders, because disagreements in the results cannot be checked against the original evidence.

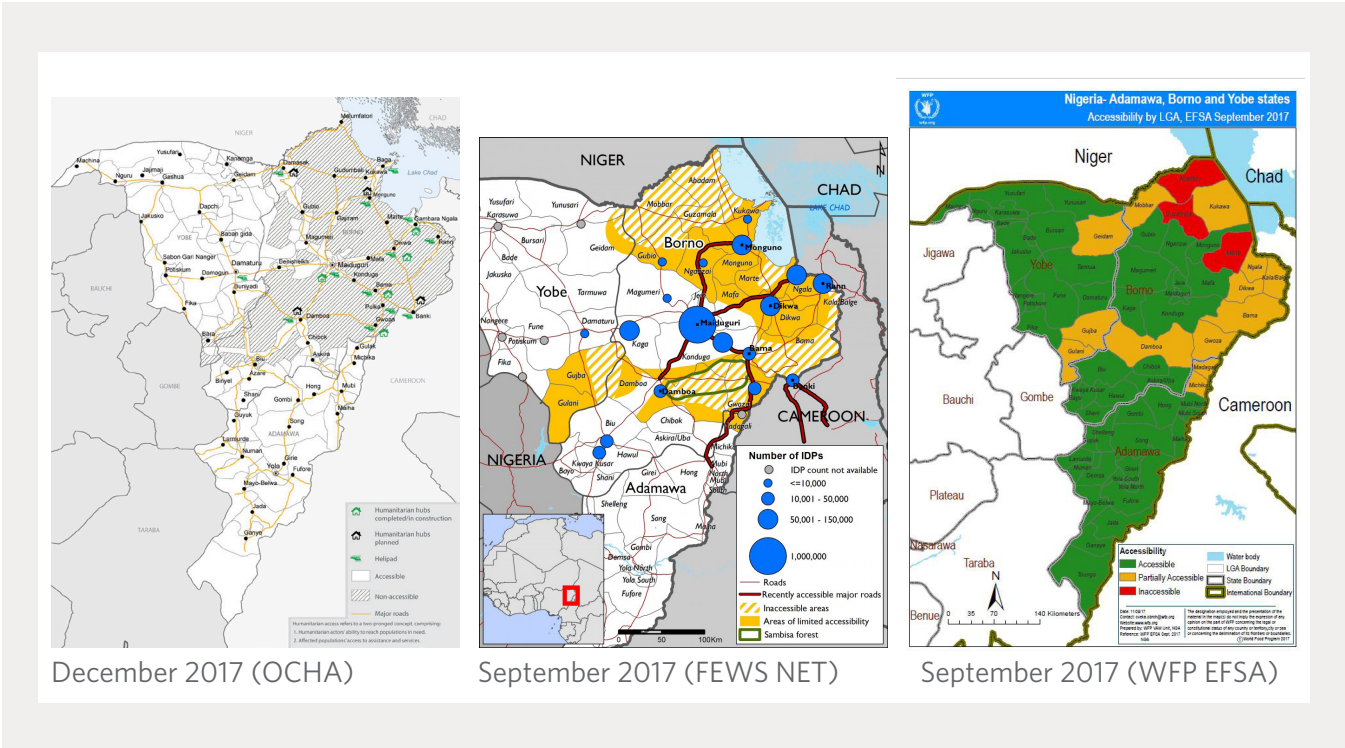
## Access and the impact of constraints on access

Though humanitarian access has improved somewhat in the past year (O02), in several parts of the northeast it continues to be severely limited (see Figure 6 for the map of access in late 2017). UNOCHA ascribes this to continuing insecurity (OCHA, 2017).

Humanitarians have thus far worked entirely in the areas controlled by the Nigerian military. The military has restricted humanitarian access, and humanitarian agencies are unable to access areas held by Boko Haram. Humanitarian assistance and information is often limited to LGA headquarters controlled by the military. In 2016, “it was impossible to visit any of the ‘newly liberated’ areas in Borno without military escort,” making it “very difficult to ascertain what actually happened” (O06). The 2018 Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP) notes, “An estimated 930,022 people remain hard to reach by international humanitarian actors” (OCHA 2018, p. 20). The humanitarian community has not fully tested the extent to which it can gain access to this population.

Little is known about Boko Haram’s willingness to dialogue with humanitarian actors. With the exception of the role played by the International Committee for the Red Cross as an intermediary in the negotiations for the release of several Chibok schoolgirls in 2016 and 2017 (BBC News, October 2016), little is known about possible humanitarian negotiation with armed

Figure 6. Areas Inaccessible to International Humanitarian Actors: Changes in Analyses Over Time



opposition groups in Nigeria. Government stakeholders of the Cadre Harmonisé process state that inaccessibility has no impact on the outcome of the Cadre Harmonisé analysis (002).

However, as several respondents noted, inaccessibility determines the analysis: “Information from [the accessible areas] is all that makes it into the Cadre Harmonisé maps” (009, 010). Or the analysis compares across LGAs to validate and extrapolate the results from one to another if access constraints prevent gathering of data from one LGA (002).

Differences are significant in how inaccessible areas are analyzed and mapped (023). The means of accounting for the inaccessible areas on the maps may make the overall picture look better than it actually is (023, 027). Respondents noted a big debate over whether to depict the inaccessible areas as being in the same phase as nearby accessible areas (probably understating the conditions), or leaving them blank (which highlights that these areas are not accessible and therefore not under government control). Neither choice is palatable (027). One respondent noted, “They were extrapolating information from the towns to the whole LGA—and in doing so obscured the fact that most of the LGA was in fact inaccessible—and no one was noting that all the aid was going to the town” (029). Referring to the observa-

tions about a forced “consensus” another suggested that classifying all areas (even inaccessible areas) is better, because then disagreement would not appear within the analysis cell (027).

Because of access constraints, no one knows the number of civilians in inaccessible areas. At the time of the visit by the field team, the estimates ranged between 400,000 and 700,000, but were the subject of major disagreements. Regional experts put the figure at high as 1.2 million (038). Later, the consensus estimate was reported to be 930,022 (OCHA, 2018).

Borno has 27 LGAs. At the time of the field visit, there was no agreement on how many were completely inaccessible. Most respondents said three were inaccessible, some said six, and some said only one was inaccessible for the November 2017 Cadre Harmonisé (002), and 19 were “partially accessible.” But “partial access” often means only the main town and a variable perimeter around that center (018). Differences in humanitarian access over time—or at concurrent times—is depicted in Figure 6.

The maps in Figure 6 depict very different things and lead to the classification of “partially accessible” LGAs on the basis of conditions in accessible enclaves where humanitarian assistance is available.

**Table 5: Displacement Trends**

December 2014–October 2017							
	<i>December 2014</i>	<i>June 2015</i>	<i>December 2015</i>	<i>June 2016</i>	<i>December 2016</i>	<i>June 2017</i>	<i>October 2017</i>
Displaced individuals	389,281	1,385,298	2,151,979	2,066,783	1,770,444	1,825,321	1,713,711
Returnee individuals	No data	223,141	332,333	663,485	1,039,267	1,257,911	1,307,847
Percentage children (0–17 years)	58%	56%	56%	55%	55%	56%	56%
Percentage female	54%	52%	52%	53%	54%	54%	54%

Source: Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM)

Based on the humanitarian conditions prevailing when these areas were retaken from Boko Haram control, this classification likely under-estimates the severity of the food security problem, and obscures the actual nature of humanitarian access.

## Displaced population

---

The number of displaced people over time between 2014 and 2017 is depicted in Table 5.

Newly displaced people continue to arrive in government-controlled areas. The International Organization for Migration counts new arrivals and tracks numbers of people in camps to estimate total population, but has little information on the status of newly arrived people. Thus the one source of available information about the status of people in the inaccessible areas is not being captured—except on a highly anecdotal basis (O14). According to several respondents, the military will say no civilians are there; however, people will continuously show up from the bush. They are often in very bad condition, but no one is systematically keeping track of their condition on arrival (O18, O32). Recently plans apparently have been made to include systematic screening in the registration process, but if and how Cadre Harmonisé will include this data in its analysis is unclear.

## Causal analysis

---

While Cadre Harmonisé provides current status information across a range of indicators, it is almost entirely information about outcomes (food security, nutrition, livelihoods and mortality). Information about the drivers of the crisis is scarce, little conflict analysis is done, and capacity for conflict analysis is limited (O11, O31, O34). As a result, no substantive analysis of the conflict is being done—it is simply a “contributing factor” (O33).

Likewise, there is little consensus about the underlying causes and whether the situation in the northeast

is an acute emergency or manifestation of a chronic under-development crisis across the north (O32). Understanding underlying causes is critical because if the analysis remains completely at the humanitarian level, development actors won’t understand the crisis, and humanitarian actors won’t understand the underlying root causes around governance and chronic poverty (O33). There is also little analysis of other contributing factors, be they climate change, the drying up of the Lake Chad Basin, environmental degradation, or others (O32).

## Communicating results

---

Sometimes it is not so much the actual analytical results that cause problems with government stakeholders, but the way in which they are presented. Several respondents suggested the need for a better means of communicating the results of the analysis (O07). Typically, the final Cadre Harmonisé report is developed on the fourth and last day of the national cell validation phase. On the fifth day, the final report is presented to all the stakeholders led by high-level state representatives. Before the presentation, the permanent secretary of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development is informed—but this does not change any findings. No senior representatives of government vet the report prior to the presentation and there is no government sign-off on the report prior to the presentation. There are some questions during the presentations but a common message about the report being evidence-based tends to silence these discussions (O02). The states can complain during the meeting and after but in the end the use of data and evidence cannot be disputed (O05, O03).

