

Teaching in Distress

**An assessment of the impact of protracted violence due to
insurgence on the Primary School teaching workforce in Borno
State, Nigeria**

Motunrayo Famuyiwa-Alaka, Matthew Powell, Oladele Akogun,
Hadiza Musa, Abba Jimme Mohammed, and Sani Njobi

Acknowledgements

Appreciation goes to the research team led by Professor Oladele Akogun that took the risk to go to the volatile terrain of Borno State, including hinterlands, to interview over 104 respondents mostly teachers across various schools. Many thanks go to Mathew Powell and Sani Njobdi who were instrumental to the data analysis; Ibukun Jaopo and Adedoyin Adesina helped to tease out the main points of the interviews.

Appreciation to Florian Friedrich and the team back in the United Kingdom who supported from the back scene as well as the EDOREN team in Abuja and beyond. The office worked to support the project from the beginning to the end and this in many ways ensured the success of the work.

The respondents are recognised for making this publication possible by giving insightful, vivid and honest accounts of their experiences and its impact on their persons, the teaching profession and education.

Thanks are also due to the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) and Oxford Policy Management's education portfolio for wider support.

Executive summary

The education system in North East Nigeria has been devastated by nearly eight years of armed conflict between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government. However, the security situation has significantly improved since early 2016 and decision makers in both government and non-governmental organisations are beginning to turn their attention from emergency response to early recovery and have begun work on reconstruction, including studies of the state of education (see Coinco and Morris 2017). Relatively little attention has however been paid to the state of the Teaching force (see NAEC 2016).

The United Kingdom (UK) Department for International Development (DFID) therefore requested the Education Data, Research and Evaluation in Nigeria initiative (EDOREN) to prepare options for a Teacher Tracking Study in Borno State. This report presents findings from a compilation and analysis of an EMIS carried out by the Borno State SUBEB in 2017 and of interviews and interactions in 2018 with a sample of teachers working in affected communities in Borno State drawn from that EMIS. It seeks to assess the impact of the protracted conflict on the teachers and their work.

The report contains sections on the background to the study; the research objectives design and methods; the results of the analysis of secondary data, and the analysis of the survey and recommendations made by the teachers during the survey interviews. The findings on each research question are summarised below.

a. What impact has the insurgency on teacher population by location and subject?

- *The conflict has probably not caused a decline in the absolute numbers of teachers per child or the quality of teachers in the state.* . However this is not true for all LGAs and numbers of children per teacher are still far higher than recommended s in the National Policy on Education.
- *The teaching workforce has been remarkably stable over the conflict.* Almost all teachers in our survey had remained in the state throughout and three quarters are in the same school they were in before the conflict (though the school may be in a different location). About three quarters come from the community where they were teaching and most are still together with their families..
- *Children per teacher and changes in children per teacher vary hugely between LGAs but none meet National Policy on Education guidelines.* Biu seems to have both the lowest number of children per teacher and by far the largest increase in teacher numbers¹.
- *Just over ten percent of teachers in the state specialise in science and mathematics i.e. only about two thirds of the proportion of science and mathematics lessons in the National Policy on Education.* The number of teachers specialising in Humanities and Social sciences is slightly higher than would be inferred from that curriculum.

b. Questions about the difficulties that teachers encountered during the conflict and their current problems

(i)a How has the insurgency affected the teacher's person?

- *All but fifteen of the 104 respondents in the survey had witnessed violence themselves and those fifteen had been in close contact with many who had witnessed violence. Many have lost close relatives and friends.*

¹ Note however that this has not been matched by an equivalent increase in funding and some teachers in Biu complain that they are not paid as much as those in other parts of the state

- They are now scared and doubtful of strangers. Some explained to have dreams and nightmares in fear of being killed, others reported near-death experiences with guns placed on their heads and knife placed on their necks before they were spared. Majority of the teachers expressed signs of worry, depression and hopelessness. A few are still suffering from severe physical wounds.
- As well as fear of Boko Haram, teachers also narrated how they were treated by overzealous security personnel, especially at the peak of the uprising which saw to the rise of teenage mothers in IDP camps. Many respondents feel more secure with Civil Joint Task Force instead of the military personnel.