## Independence, consensus, and support for an impartial response

---

Three main areas of additional concern emerge from the interviews. The first is around the independence of the analysis, particularly with regard to the classification of populations and areas in Phase

5 (famine). The second is about speaking “outside the consensus” of the Cadre Harmonisé, or issuing independent analyses after the Cadre Harmonisé (“consensus”) report has been issued. The third is the broader outcome of the humanitarian analysis on the humanitarian response to the crisis in northeast Nigeria.

## Independence of the analysis

Although it was designed only to be an analysis of food insecurity, the Cadre Harmonisé has become the default indicator of the state of the crisis in general—and therefore both an indicator of the overall conflict itself and the main indicator of the need for further funding. This inevitably puts political pressure on the analysis—and this pressure may come from various angles: from the government, from donors, and from humanitarian agencies themselves.

An “internal declaration” for a Level 3 designation was made that was relatively uncontroversial, but a good deal of consternation ensued over the use of the word “famine” (even retrospectively, and even in areas outside the control of the Nigerian military) in November and December 2016 (007, 013, 033, 036, 037). The story heard repeatedly by the research team is that, “the war against Boko Haram is over.” And therefore, to some degree Cadre Harmonisé is expected by some stakeholders to reflect progress in the war against Boko Haram—to be the “barometer” on the status of the conflict (009)—even though conflict analysis is not included within the remit of Cadre Harmonisé. The result is a perception of pressure to ensure the phase classification shows improvements in humanitarian status since the “end of the war.” This is increasingly aligned with the call for “stabilization” or “early recovery” programs. However, as noted above, some 930,000 people remain in inaccessible areas and are still coming into government-controlled areas (010, 014). Thus some respondents fear that the expectations of improvement in CH classification because the conflict is believed to be finished, combined with the “early recovery” agenda, risks undermining the humanitarian effort as long as the actual emergency continues.

At the same time, humanitarian agencies note that they face a dilemma: If the outcomes in the Cadre Harmonisé analysis don’t improve, donors will question the impact of the ongoing response—perhaps endangering future programs. On the other hand, too much of an improvement in Cadre Harmonisé’s outcomes would support the conclusion that the crisis has abated, and be a reason to consider scaling back the response. All these observations are muffled—not spoken directly, but frequently hinted at—and make reaching a “consensus” conclusion that is acceptable to all parties to the analysis an imperative. But the point is that such a conclusion is likely to be driven by a number of concerns that are well beyond the evidence about food security and nutritional needs—even if good and complete data are available—the realm of Cadre Harmonisé. These pressures come from a variety of actors—the government, humanitarian agencies worried about their budgets, and donors—but they combine to threaten to undermine the independence and validity of the analysis, replacing a technical consensus (as called for in Cadre Harmonisé and IPC analysis) with much more of a political consensus. This puts humanitarian agencies in a quandary and underlines the need for good, independent analysis. Several respondents with direct experience voiced their doubts about the independence of the analysis (021, 030, 031, 038, 040)—either in terms of limits on the range of acceptable outcomes or in terms of dealing with dissenting views. When the Cadre Harmonisé results are published, the analysis team has a clear joint message that the results are “evidence based.” When anyone disputes this joint position, they are quickly silenced. But concerns raised suggest that the consensus outcomes that emerge from the analysis are not based solely on humanitarian evidence.

## Speaking beyond the consensus

This raises the second concern, which is the issue of agencies speaking outside of or beyond the consensus. A number of respondents criticized FEWS NET for issuing an independent report on the question of famine in 2016, after the Cadre Harmonisé analysis was complete. But numerous respondents also noted that there was no internal consensus on issues that were clearly affecting the analysis.

All of these issues have been discussed above and, at face value, many are technical: technical capacity of the analysis teams, timeliness and frequency of data collection, units of analysis, population estimates, extrapolation of results to inaccessible areas, and of course the question of access itself. But the net result of all these differing views on technical issues is precisely what opens the door to differing interpretations of the analysis and suspicions of political motives on the parts of different actors. For example, by 2017, many agencies were reportedly self-censoring when it came to talking about the conflict, the way in which conflict drives the famine outcomes, or the way in which the analysis of the crisis and famine reflects on the security situation (009).

Any discussion of famine is bound to be political. For example numerous respondents noted the disdain of the Government of Nigeria at being considered in the same category (“famine-risk countries”) as Yemen, South Sudan, or Somalia. One respondent noted that their agency was reminded in strong language that, “There is no famine in Nigeria. We are not like South Sudan or Somalia!” (007).

Because of this, the topic of famine may simply be perceived as a “no-go” area. Another respondent noted, “[We] tried to avoid the politics of the discussion of famine at the time. But opposition politicians were using the talk of famine to attack the government” (006). Agencies raising some of these questions were accused of “trying to tarnish the reputation of the Government of Nigeria” (007)—virtually identical to an accusation made against the IPC Technical Working Group in South Sudan.

However numerous respondents noted that these pressures may come from several sources, not just the government. And in any case, the Government of Nigeria is not a monolithic structure. It is a federal system in which the states have a good deal of autonomy, and there are various layers and overlaps of jurisdiction. So a consensus at one level may still cause political problems at a different level (007). Indeed some respondents noted that with all the different actors, line ministries and perspectives, that there is no single “government” perspective on Cadre Harmonisé analysis, and even if there were, influenc-

ing analytical outcomes would be difficult, because of the many centers of power (033).

However, given the sensitivities around this issue, agencies are often self-censoring. “Agencies usually try to ‘play it safe’ and not offend the government of the day” (029)—all of which suggests the search for a “Goldilocks” solution to the analysis problem (meaning just the right mix of technical evidence and political concern).

At the same time, some observers thought that it was in the interests of other parties to ramp up the severity of the crisis in order to raise more funds—accusing donors in particular, of using the “f-word” (famine) to raise more money (033), or accusing agencies of using it to establish an institutional presence (037) or to serve some other institutional or political objective. In the words of one respondent, “Everyone had political and financial incentives to spin this crisis in myriad ways” (037). Put another way, virtually everyone engaged in the analysis has an objective to pursue that goes beyond just the technical outcomes of Cadre Harmonisé itself.

All of this revolves around the use of the word “famine.” On the one hand, in the technical sense “famine,” or IPC/Cadre Harmonisé Phase 5, is simply a category, a classification—a severe one to be sure, but nothing more than a technical category. On the other hand, “famine” is synonymous not only with inhumanity but with a failure—a failure of humanitarian response and of governance. It is a term that no one—a donor, a humanitarian agency or a government—wants to have associated with “their watch.”

## Undermining the impartiality of the humanitarian response?

Famine is usually taken to signify the outcome or the final impact of a series of failures, but famine can also be a means to the achievement of some other objective, including military objectives. This raises the final troubling question about the Nigeria case: Have humanitarian operations and analysis undermined humanitarian principles by inadvertently supporting a strategy to defeat Boko Haram?

As noted above, Cadre Harmonisé and IPC procedures have only limited analysis of conflict—focusing mainly on categorizing the outcomes of food insecurity, malnutrition, and mortality. A small part of the projections analysis lists “contributing factors,” but that is about all. Many observers noted that the strategy of the Nigerian military against Boko Haram is essentially to surround the areas controlled by Boko Haram, cut off access to markets, trade, and communications, and to cut off any population movement from government-controlled areas into opposition controlled areas (O10, O11, O13 O18, O31, O32). Indeed, there is considerable evidence of a switch in the strategy to contain Boko Haram that revolves around “strategic fortresses” or hamlets. The governor of Borno state has made public announcements in support of this strategy (Matfess, 2018), which involves the provision of security and services within the areas controlled by the army as a medium- to long-term strategy to address the insurgency (Campbell, 2018). The humanitarian response is reliant on the Nigerian military for access, as a result of the insecure environment. But this compromises the perception of impartiality in the delivery of assistance (Peer-to-Peer Support Project, 2017).

This raises the concern that humanitarian assistance—and the analysis that underpins it—is being

used to implement the strategy by incentivizing people to move into these protected enclaves (Zenn, 2017) undermining the humanitarian principles of impartiality and neutrality. Currently populations living in protected areas protected by the military have most of their needs met by humanitarian assistance. Use of assistance in this way would be tantamount to taking sides in the counter insurgency, contributing to a humanitarian response that is not impartial, in which the use of aid is a “pull factor” to attract civilians to government-controlled areas. Some 50,000 people are reported to have moved into government-controlled areas since this new strategy was announced (HCT Country Messages, January 2018).

The humanitarian principle of impartiality is at the very core of IPC (and Cadre Harmonisé) analysis (IPC Partners, 2012). This observation underlines the concern about the classification of the inaccessible areas—and has obvious implications for the analysis. Even the possibility that these analytical processes could be used to undermine that core principle should raise warning flags for all involved in the analysis—and in the response.

# 7. Conclusions: The politics of information and analysis in Nigeria

Nigeria is a massive country, with an estimated population of more than 190 million. So in many ways, 5 million people in a crisis may seem to some like a minor outlier (2.5 percent of the population) and for a few tens of thousands to be in “catastrophic” conditions may not seem like a major deal.

Yet saying famine is occurring is different. Famine implies a failure of humanitarian response and governance; it puts Nigeria in the same category as Yemen, South Sudan, and Somalia, which are in all-out war or are considered to be failed states. In the words of more than one respondent, it “tarnishes the reputation” of the country. Opposition politicians use it to try to undermine the government of the day. In short, talking about famine without implying politics is impossible. And therefore, it follows that analyzing famine is going to be subject to substantial political pressures as well. It also underlines the failure of humanitarian action—at least in the early days of the humanitarian response.

This creates the dilemma around reliance on a food security analysis system intended to be state-led and managed around a “technical consensus” on the one hand, but also intended to provide an accurate, objective, and independent analysis of extreme food insecurity (or indeed other humanitarian current status indicators) on the other. The system can accommodate those two different objectives as long as the severity of any food security crisis is modest in scope. Famine and the analysis of famine is where the two objectives appear to come into direct opposition. And as noted above, it is not merely the state that has a stake in the way humanitarian food security crises are portrayed and reported. Donors and agencies have concerns and imperatives in play as

well. Perhaps the only identifiable group with a stake in the outcome of the analysis that does not have a voice in the analysis or the debate over its meaning is the very population at risk—of malnutrition and mortality as a result of the conflict, of displacement, and of the way the outcomes of war, displacement (or entrapment), and famine are managed. But of course, it is to protect their rights and ensure their access to adequate food or humanitarian action of some other kind that the analysis is conducted in the first place.

So this is not merely a problem about information and analysis—it has real consequences for the lives, livelihoods, rights, and dignity of millions of people. It also has real consequences for the viability and credibility of the humanitarian response and the application of humanitarian principles—particularly impartiality.

A strong sense emerges from the interviews that the “technical consensus” process of analysis can and sometimes is used by both government and some of the more powerful agencies to promote a perspective on the severity and magnitude of the crisis that is favorable to their interests. Given the pressure to address recovery concerns alongside an ongoing humanitarian effort, the “new way of working”—the UN narrative growing out of the World Humanitarian Summit that foresees the joining up of humanitarian, stabilization, and development efforts—has some traction, but counter-insurgency warfare is not the context for which the “new way of working” was envisioned. There is some disconnect between the narrative and the reality—both on the ground and in the kinds of responses envisioned. Multiple and adaptive approaches to solving problems and



addressing acute needs may be required, but all of those approaches must be grounded in solid analysis of both the context and the humanitarian conditions.

## Lessons learned: Managing the influences

---

### Improving over time

This report has highlighted the ways in which external influences have been introduced into the Cadre Harmonisé analysis, but most respondents noted improvement over time both in the technical quality of the analysis and in the ability to deal with these influences. Managing a consensus-driven technical analysis is difficult enough—the analysis above suggests that managing the politics of information and analysis are equally important—especially when extreme outcomes are likely in that analysis and in situations where extremely divergent interests may clash. Some technical constraints remain, and respondents noted that in some cases, differences over technical issues allow for external influences to take over. Nevertheless a number of lessons have emerged in terms of good practice to manage these influences. The most pertinent lessons learned in managing these influences are outlined below.

### Leadership and coordination of the process

The Cadre Harmonisé process is led by the combined efforts of the Government of Nigeria (through the NPFS), CILSS (which provides the technical support), and the UN FAO. Much of the data comes from other agencies—particularly the National Nutritional Surveillance System and the WFP/FAO/National Bureau of Statistics EFSA. Given the extent to which the Cadre Harmonisé analysis determines the overall numbers in the Humanitarian Needs Overview and the Humanitarian Response Plan, there is pressure for the Humanitarian Country Team to be more involved in the leadership of Cadre Harmonisé. But some agencies interviewed fear the politicized nature of engaging at the higher level in Cadre Harmonisé analysis. Better coordination structures could

help to reduce some of the political fears. Greater awareness and involvement of the UN Humanitarian Country Team would be helpful in the meeting point between technical and political consensus building.

### Funding

Having independent funding for analysis is important. In 2017, humanitarian funding for Nigeria went from \$250 million to \$1.1 billion. But funding for the Cadre Harmonisé and NFSP analysis—and particularly for the information components that go into these analyses—is a constant issue. Operational and financial independence clearly helps to ensure analytical independence. At face value, everyone supports the idea, and the amount of money is very small compared to the resources allocated in response to Cadre Harmonisé reports. The question is: Are the results as now provided good enough for decision making (by government, donors, and humanitarian agencies) or would the investment of more money in improved analysis yield significantly improved results and better-informed response?

### Building participation and improving communications to build allies and coalitions

Numerous respondents suggested that the best way to depoliticize the analysis was through greater levels of participation and dialogue with all stakeholders, governmental and humanitarian, before and during the analysis (not just after)—seeking allies for the analysis, both scientific and political. The greater the level of participation, the argument goes, the more likely that all voices are heard. Critical to this, however, is clarifying the role of government. On the one hand, ensuring that state-level and national-level actors are in the analysis right from the start would help to build the consensus for the analysis. On the other hand some respondents argued that this tends to build political considerations into the analysis from the start. Others suggested the need for building stronger networks to collect and analyze information—but also to get support for decisions. If the information and analysis are really good, they are

much more difficult to undermine politically. Greater involvement in the design of the analysis and comprehensive training on the technical aspects of the analysis will allow “the facts to speak,” in the words of several respondents. A major improvement would be the sharing of actual assessment data (not just the reports of the results of analysis of that data).

## Advocating for the results

Many respondents believed that once a consensus is built, greater advocacy is needed to promote the findings and recommendations. This is a two-sided issue however. If a consensus has not been reached, and agencies are advocating for their own findings, this can appear to undermine the analysis or even create political problems for agencies. On the other hand, if agencies feel that the “consensus” findings do not reflect their analysis, they are often faced with the decision of speaking out and risking their status, or remaining silent in the face of an analysis they disagree with. Most suggested that “going public” with an alternative analysis was a last resort.

## Speaking outside the consensus

Some respondents suggested that speaking outside the technical consensus was OK and, indeed, that separate reporting or separate analysis at the local level should be encouraged. FEWS NET retains the option of separate reporting, but this has clearly resulted in controversy when it exercised that option. Having some kind of stand-by process to press for an independent assessment of the results of analysis has been important to IPC analysis, but a parallel process for Cadre Harmonisé analysis in Nigeria doesn’t exist. Important lessons have been learnt by the IPC use of a “review of last resort process” in the form of the Emergency Review Committee (ERC). The ERC was instituted by the IPC in early 2014, to review data quality and the rigor of analysis in the event that Phase 5 (famine) might be an outcome of IPC analysis in South Sudan. The role of the ERC is to

support IPC quality assurance and help ensure technical rigor and neutrality of the analysis. The activation of the IPC ERC provides an additional validation step

for the Country IPC Technical Working Groups (IPC TWG), before the release IPC results.<sup>3</sup> The activation of this committee is recommended, especially when there is . . . the potential outcome of an IPC declaration of Famine (Phase 5), [or] a break-down in the technical consensus process.<sup>4</sup>

Cadre Harmonisé’s consideration of something similar to this approach may be beneficial.

## Clarifying processes

Many respondents noted that if the processes were better established, political tensions would be fewer. Many had questions about transparency and data sharing. Even organizations that partner in the collection of information sometimes are currently not allowed to see the data. Participants in the Cadre Harmonisé analysis are given reports or the results of analysis, but frequently are not allowed to see the raw data, and there are no established and agreed procedures for data sharing. Allowing adequate time for re-assessing the data would be important. The time between the validation of the analysis results and the announcement of the results is crucial for this process of digesting the findings and for coalition building. At present there is no time between the final analysis steps and the dissemination of the results. Attention to this step in the process proved successful in the 2011 famine declaration process in Somalia and could be considered in Nigeria.

## Managing expectations and incompatible objectives

Given that this kind of analysis has multiple and sometimes conflicting objectives, respondents suggested ways to manage them. Clearly, putting political authorities in the picture as soon as possible in the analysis process is important. Establishing the basis of the technical analysis, and differentiating levels of government is important. Some suggested sharing results with legislators for a local area. They

<sup>3</sup> Section 4, “Building Technical Consensus,” in the IPC Technical Manual Version 2.0, 2012, pages 23–24.

<sup>4</sup> IPC General Support Unit. 2014. Guidance Note #14, “Tools and Procedures for Establishment and Implementation of the IPC Global Emergency Review Committee,” April 14, 2014.

have more at stake with the community. Most noted that officials from line ministries are committed to the analysis and are not political in their view. On the other hand, most respondents are aware that the narrative can be controlled, and many report some degree of self-censorship. Again, involving a broader range of stakeholders was a recommendation of many—the more diverse the analysis group, the better, but there may be limits to what a consensus analysis can say. At the end of the day, the Cadre Harmonisé tries to do several things: Is partnership, local ownership, inclusivity, and consensus the objective? Or is high quality, highly accurate, and independent analysis the over-riding objective? At some point, the question of priorities has to be addressed. Clearly, when the term “famine” starts being used, these may not be reconcilable objectives.

## Improving contextual analysis

One of the reasons for the disagreements in interpretation of results is that both Cadre Harmonisé and IPC analyses tend not to emphasize context analysis. The majority of the analysis is on outcomes—specifically food security, malnutrition, and mortality. Respondents reported big differences from one LGA to another, but with little common understanding of the drivers or the difference in drivers. These respondents called for a greater level of granularity in the analysis. Also, there is little or no analysis of the actual conflict—which of course in Borno is the major driver of the crisis. Respondents noted the need for conflict analysts and protection specialists who are able to interpret the data—and pointed out that in contrast to other conflict-related crises, little attempt was made to understand conflict dynamics or incorporate this understanding into an analysis of food security and nutrition outcomes—indeed some pressure came from some actors not to include this element of analysis. A specific way of improving both contextual analysis and current classification would be to improve the analysis of populations in inaccessible areas. This could be done by more systematic assessment of people coming into government-controlled enclaves from the inaccessible areas, by measuring their own status, interviewing them about general status of populations in the areas they have

left, and by remote sensing. This would be a step towards upholding the impartiality of the analysis.