(i)b How has the insurgency affected the teachers' socio cultural status?

- *Most displaced teachers experienced difficulty coping with life in urban settlements.* Especially the lack of traditional greetings and customs of collective authority over and responsibility for children.
- They are concerned that out-of-work teens that are now idle indulge in bad habits.
- The work of the security forces constrained many traditional get-together occasions during the time of extreme clashes and relocation has caused a disturbance of social and family ties.

(i) c How has the insurgency affected the teachers' economic status?

- *The economic status of most Borno teachers has undoubtedly fallen during the conflict,* probably from a position slightly higher than that of most Nigerians to one that is about average.
- *Many teachers previously depended on extra income sources such as farming and trading and the resources and networks necessary for these businesses have been disrupted by the conflict.*
- *Many teachers face extra costs* due to a move from their own homes to rented accommodation and from rural to urban areas, to extra transport costs, and to the need to care for relatives orphaned or displaced during the conflict.
- *Not all teachers have suffered economically.* Our estimates of asset based wealth quintiles suggest that of our 104 respondents nineteen saw their wealth increase while forty eight saw it fall. Some have received support from development partners operating in Borno and others have found new business opportunities in Urban areas.

(ii) How has the insurgency influenced school governance and teacher-teacher, teacher-pupil, pupil-pupil relationships?

- *Schools have become much more difficult to manage.* Some teachers suspect others of being involved in the violence and there have been problems with insubordination. Truancy and other unruly behaviour among pupils has increased and some admire and imitate the insurgents. Displaced pupils from the rural areas have been set back by the disruption to their education and lag behind their urban counterparts making them difficult to teach in the same class. In some cases there are also language problems. Finally there have been some conflicts between rural students and urban ones who refer to them as "hijra" or displaced people. Note that some teachers have received training in empathy and dealing with trauma.

(iii) What is the teachers' perception of peace and what are the indicators for assessing stability?

- *It will take a long time for teachers to become convinced that peace has returned.* Many seem to be looking for signs like the return of traditional gatherings like weddings and naming ceremonies which will require others to move back first. There is also a problem with the deployment of uniformed armed personnel as some see this as a guarantee of security while others view it as an indication that an area is still dangerous.

(iv) How has the insurgency influenced teachers' personal plans and goals?

- *Teachers' talk about their plans mainly in terms of economic objectives.* Most teachers want to continue teaching for now but many also plan to seek further education in order to get a "better" job, and/or pursue business opportunities. They also mention continued education for their children. Displaced teachers looking to return to their former home refer to the missed conveniences, cultures, and relationships there, but also to the economic opportunities and lower cost of living.

List of abbreviations

CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CJTF	Civilian Joint Task Force
DFID	UK Department for International Development
EDOREN	Education Data, Research and Evaluation in Nigeria
ECR	Education Crisis Response
EiEWGN	Education in Emergencies Working Group Nigeria
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
ISWAP	Islamic State West Africa Province
JAS	Jamā'atu Ahl as-Sunna lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād (also known as Boko Haram)
KII	Key informant interview
LGA	Local Government Area
MoE	Ministry of Education
MMC	Maiduguri Metropolitan Council
MWASW	Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Welfare
NEDS	Nigeria Education Data Survey
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NCE	National Certificate in Education
NEDS	Nigeria Education Data Survey
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
NFE	Non-formal education
NFS	Non-formal school
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPC	National Population Commission
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