## Integrating analysis

The limited focus on contextual factors in turn highlights other limitations to the analysis. Even apart from the conflict drivers, some respondents suggested that the standardization of indicators and approaches often undermined the understanding of idiosyncratic factors driving vulnerability, and undermined the understanding of the sort of information to collect, beyond Cadre Harmonisé’s three main categories (food security, nutrition, and mortality). Little data on health and WASH outcomes is collected, let alone on protection or gender-based violence. All the information is on “status,” not on “drivers.” Links between livelihoods and protection are poorly understood. One respondent talked about the need for “décloisonner” (French for “de-compartmentalizing” or, in contemporary humanitarian-speak, “breaking down the siloes”). This all relates back to the issue of strong networks with wide technical expertise to collect and analyze information and get decision support.

Agreeing on compromises on the timing of the Food Security and Nutrition/Mortality data collection to ensure that already available data is used to improve the analysis is clearly a short-term objective. Agreement on timings and more rapid reporting processes could immediately significantly improve the Cadre Harmonisé analysis.

## Improving technical capacity and capacity building

Finally, some faith remains among technical analysts that improving the technical procedures alone will protect the objectivity and independence of the analysis. They emphasize ensuring scientific methodology, ensuring the sharing of data, and capacity building for the group of analysts who engage in Cadre Harmonisé. They note that people participating in Cadre Harmonisé are often not food security or nutrition analysts—and agencies often do not send the

same people to successive analyses, so little cumulative learning about the process occurs. There was lots of discussion about how new Cadre Harmonisé is. It can take time to build analytical capacity. If the focus is on the technical analysis, politics can't get in, but if the technical analysis is weak, political interests can do anything with the results.

## Synthesis

---

Many of the suggestions outlined above are technical matters that should be decided and better coordinated. These include issues such as the unit of analysis, the timing of information collection, and the kinds of information needed. And clearly, in the views of respondents, there is always a need for

better technical and analytical capacity. Any time a glitch appears in the technical information, or any time the technical capacity is inadequate, the door is opened to differing political interpretations. Methods need to be negotiated and agreed in advance. The raw data has to be available for analysis.

But other choices are more fundamental: If there is a clash in the objectives of the Cadre Harmonisé analysis system at the extremes of food insecurity, which objective takes precedence? If the objective of consensus takes priority, what becomes of the independence and objectivity of the analysis? If the objective of independent analysis takes precedent, what becomes of the consensus, and the issue of speaking outside the consensus? These are not technical matters—and perhaps can only be worked out on a case-by-case basis.

# Annex 1. Timeline of the crisis and the response (2003–2017)

## 2003–2005

- Kanama phase: Led by Muhammad Ali, militant jihadist group waged war on Nigerian state, headquartered in rural Kanama in Yunusari LGA, Yobe State (Mohammed, 2014).

- Prison break in Bauchi occurs (Taft and Haken, 2015).
- The group begins to use bombs and improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and eventually begins using rifles, grenades, missiles, and tanks (Falode, 2016).

## 2005–2008

- Mohammed Yusuf establishes mosque and school in Maiduguri (Falode, 2016).
- Boko Haram focuses on proselytizing and recruiting and radicalizing new members while engaging in sporadic attacks on police and civilians, critiqued secular system, Westernization, corruption of Borno State Governor Ali Mood Sheriff (Mohammed, 2014).

## 2009

### June

- Military and police operation results in the killing of 17 Boko Haram members (Mohammed, 2014; IRIN News, 2012).

### July

- Boko Haram launches an uprising in the north (IRIN News, 2012).
- Government raid of Boko Haram compound in Maiduguri occurs.
- Mohammed Yusuf is killed in police custody (BBC News, July 2009; Nassiter, 2009).

## 2010

- A leadership transition to Abubakar Shekau is made.

## 2011

### July

- Boko Haram bombs Nigerian Police Headquarters (Mohammed, 2014).

### August

- **August 26:** Boko Haram suicide bombing of UNHQ in Abuja occurs, killing at least 18 people (BBC News, August 2011).

### December

- **December 31:** President Goodluck Jonathan declares a state of emergency in 15 areas of 4 northern states for 6 months (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

## 2012

### January

- President Jonathan declares state of emergency in 15 Local Government Areas in 4 states.

### July-October

- Severe flooding occurs in 33 out of 36 states; the three most-affected states are Kogi, Adamawa, and Delta (OCHA, March 2013).

### August-October

- SMART surveys are carried out in Kebbi, Jigawa, Kano, Gombe, Sokoto, Zamfara, Katsina, Jigawa, Yobe, and Borno (UNOCHA, March 2013).

## October

- Human Rights Watch issues report, “Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria” (Human Rights Watch 2012).

## 2013

### February

- The National Humanitarian Forum is held (UNOCHA, March 2013).

### March

- OCHA releases the first Humanitarian Bulletin focused on displacement from inter-communal conflict and insecurity flood response (UNOCHA, March 2013).
- National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) requests assistance from the UN.

### April

- Fighting occurs between suspected insurgency groups and Nigerian security forces in Baga, a town by Lake Chad in Borno State (UNOCHA, May 2013).
- Government of Nigeria deploys NEMA to provide relief for those affected (OCHA, May 2013).
- **April 24:** Jonathan inaugurates the Presidential Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the north, to mixed international receipt (Aning et al., 2017).

### May

- **May 13:** President Goodluck Jonathan declares state of emergency in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe states.
- President designates Boko Haram and splinter group Ansaru as terrorist organizations.

### June

- CJTF is formed to collaborate with military operations (UNOCHA, December 2016).

### July

- Interagency assessment carried out in Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe (UNOCHA, August 2013)

- FEWS NET Food Security report

### August

- International Criminal Court releases report indicating evidence that Boko Haram had committed war crimes.
- OCHA Bulletin states, “Humanitarian access is being granted to all three SOE states in which ACF, UNICEF, WHO,<sup>1</sup> MSF<sup>2</sup>-Belgium, and Save the Children continue to operate. However, lack of security assurances and limited communication (e.g. GSM networks are off in two SOE states) have hampered humanitarian actors on the ground” (UNOCHA, August 2013).

### September

- **September 13-15:** OCHA and NEMA host workshop to develop Joint Humanitarian Action Plan (UNOCHA, October 2013).
- **September 15-20:** UNOCHA, FAO, the UN Population Fund, UNICEF, UN Office for Project Services, the State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), and the Nigerian Red Cross undertake a joint assessment mission in Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe, as well as surrounding states of Gombe, Bauchi, Jigawa, and Tarawa (UNOCHA, October 2013).

### November

- Human Rights Watch publishes report on Boko Haram’s tactics in abducting women and recruiting children, and the rise and tactics of the Civilian Joint Task Force (Human Rights Watch, November 2013).
- United States government designates Boko Haram as a foreign terrorist organization (U.S. Department of State, 2013).
- International Criminal Court designates conflict in northeast as a civil war (UNOCHA, December 2013).

<sup>1</sup> World Health Organization

<sup>2</sup> Médecins Sans Frontières

## December

- Attack on Nigerian Air Force base results in the closure of the Maiduguri International Airport and suspension of air operations from the area (Sahara Reporters, December 2013; Marama, 2015).

## 2014

### February

- Federal Government orders closure of borders between Nigeria and Cameroon in Adamawa and Borno states, provoking a price increase in Adamawa and Borno states (UNOCHA, March 2014).
- An attack on Buni Yadi college in Gujba LGA, Yobe state, drives government to shut down federal government colleges in three SoE (UNOCHA, March 2014).

### March

- Multi-sector rapid assessment conducted in Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa (UNOCHA, March 2014).

### April

- Bombing in Abuja kills 75 (UNOCHA, April 2014).
- Boko Haram kidnaps 276 school girls in Chibok.

### May

- Inter-agency assessment team is deployed to Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe (UNOCHA, June 2014).
- Humanitarian access reportedly restricted by “insecurity, poor infrastructure, and limited openings for dialogue with both security forces and non-state actors” (UNOCHA, June 2014).
- As of May 2014, only 4 percent of the Strategic Response Plan had been funded (\$2.7 million out of \$75 million) (UNOCHA, June 2014).

### June

- Boko Haram captures town of Gwoza in Borno state, declares a caliphate in controlled areas of the northeast (UNOCHA, December 2015).

## July

- Japan provides emergency grants to support Chibok community in Borno state, has made pledges to support northeast humanitarian response (UNOCHA, July 2014).
- Federal government distributes 18,200 metric tons of grain from the national strategic grain reserve to the northeast (UNOCHA, July 2014).

### August

- Shekau declares Islamic caliphate in northeast.

### September

- Nineteen cases of Ebola are reported in southern Nigeria (UNOCHA, September 2014).

### October

- Boko Haram intensifies attacks in Mubi and other northern Adamawa areas (UNOCHA, December 2015).

## 2015

### January

- **January 7:** FEWS NET issues alert that over 3 million people in the northeast are facing IPC Level 3 conditions.
- Reports of frequent attacks in Borno State, concentrated in Maiduguri and Monguno (UNOCHA, January 2015).
- Boko Haram fighters conduct raids into Cameroon, Chad, and Niger (UNOCHA, December 2015).
- African Union pledges to send 7,500 troops into Nigeria to fight Boko Haram; Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) is deployed (UNOCHA, December 2015).
- UNOCHA office is established in Nigeria (UNOCHA, March 2015).

### February

- Repeated Boko Haram attacks on Maiduguri, repelled by Nigerian Armed Forces and the Civilian Joint Task Force (UNOCHA, February 2015).

- **February 3:** UN Security Council urges concerned states to abide with obligations under international law and relevant Security Council resolutions (UNOCHA, February 2015).
- Military operations by Nigeria, supported by Cameroon, Chad, and Niger, invade Sambisa Forest in Borno State (UNOCHA, December 2015).
- **February 14:** Federal elections delayed until 28 March (UNOCHA, December 2015).

### March

- Boko Haram pledges allegiance to ISIS (UNOCHA, December 2015).
- Territory formerly controlled by Boko Haram seized back by Nigerian and neighboring countries' militaries (UNOCHA, December 2015).
- **March 28:** Muhammadu Buhari is elected president.

### April

- **April 28:** Nigerian troops rescue 300 women and girls from Sambasi Forest (UNOCHA, December 2015).
- Number of NGOs reported to be in the northeast increased from 9 in 2014 to 24 in 2015 (UNOCHA, April 2015).

### May

- Forced return of Nigerians living in neighboring countries (UNOCHA, December 2015).
- Random attacks on returning IDPs in Borno and Yobe hinders efforts (UNOCHA, May 2015).
- **May 29:** Muhammadu Buhari is inaugurated, announces relocation of Nigeria's military command base from Abuja to Maiduguri (Akinola, 2017).

### June

- Federal government reopens Maiduguri International Airport (World Food Programme, April 2015).
- United Nations Humanitarian Air Service commences operations from Maiduguri International Airport (World Food Programme, April 2015).

### July

- NEMA undertakes Joint Needs Assessment on behalf of Nigerian government and Humanitarian Country Team in Adamawa (UNOCHA, July 2015).

### September

- Bomb attack at IDP camp Malkohi in Yola, Adamawa State.

### October

- Two bomb attacks in Abuja (UNOCHA, December 2015).
- Agreement between African Union and the Lake Chad Basin Commission on the operationalization of the MNJTF (UNOCHA, December 2015).
- Report of 302,200 people in Adamawa affected by flooding (UNOCHA, October 2015).

### November

- Further reports of forced returnees from Cameroon (UNOCHA, November 2015).
- First round of findings from Cadre Harmonisé assessment released (CILSS, November 2015).
- Food security and nutrition analyses undertaken in eight states.
- Famine and Emergency (Phases 5 and 4): No area has been classified in these phases. However, 875,000 people are in emergency and famine situations in Yobe and Borno states and need immediate humanitarian assistance.
- The prevalence of GAM is within the critical/warning threshold (between 10 percent and 15 percent) in Borno, Jigawa, Katsina, Sokoto, and Yobe states; and within the stressed threshold (between 5 percent and 10 percent) in Adamawa, Kano, and Zamfara states.

## 2016

### January

- Displacement Tracking Matrix teams increase access in Borno State from 0 LGAs in December



2014 to 10 in December 2015 (UNOCHA, January 2016).

- **January 30:** Boko Haram attacks Dalori Village outside Maiduguri (UNOCHA, December 2016).

### February

- Rapid assessment is undertaken in Bade, Geidam, Nguru, and Potiskum LGAs (UNOCHA, March 2016).

### March

- Second round of findings from Cadre Harmonise assessment released (CILSS, March 2016).
- Food security and nutrition analyses undertaken in eight states.
- Famine and Emergency (Phases 5 and 4): About 216,969 people in Borno state are in an emergency food situation and need immediate humanitarian assistance. However no specific zone/area had the threshold number of households (20 percent) in famine or emergency phases required for classification in these categories.
- The median of GAM is within the critical threshold (between 10 percent and 15 percent) in Borno, Jigawa, Katsina, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara states; and within the stressed threshold (between 5 percent and 10 percent) in Adamawa and Kano states.

### April

- **April 8:** Recovery and Peace Building Assessment completed (UNOCHA, December 2016).

### May

- **May 20:** Regional Security Conference Abuja (UNOCHA, December 2016).

### June

- **June 8:** Regional Dialogue on Protection (UNOCHA, December 2016).
- **June 27:** Federal government declares state of emergency on nutrition in Borno state (UNOCHA, December 2016).

### July

- **July 27:** Under-Secretary General and Emergency Relief Coordinator (USG/ERC) Stephen O'Brien briefs the Security Council on the current humanitarian crisis affecting the Lake Chad Basin (O'Brien, 2016).
- **July 28:** Humanitarian convoy attacked delivering aid under military escort outside of Maiduguri (UNOCHA, December 2016).

### August

- **August 4:** Split in Boko Haram leadership (UNOCHA, December 2016).
- IS releases announcement that Abu Musab al-Barnawi is now Boko Haram's leader (BBC, August 2016).
- Abubakar Shekau responds with statement affirming his position.
- Cadre Harmonisé assessment released.
- August 2016 Bulletin reports, "Currently only a few of the 26 LGAs in Borno State are safely accessible to emergency teams. Land mines, improvised explosive devices and explosive remnants of war are just some of the deadly obstacles that prevent communities receiving support. Counterinsurgency measures and related insecurity is a major factor impeding humanitarian operations in many parts of Borno as well as direct attacks by Boko Haram" (UNOCHA, August 2016).
- OCHA appoints Sebastian Weber to address access issues (UNOCHA, August 2016).

### September

- **September 23:** Representatives from Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria host event at UN General Assembly to highlight humanitarian situation in Lake Chad Basin (UNOCHA, September 6, 2016).
- **September 23:** Federal government forms Inter-Ministerial Task Force to coordinate the humanitarian response (UNOCHA, December 2016).

- **September 24:** President Buhari requests that countries who had pledged support address the humanitarian crisis in Lake Chad area (UNOCHA, December 2016).
- OCHA plans to move response center to Maiduguri (UNOCHA, September 2016).

### October

- Cadre Harmonisé analysis released (CILSS, October 2016).
- Food security and nutrition analyses across sixteen states.
- The food consumption status across the sixteen states indicates stressed situation in Gombe, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, and Taraba; crisis situation in Kaduna, Kebbi, and Yobe; and an emergency situation in Borno.
- The prevalence of Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM) is within the crisis/emergency threshold in Borno, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara states; and within stressed threshold in Benue, Niger, Plateau, and Taraba states.
- The prices of staple food crops across the states are extremely high due to inflationary pressure in the economy. Food prices are expected to continue increasing in coming months.
- **October 26:** Presidential Committee on North East Initiative inaugurated (UNOCHA, December 2016).
- **October 29:** Female suicide bomber targets Bakassi IDP camp and National Nigerian Petroleum Corporation (UNOCHA, October 2016).
- Peter Lundberg appointed as Deputy Humanitarian Coordinator (UNOCHA, September 2016).
- Standard Operation Procedures agreed upon with military “to improve coordination and avoid delay for humanitarian convoys to move into areas that require increase security procedures” (UNOCHA, May 2017).

### November

- Planned arrival of eight humanitarian hubs to store aid commodities and provide accommodation (UNOCHA, November 2016).

### December

- Edward Kallon appointed as Resident/Humanitarian Coordinator (UNOCHA, May 2017).
- Humanitarian Emergency Telecommunications hub established in Gwoza (Borno state) (UNOCHA, November 2016).
- Materials arrive in Maiduguri to construct a humanitarian base camp and deep-field humanitarian hubs. Hubs planned for Gwoza, Ngala, Monsuno, Dikwa, Bama, and Fulani (UNOCHA, December 2016).
- Access update: “The decreasing availability of military escorts for humanitarian staff and cargo movements is restricting the delivery of aid. Partner agencies are looking into alternatives to get to certain locations, such as through safer routes from southern neighbouring states as Adamawa and Gombe” (UNOCHA, December 2016).
- FEWS NET releases its own report on the situation in the “newly liberated” enclaves Borno state, including Bama and Banki towns, and states that a “famine likely occurred in April-August in some IDP enclaves (Bama and Banki towns) and in other nearby inaccessible areas of Borno state facing similar conditions of limited access to food and health services and before the impact of Humanitarian Assistance” (FEWS NET, 2016).

## 2017

### January

- **January 17:** Nigerian military aircraft strikes IDP camp in Rann in Borno state, killing 115, including 20 aid workers from the Nigerian Red Cross (BBC, January 2017).

### February

- Emergency Tracking Tool is launched to measure population surges (UNOCHA, February 9, 2017).

- Measles vaccination campaign in Borno State concludes, reaching 94 percent of targeted children aged 6 months to 10 years in 24 LGAs (UNOCHA, February 9, 2017).
- Access comment: “Despite the increase in interventions, there is still limited accessibility in several areas, and the logistical concerns of the upcoming rainy season may further affect access; the need for humanitarian partners to obtain a military permit to access certain areas is an additional constraint, as are the current surges in IDP movements” (OCHA, 09 February 2017).
- **February 24:** Oslo Conference on Nigeria and the Lake Chad Region hosted, resulting in agreement on funding needs and pledges (UNOCHA, February 24, 2017).
- Statement from civil society and NGOs at conference: “In a comprehensive statement covering many aspects of the crisis, 34 NGOs also argued against the militarisation of aid, mentioning that military actors are still responsible for camp management and aid distribution, especially in newly accessible areas. They said it is important that camp management be transferred to civilian authorities as soon as possible. The NGOs also called for the military to cease using school infrastructures, in line with the inter-governmental Safe School Declaration of 2017.”
- Nigeria Humanitarian Fund, a Country-Based Pooled Fund (CBPF), is launched.

### March

- Findings from Cadre Harmonisé report released.
- Food security and nutrition analyses undertaken in 16 states of Nigeria.
- The nutritional status is in crisis situation in Jigawa and Sokoto states; in stress situation in Borno, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Zamfara, and Yobe states; while Borno, Katsina, Kebbi, and Zamfara states may fall within the critical threshold during the lean season.
- In the current period (March-May 2017), about 7.1 million people are in the three combined crit-

ical food insecurity situations of crisis, emergency, and famine across the 16 states under reference; about 4.7 million people in the three states of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa belong in this category with about 44,000 people in famine mostly in Borno state.