OOSC	Out-of-school children
OPM	Oxford Policy Management
OVC	Orphans and vulnerable children
PCNI	Presidential Committee on the North-East Initiative
PINE	Presidential Initiative on the North East
PRA	Participatory rural appraisal
PSS	Psychosocial support
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association
SBMC	School-Based Management Committee
SEMA	State Emergency Management Agency
SMoE	State Ministry of Education
SSI	Safe Schools Initiative
SUBEB	State Universal Basic Education Board
TEGA	Technology Enabled Girl Ambassador
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Table of contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Executive summary	iii
List of abbreviations	vi
1 Background	1
1.1 Education in Borno State	1
1.2 Conflict in Borno State and the North East	2
1.3 The Impact of conflict on education	3
1.4 The Borno State Response	3
1.5 Education Data in Borno	4
1.5.1 The SUBEC EMIS	4
1.5.2 The MDG Database	4
1.5.3 The Institute of Migration's Development Tracking Matrix	4
1.5.4 Household Survey Data	5
2 Research Objectives, Design, and Methods	6
2.1 Aim and objectives	6
2.2 Design and Methods	7
2.3 Implementation of Research Design	9
2.4 Sample	9
3 Results and findings from Secondary data on Schools	11
3.1 Teacher Numbers in Borno	11
3.2 Teacher Numbers in the Same Schools	13
3.3 Adequacy of the Distribution of the Teacher Workforce	14
4 Results from Qualitative Survey	16
4.1 Displacement of Teachers during the conflict	16
4.2 Violence and its effects	17
4.2.1 Effect on the person	17
4.2.2 Socio-cultural impacts	20
4.3 Economic effects of the conflict	21
4.3.1 Economic impact due to direct loss of income	21
4.3.2 Economic impact due to Increase in expenditure	22
4.3.3 Emerging opportunities	24
4.3.4 Household assets and Economic Status	24
4.4 Behavioural changes	26
4.4.1 Behavioural changes: Teacher-Pupil relationship	26
4.4.2 Behaviour changes: Teacher-Teacher relationship	28

4.4.3	Behaviour changes-Pupil-pupil relationship	29
4.5	FUTURE Intentions	29
4.5.1	Changes that would make teachers feel more comfortable/Indicators of Peace	29
4.5.2	Plans and goals	31
4.6	RECOMMENDATIONS	33
References		34
	Annex A Instrument for Teachers enquiry	39
Introduction and consent		39
Document data		41
Introducing key themes		41
Violence and its effects		42
Economic effects of the conflict		42
Future Intentions		44
Important Quotes:		44
Summarise key points in the activity (facts):		44
Interviewer's personal notes/observations:		45
	Annex B Interviews in initial scoping visit	46
	Annex C Alternative secondary data sources	48
	Annex D Research ethics	51
D.1	Informed consent	51
D.2	Do no harm	51
D.3	Inclusive and participatory research	52
D.4	Privacy and confidentiality	52

1 Background

1.1 Education in Borno State

Borno State stands out as having some of the lowest education indicators in the country. The Nigeria Education Data Survey (NEDS) reports found that in 2015 only 16% of parents or guardians sampled in Borno State were literate, compared to 28% in the North East and a national literacy rate of 47% (NPC and RTI International 2016a). By contrast, the 2010 National Literacy Survey found that adult literacy *in any language* in Borno is at 58.6% compared to 71.6% nationally. This may however be an inaccurate report because it is self-reported (NBS 2010). A similar pattern is observed on other dimensions of educational attainment, such as numeracy, which stood at 24.6% in Borno compared to 54.5% for Nigeria as a whole in the 2015 NEDS. What is clear is that Borno State lags behind other states when it comes to literacy and numeracy rates and consistently ranks among the five poorest performing states in the country.

Figure 1: Map of Borno State within Nigeria



Source: Agence France Press (2015)

Whilst Hausa is the *lingua franca* of northern Nigeria, a significant proportion of Borno State have Kanuri instead of Hausa as their primary language. However, this does not convincingly account for the lower educational attainment, as the NEDS found that only 10% of the adult respondents in Borno were literate in their own native language, compared to 34.3% nationally (NPC and RTI International 2016a; NPC and RTI International 2016b).² Underlying the low educational attainment is the relatively low attendance ratios for both primary and secondary school in Borno State. Whereas 'only' 24.3% of children in Nigeria aged 4-16 surveyed in the 2015 NEDS had never attended school, in Borno this figure is the highest of any state at 74.8% (NPC and RTI International 2016b)³.