- **March 2:** Governments of Nigeria and Cameroon and UNHCR sign Tripartite Agreement for the Voluntary Repatriation of Nigerian refugees living in Cameroon (UNHCR et al., March 2017).
- **March 31:** UN Security Council Resolution 2349 adopted, addressing the presence of armed groups in the Lake Chad Basin, and condemning violations of international humanitarian and human rights law (United Nations, March 2017).

### April

- Report on increased coordination: “In addition to the 10 sector working groups, the international humanitarian response in North-East Nigeria is being coordinated through a Cash Working Group, a Humanitarian Communications Working Group, and an Information Management Working Group, all of which come together monthly for the Inter-sector Working Group which reports to the Humanitarian Country Team (HCT)” (UNOCHA, April 2017).

### June

- Government of Nigeria started its Special Relief Intervention in the northeast, distributing food to IDPs, returnees, and members of host communities (UNOCHA, June 2017).
- World Food Programme suspended food distribution in four LGAs across Borno (Nganzai and Kaga) and Yobe (Nguru and Potiskum) due to limited funding (UNOCHA, June 2017).
- Launch of the Local Coordination Group mechanism, an LGA-level, decentralized coordination platform (UNOCHA, June 2017).

### July

- Spike in security incidents across Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe (UNOCHA, July 2017).

- Rapid Response Mechanism (RRM) strategy finalized for endorsement by the Operational Humanitarian Country Team (UNOCHA, July 2017).
- Humanitarian Access Working Group established, and is creating an online access tracking tool (UNOCHA, July 2017).
- Cash Working Groups established in Borno and Yobe.

### August

- **August 11:** Nigerian security forces raided Red Roof, a United Nations camp in Maiduguri (Searchey, 2017).
- **August 16:** Cholera outbreak reported on the outskirts of Maiduguri, Dikwa, and Monguno (UNOCHA, August 2017).

- Access update: "In Adamawa, Borno and Yobe, three LGAs remain completely inaccessible (all in Borno), 26 are partially accessible (mostly in Borno) and 37 are fully accessible for aid delivery" (UNOCHA, August 2017).

### September

- Emergency Food Security Assessment (EFSA) launched in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe, as well as Sokoto, Jigawa, and Katsina (UNOCHA, September 2017c).
- **September 18:** Multisectoral Cholera Prevention and Response Plan released (UNOCHA, September 2017a).

# References

- Aghedo, Iro, and Oarhe Osumah. 2012. "The Boko Haram Uprising: How Should Nigeria Respond?" *Third World Quarterly* 33, (5): 853–69. doi:10.1080/01436597.2012.674701.
- Akinola, Olabanji. 2017. "The Elusive Quest for Peace: Boko Haram and the Hollowness of Nigeria's Counter-Insurgency Strategy and Weak Security architecture." In *Understanding Boko Haram: Terrorism and Insurgency in Africa*, 129–44. New York: Routledge.
- Amnesty International. 2016. "Boko Haram: Civilians Continue to Be at Risk of Human Rights Abuses by Boko Haram and Human Rights Violations by State Security Forces." Report. September 24. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr44/2428/2015/en/>.
- . 2015. "Nigeria: Stars on their Shoulders: Blood on their Hands: War Crimes Committed by the Nigerian Military." June 3. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr44/1657/2015/en/>.
- Aning, Kwesi, Mustapha Abdallah, and Festus Kofi Aubyn. 2017. "Responding to Boko Haram: Interrogating the Effectiveness of State and Regional Intervention Approaches." In *Understanding Boko Haram: Terrorism and Insurgency in Africa*, 237–254. New York: Routledge.
- Assanvo, William, Jeannine E. A. Abatan, and Wendyam Aristide Sawadogo. 2016. "West Africa Report: Assessing the Multinational Joint Task Force against Boko Haram." Report no. 19. Institute for Security Studies. September. <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/war19.pdf>.
- Bamidele, Oluwaseun. 2016. "Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) – A Community Security Option: A Comprehensive and Proactive Approach of Reducing Terrorism." *Journal for Deradicalization* no. 7. <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/40>.
- BBC News. 2017. "Abuja Attack: Car Bomb Hits Nigeria UN Building." August 27. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14677957>.
- . 2017. "Nigeria Air Strike Dead 'Rises to 115' in Rann." January 24. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38730741>
- . 2017. "Nigeria Army Raid at UN Camp in Maiduguri 'Unauthorised'." August 11. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-40902002>.
- . 2016. "Boko Haram in Nigeria: Split Emerges over Leadership." August 6. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36973354>.
- . 2016. "Nigeria's Chibok Schoolgirls Freed in Boko Haram Deal." October 13. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-37641101>.
- . 2016. "Who Are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamist Group?" November 24. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13809501>.

- . 2009. "Nigeria Sect Head Dies in Custody." July 31. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8177451.stm>.
- Blanchard, Lauren Ploch, and Christopher M. Blanchard. 2015. "Nigeria's Boko Haram and the Islamic State." Report. March 13. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IN10242.pdf>.
- Blanchard, Lauren Ploch. 2016. "Nigeria's Boko Haram: Frequently Asked Questions." Report. March 29. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43558.pdf>.
- Campbell, John. 2018. "Abuja Is Taking Boko Haram Seriously." *Africa in Transition*. January 5. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/abuja-taking-boko-haram-seriously-0>.
- CNN. 2017. "Boko Haram Fast Facts." September 18. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://www.cnn.com/2014/06/09/world/boko-haram-fast-facts/index.html>.
- Collier, Paul, and Anne Hoeffler. 2000. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Policy Research Working Paper. The World Bank. May 31. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/359271468739530199/Greed-and-grievance-in-civil-war>.
- Comite Permanent Inter-Etats de Lutte Contre La Secheresses Dans Le Sahel (CILSS). 2017. "Cadre Harmonise for Identification of Risk Areas and Vulnerable Populations in Sixteen (16) States of Nigeria." Report. Government of Nigeria; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel. March 10. Accessed November 17, 2017. [http://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/documents/fiche-nigeria\\_mar\\_2017\\_final\\_17march2017.pdf](http://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/documents/fiche-nigeria_mar_2017_final_17march2017.pdf)
- . 2017. "Cadre Harmonise for Identification of Risk Areas and Vulnerable Populations in Sixteen (16) States and Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria." Report. Government of Nigeria; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel. November 2. Accessed November 17, 2017. [http://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/documents/fiche-cadre\\_harmonise\\_nigeria-october\\_2017.pdf](http://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/documents/fiche-cadre_harmonise_nigeria-october_2017.pdf).
- . 2016. "Cadre Harmonise for Identification of Risk Areas and Vulnerable Populations in Sixteen (16) States of Nigeria." Report. Government of Nigeria; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel. October 28. Accessed November 17, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/fiche\\_oct\\_2016-nigeria\\_finalized\\_1-11-16.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/fiche_oct_2016-nigeria_finalized_1-11-16.pdf).
- . 2016. "Cadre Harmonise for Identifying Risk Areas and Vulnerable Populations in the Sahel and West Africa." Report. Government of Nigeria; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel. March 4. Accessed November 17, 2017. [http://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/documents/fiche-nigeria\\_mar\\_2016\\_final\\_15mar.pdf](http://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/documents/fiche-nigeria_mar_2016_final_15mar.pdf).
- . 2015. "Cadre Harmonise for Identifying Risk Areas and Vulnerable Populations in the Sahel and West Africa." Report. Government of Nigeria; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel. November 5. Accessed November 17, 2017. [http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/emergencies/docs/Fiche-Nigeria\\_Vfinal.pdf](http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/emergencies/docs/Fiche-Nigeria_Vfinal.pdf).

- . 2014. "Identification and Analysis of Areas at Risk and Populations Affected by Food and Nutrition Insecurity in the Sahel and West Africa." Report. August. Accessed November 17, 2017. [http://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/documents/ch\\_manual\\_en\\_003.pdf](http://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/documents/ch_manual_en_003.pdf).
- Comolli, Virginia. 2015. "The Regional Problem of Boko Haram." *Survival* 57 (4): 109-17. doi:10.1080/00396338.2015.1068560.
- Falode, James Adewunmi. 2016. "The Nature of Nigeria's Boko Haram War, 2010-2015: A Strategic Analysis." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 10 (1). <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/488/html>.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Latin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Overview* 97 (1): 75-90. doi.org/10.1017/S0003055403000534.
- FEWS NET. 2017. "Probable Improvement of the Food Security Situation beginning in October Except in the Lake Chad Basin." Report. September. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://www.fews.net/west-africa/key-message-update/september-2017>.
- . 2016. "Special Alert on Borno State, Nigeria." November. [http://www.fews.net/sites/default/files/documents/reports/IPC\\_Special\\_Alert\\_Nigeria\\_Dec2016.pdf](http://www.fews.net/sites/default/files/documents/reports/IPC_Special_Alert_Nigeria_Dec2016.pdf).
- . 2014. "Nigeria Livelihood Zones." Report. May. Accessed November 25, 2017. <http://www.fews.net/west-africa/nigeria/livelihood-zone-map/may-2014>.
- Ford, Dana. 2014. "U. N. Security Council Slaps Boko Haram with Sanctions." May 23. <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/05/22/world/africa/nigeria-violence/>.
- Fox News. 2017. "Nigeria Schoolgirls: 82 Chibok Girls Were Swapped for 5 Boko Haram Commanders." May 7. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2017/05/07/nigeria-schoolgirls-82-freed-chibok-girls-to-meet-with-president.html>.
- Human Rights Watch. 2013. "Nigeria: Boko Haram Abducts Women, Abuses Children." Report. November 29. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/11/29/nigeria-boko-haram-abducts-women-recruits-children>
- . 2013. "Nigeria: Massive Destruction, Deaths from Military Raid." Report. May 1. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/05/01/nigeria-massive-destruction-deaths-military-raid>.
- . 2012. "Spiraling Violence: Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria." Report. October 11. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2012/10/11/spiraling-violence/boko-haram-attacks-and-security-force-abuses-nigeria>.
- Humanitarian Country Team. 2018. "Country Messages." January. Abuja: UNHCT.
- International Criminal Court. 2013. "Situation in Nigeria." Report. The Office of the Prosecutor. August 5. <https://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/PIDS/docs/SAS%20-%20NGA%20-%20Public%20version%20Article%205%20Report%20-%2005%20August%202013.PDF>.

- International Crisis Group. 2017. "Watchmen of Lake Chad: Vigilante Groups Fighting Boko Haram." Report. February 23. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/244-watchmen-lake-chad-vigilante-groups-fighting-boko-haram>.
- . 2016. "Boko Haram on the Back Foot?" Report no. 120. May 4. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/boko-haram-back-foot>.
- . 2016. "North-eastern Nigeria and Conflict's Humanitarian Fallout." Report. August 4. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/northeastern-nigeria-and-conflict-s-humanitarian-fallout>.
- IRIN News. 2012. "Timeline of Boko Haram Attacks and Related Violence," January 20. <http://www.irinnews.org/news/2012/01/20>.
- International Organization for Migration. 2017. "Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM): Round XIX Report." Report. October. Accessed November 19, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/01%20DTM%20Nigeria%20Round%20XIX%20Report%20September%202017\\_0.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/01%20DTM%20Nigeria%20Round%20XIX%20Report%20September%202017_0.pdf).
- . 2017. "Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM): Round XVII Report." Report. June. Accessed November 19, 2017. [https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/dtm/01\\_DTM\\_Nigeria\\_Round\\_XVII\\_Report\\_June\\_2017.pdf](https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/dtm/01_DTM_Nigeria_Round_XVII_Report_June_2017.pdf).
- . 2016. "Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM): Round XIII Report." Report. December. Accessed November 19, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/01\\_dtm\\_nigeria\\_round\\_xiii\\_report\\_december\\_2016.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/01_dtm_nigeria_round_xiii_report_december_2016.pdf).
- . 2016. "Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM): Round X Report." Report. June. Accessed November 19, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/01\\_IOM%20DTM%20Nigeria\\_Round%20X%20Report\\_20160630.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/01_IOM%20DTM%20Nigeria_Round%20X%20Report_20160630.pdf).
- . 2015. "Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM): Round VII Report." Report. December. Accessed November 19, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Displacement%20Tracking%20Matrix%20DTM%20Round%20VII%20Report%20December%202015.pdf>.
- . 2015. "Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM): Round IV Report." Report. June. Accessed November 19, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/01\\_IOMDTMNigeria\\_RoundIVReport\\_20150630.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/01_IOMDTMNigeria_RoundIVReport_20150630.pdf).
- . 2014. "The IDP Situation in North-Eastern Nigeria (Adamawa, Bauchi, Gombe, Taraba, Yobe): Displacement Tracking Matrix Report (DTM)." Report. December. Accessed November 19, 2017. <http://www.globaldtm.info/dtm-nigeria-round-1-report-december-2014/>.
- Iyekekpola, Wisdom O. 2016. "Boko Haram: Understanding the Context." *Third World Quarterly* 37 (12): 2211-2228. doi:10.1080/01436597.2016.1177453.
- Marama, Ndahi. 2015. "FG Re-opens Maiduguri Airport 18 Months after Closure." *Vanguard*, June 10. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/06/fg-re-opens-maiduguri-airport-18-months-after-closure/>.



- Matfess, Hillary. 2018. "Strategic Hamlets in Nigeria." Stratfor, January 11. <https://worldview.stratfor.com/horizons/fellows/hilary-matfess/11012018-strategic-hamlets-nigeria>.
- Mercy Corps. 2016. "'Motivations and Empty Promises': Voices of Former Boko Haram." Report. April. [https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/Motivations%20and%20Empty%20Promises\\_Mercy%20Corps\\_Full%20Report.pdf](https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/Motivations%20and%20Empty%20Promises_Mercy%20Corps_Full%20Report.pdf).
- Mohammed, Kyari. 2014. "The Message and Methods of Boko Haram." In *Boko Haram: Islamism, Politics, Security, and the State in Nigeria*, 9–32. Leiden: African Studies Centre.
- National Primary Health Care Development Agency, Nigeria. 2017. "2017 Nigeria Polio Eradication Emergency Plan." January. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://polioeradication.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/NPEEP-2017-March-2017-FINAL.pdf>.
- Nossiter, Adam. 2009. "Nigeria Confirms Death of Islamic Sect's Leader." *New York Times*, July 30. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/31/world/africa/31nigeria.html>.
- O'Brien, Stephen. 2016. "Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, Stephen O'Brien Statement to the Security Council on the Humanitarian Situation in the Lake Chad Basin." Speech, New York, July 27. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ERC\\_USG%20Stephen%20O%27Brien%20Statement%20to%20SecCo%20Lake%20Chad%20Basin%2027July2016%20CAD.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ERC_USG%20Stephen%20O%27Brien%20Statement%20to%20SecCo%20Lake%20Chad%20Basin%2027July2016%20CAD.pdf).
- Ogunlesi, Tolu. 2015. "Nigeria's Internal Struggle." *New York Times*, March 23. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/24/opinion/nigerias-internal-struggles.html?mcubz=0>.
- Onuoha, Freedom C. 2016. "Split in ISIS-Aligned Boko Haram Group." Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, October 27. <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/10/split-isis-aligned-boko-haram-group-161027113247008.html>.
- Ordu, Gilbert Enyidah-Okey. 2017. "Trends and Patterns of Boko Haram Terrorist and Militants Aggression in Nigeria." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 37: 35–41. doi:10.1016/j.avb.2017.08.006.
- Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). 2017. "Nigeria Facts and Figures." OPEC: Nigeria. [http://www.opec.org/opec\\_web/en/about\\_us/167.htm](http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/about_us/167.htm).
- Peer-to-Peer Support Project. 2017. "Mission Report: Nigeria." IASC: New York.
- Protection Sector Working Group Nigeria. 2016. "Protection Strategy for the Humanitarian Crisis in the North East Nigeria." Report. November. Accessed November 17, 2017. [http://www.globalprotectioncluster.org/\\_assets/files/field\\_support/protection\\_strategies/protection-strategy-for-the-humanitarian-crisis-in-the-north-east.en.pdf](http://www.globalprotectioncluster.org/_assets/files/field_support/protection_strategies/protection-strategy-for-the-humanitarian-crisis-in-the-north-east.en.pdf).
- R2P Monitor. 2016. "20 January 2016." Technical paper no. 25. Accessed November 17, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/r2p\\_monitor\\_jan2016\\_final.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/r2p_monitor_jan2016_final.pdf).

- REACH Initiative. 2017. "Not Ready to Return: IDP Movement Intentions in Borno State." Report. September. Accessed November 17, 2017. [http://www.reachresourcecentre.info/system/files/resource-documents/reach\\_nga\\_report\\_idp\\_intentions\\_in\\_borno\\_state\\_september\\_2017.pdf](http://www.reachresourcecentre.info/system/files/resource-documents/reach_nga_report_idp_intentions_in_borno_state_september_2017.pdf).
- Rycroft, Matthew. 2017. "We Remain Committed to Partnering with Nigeria and Its Neighbours to Degrade and Defeat Boko Haram." Speech, UK Mission to the United Nations, New York, November 17. September 13, 2017. <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/we-remain-committed-to-partnering-with-nigeria-and-its-neighbours-to-degrade-and-defeat-boko-haram>.
- Sahara Reporters. 2013. "Maiduguri International Airport Closed after Boko Haram Raid on Air Force Base." Sahara Reporters, December 2. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://saharareporters.com/2013/12/02/maiduguri-international-airport-closed-after-boko-haram-raid-air-force-base>.
- Salaam, Abeeb Olufemi. 2012. "Boko Haram: Beyond Religious Fanaticism." *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism* 7 (2): 147–62. doi:10.1080/18335330.2012.719096.
- Searcey, Dionne. 2017. "Nigerian Military Raids United Nations Camp for Unclear Reason." *New York Times*, August 11. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/11/world/africa/boko-haram-nigeria-raid-united-nations-camp.html>.
- Taft, Patricia, and Nate Haken. 2015. *Violence in Nigeria: Patterns and Trends*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- The Economist. "Nigerian Vigilantes: The Home Guard." *The Economist*, September 29. <https://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21707958-volunteers-who-helped-beat-back-boko-haram-are-becoming-problem-home>.
- UNHCR, Government of Nigeria, and Government of Cameroon. 2017. "Tripartite Agreement for the Voluntary Repatriation of Nigerian Refugees Living in Cameroon between the Government of the Republic of Cameroon, the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees." March 2. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/tripartite20agreement20cmr20nig20unhcr20eng20signed.pdf>.
- UNICEF. "Civilian Joint Task Force in Northeast Nigeria Signs Action Plan to End Recruitment of Children." News release, September 15, 2017. UNICEF. <https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/civilian-joint-task-force-northeast-nigeria-signs-plan-end-recruitment-children>.
- United Nations. 2017. "Security Council Strongly Condemns Terrorist Attacks, Other Violations in Lake Chad Basin Region, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2349 (2017)." Report. March 31. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc12773.doc.htm>.
- UNOCHA. n.d. "About the Crisis." OCHA Nigeria. <http://www.unocha.org/country/nigeria/about-ocha-nigeria/about-crisis>.
- . 2017. "2014 Humanitarian Needs Overview: Nigeria." Report. December. Accessed November 17. [http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/jhap%20NIGERIA%20HNO%202014-2015\\_%20FINAL.pdf](http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/jhap%20NIGERIA%20HNO%202014-2015_%20FINAL.pdf).

- . 2017. "2017 Cholera Response and Prevention Plan." Report. September. Accessed November 17, 2017. [https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/18092017\\_nigeria\\_cholera\\_response\\_and\\_prevention\\_plan\\_0.pdf](https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/18092017_nigeria_cholera_response_and_prevention_plan_0.pdf).
- . 2017. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria." Report. July 2014. Accessed November 18. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/HB%20Nigeria%20July%20FINAL.pdf>.
- . 2017. "Nigeria. Northeast: Humanitarian Overview." Report. May. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Nigeria\\_SuperHRP\\_2017-Photo-Web.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Nigeria_SuperHRP_2017-Photo-Web.pdf).
- . 2017. "Nigeria. Northeast: Humanitarian Overview." Report. September. Accessed November 17, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/12092017\\_northeast\\_nigeria\\_humanitarian\\_overview.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/12092017_northeast_nigeria_humanitarian_overview.pdf)
- . 2017. "Nigeria - Northeast: Humanitarian Emergency - Situation Report No. 5." Report. February 9. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Microsoft%20Word%20-%202021022017\\_ocha\\_nga\\_ne\\_sitrep\\_no\\_05\\_24\\_jan\\_2017\\_09\\_feb\\_2017.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Microsoft%20Word%20-%202021022017_ocha_nga_ne_sitrep_no_05_24_jan_2017_09_feb_2017.pdf).
- . 2017. "Nigeria - Northeast: Humanitarian Emergency - Situation Report No. 6." Report. February 24. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/08032017\\_ocha\\_nga\\_ne\\_sitrep\\_no\\_06\\_10\\_feb\\_2017\\_24\\_feb\\_2017.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/08032017_ocha_nga_ne_sitrep_no_06_10_feb_2017_24_feb_2017.pdf).
- . 2017. "Nigeria - North-East: Humanitarian Emergency - Situation Report No. 10." Report. April 30. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/OCHA%20SitRep%20%2310\\_DRAFT%203.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/OCHA%20SitRep%20%2310_DRAFT%203.pdf).
- . 2017. "North-East Nigeria: Humanitarian Situation Update." Report. August. Accessed November 17, 2017. [https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/29092017\\_ocha\\_humanitarian\\_situation\\_aug\\_updated.pdf](https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/29092017_ocha_humanitarian_situation_aug_updated.pdf).
- . 2017. "North-East Nigeria: Humanitarian Situation Update." Report. September. Accessed November 17, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/20102017\\_ocha\\_nga\\_ne\\_sitrep\\_no\\_sept\\_2017.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/20102017_ocha_nga_ne_sitrep_no_sept_2017.pdf).
- . 2017. "North-East Nigeria: 2017 in Review." December.
- . 2016. "2017 Humanitarian Response Plan: January-December 2017." Report. December. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria\\_2016\\_hrp\\_11012016.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria_2016_hrp_11012016.pdf).
- . 2016. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 10)." Report. January. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria\\_hb\\_january\\_2016.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria_hb_january_2016.pdf).
- . 2016. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 11)." Report. March. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria\\_hb\\_march2016.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria_hb_march2016.pdf).
- . 2016. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria Northeast (Issue 15)." Report. August. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria\\_hb\\_august\\_2016.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria_hb_august_2016.pdf).

- . 2016. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria Northeast (Issue 16)." Report. September. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria\\_hb\\_september\\_2016.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria_hb_september_2016.pdf).
- . 2016. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria North-East (Issue 17)." Report. October. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ocha\\_nga\\_humanitarian\\_bulletin\\_no17\\_october\\_2016.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ocha_nga_humanitarian_bulletin_no17_october_2016.pdf).
- . 2016. "Lake Chad Basin: Crisis Update No. 7." Report. September 6. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Lake%20Chad%20Basin%20Crisis%20Update%20No.%207.pdf>.
- . 2016. "Nigeria - Northeast: Humanitarian emergency - Situation Report No. 2." Report. December 14. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ocha\\_nga\\_ne\\_sitrep\\_no\\_02\\_29\\_nov\\_14\\_dec\\_14122016.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ocha_nga_ne_sitrep_no_02_29_nov_14_dec_14122016.pdf).
- . 2015. "2015 Strategic Response Plan: Nigeria." Report. March. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/NGA\\_SRP\\_150323\\_EN.pdf](https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/NGA_SRP_150323_EN.pdf).
- . 2015. "2016 Humanitarian Response Plan: January-December 2016." Report. December. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria\\_2016\\_hrp\\_11012016.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria_2016_hrp_11012016.pdf).
- . 2015. "Borno State Situation Report No. 2." Report. February 6. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/OCHA%20Nigeria%20SitRep2\\_%202015.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/OCHA%20Nigeria%20SitRep2_%202015.pdf).
- . 2015. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 01)." Report. April. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Nigeria%20Humanitarian%20Bulletin%20April%202015.pdf>.
- . 2015. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 02)." Report. May. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Nigeria%20HB2.pdf>.
- . 2015. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 04)." Report. July. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria\\_hb\\_july\\_2015.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria_hb_july_2015.pdf).
- . 2015. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 07)." Report. October. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria\\_humanitarian\\_bulletin\\_october2015.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria_humanitarian_bulletin_october2015.pdf).
- . 2015. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 08)." Report. November. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria\\_hb\\_november\\_2015.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nigeria_hb_november_2015.pdf).
- . 2015. "Nigeria: Northeast Crisis, Situation Report No. 1." Report. January 30. Accessed November 18, 2017. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/OCHA%20Nigeria%20SitRep\\_January%202015.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/OCHA%20Nigeria%20SitRep_January%202015.pdf).
- . 2014. "2014-2016 Strategic Response Plan." Report. January. Accessed November 17, 2017. Accessed November 17, 2017. [http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/jhap%20NIGERIA%20HNO%202014-2015\\_%20FINAL.pdf](http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/jhap%20NIGERIA%20HNO%202014-2015_%20FINAL.pdf).

- . 2014. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 02)." Report. May. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/HB%20Nigeria%20March%20final.pdf>.
- . 2014. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 03)." Report. April. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/April%20HB%20Nigeria%20v.%20FINAL%2016.5.2014.pdf>.
- . 2014. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 04)." Report. June. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/HB%20Nigeria%20JUNE%20FINAL.pdf>.
- . 2014. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 07)." Report. September. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/HB%20sept.pdf>.
- . 2013. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 01)." Report. March 1. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/OCHA%20Humanitarian%20Bulletin%20for%20Nigeria%20-%20March%202013.pdf>.
- . 2013. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 03)." Report. May 1. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Humanitarian%20Bulletin%20NIGERIA%20%233%20-%202013.05.2013.pdf>.
- . 2013. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 04)." Report. August. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/NIGERIA%20-%20Humanitarian%20Bulletin%20August%202013.pdf>.
- . 2013. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 07)." Report. October. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/HB%20Oct%20Nigeria%20FINAL.pdf>.
- . 2013. "Humanitarian Bulletin: Nigeria (Issue 08)." Report. December. Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/HB%20Nigeria%20December%20final.pdf>.
- United States Department of State. 2017. "Foreign Terrorist Organization." Accessed November 18, 2017. <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>.
- USAID. 2017. "Lake Chad Complex Emergency Fact Sheet #22 FY2017." August 17. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://www.usaid.gov/crisis/lake-chad/fy17/fs2>.
- . 2016. "Lake Chad Basin - Complex Emergency. Fact Sheet #12, Fiscal Year (FY) 2016." Report. August 31. Accessed November 25, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/08.31.16%20-%20USAID-DCHA%20Lake%20Chad%20Basin%20Complex%20Emergency%20Fact%20Sheet%20%2312.pdf>.
- Vanguard. 2013. "'Civilian JTF' Should Not Fight." Vanguard, July 31. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/07/civilian-jtf-should-not-fight/>.
- Walker, Andrew. 2012. "What Is Boko Haram?" Report. May 30. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2012/05/what-boko-haram>.

- Weeraratne, Suranjan. 2017. "Theorizing the Expansion of the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29 (4): 610–634. doi:10.1080/09546553.2015.1005742.
- World Food Programme. 2017. "WFP Nigeria Country Brief." Report. September. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ep/wfp286587.pdf>.
- . 2015. "WFP Special Operation 200834 - Provision of Humanitarian Air Services in Nigeria." April 28. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/wfp-special-operation-200834-provision-humanitarian-air-services-nigeria>.
- Zenn, Jacob. 2017. "Perspective: Boko Haram Conflict Enters Counterinsurgency Phase as Nigeria Erects 'Fortresses'." December 11. News Investigators. <http://newsinvestigatorsng.com/perspective-boko-haram-conflict-enters-counterinsurgency-phase-as-nigeria-erects-fortresses/>.

The Feinstein International Center is a research and teaching center based at the Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy at Tufts University. Our mission is to promote the use of evidence and learning in operational and policy responses to protect and strengthen the lives, livelihoods, and dignity of people affected by or at risk of humanitarian crises.

Twitter: @FeinsteinIntCen

[fic.tufts.edu](http://fic.tufts.edu)



Made from responsibly managed sources.