The Education system in the North East currently consists of several parts

- Early Years, Primary, and Junior Secondary Schools (JSS) managed by the State Universal Basic Education Board (SUBEB)
- Senior Secondary Schools (SSS) managed by the State Ministry of Education
- Private secular Schools managed by faith organisations but regulated by the Ministry of Education
- Islamiyya schools (which combine a modified version of the National Curriculum with Islamic teaching)
- Tsangaya schools (which have a purely Quranic curriculum)
- United States Aid (USAID) funded learning centres (outside camps) United Nations Children Education Funds (UNICEF) learning centres (inside camps) and Army Education corps centres for children in recently liberated areas.

² Some respondents are literate in English despite not being literate in their native language.

³ Note that the standard errors on these statistics mean that changes over time may not be statistically significant and should be treated with caution, particularly for Borno State where limited access meant several clusters were dropped from the sample. Note that if accessibility is positively correlated with access to education and attainment, then educational attainment in Borno may be even weaker than is suggested by the figures presented above.

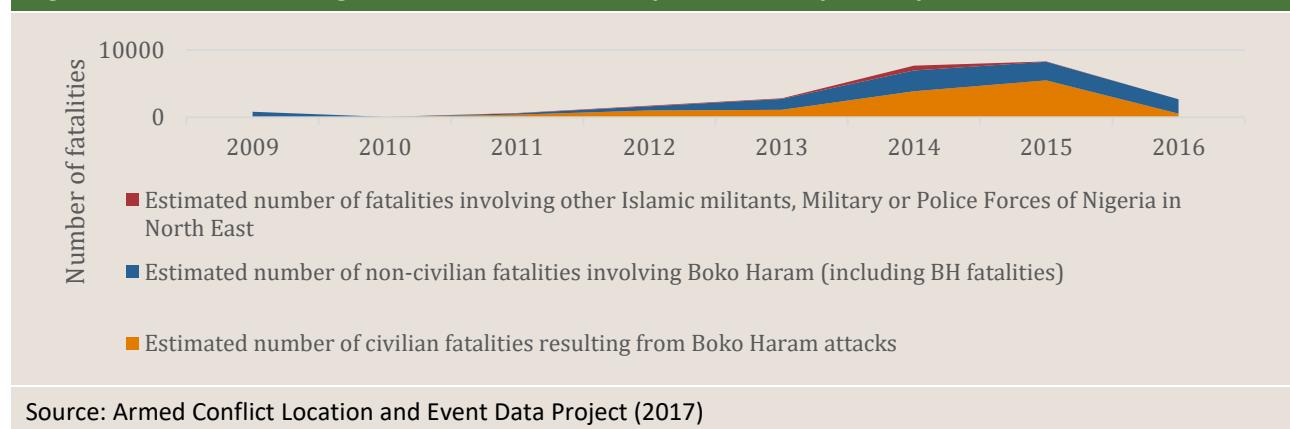
1.2 Conflict in Borno State and the North East

Mohammed Yusuf founded the *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad* (JAS)⁴ in 2002 in Maiduguri, Borno State. It is a religious sect advocating a conservative interpretation of Islam. Also known as Boko Haram, which is often incorrectly translated as ‘Western education is forbidden’, the group attracted a significant following among youth in the North East.⁵ The group preached a strict interpretation of the Quran and that ‘Western education’ promotes an un-Islamic way of life.⁶ Although Sharia law was extended in twelve Muslim-majority states in northern Nigeria following democratisation in 1999, members of Boko Haram were frustrated with the pace of implementation and pushed to establish a ‘real’ Sharia state (Pantucci and Jesperson 2015).

In 2009, Boko Haram increased the frequency and intensity of its attacks on churches, government buildings and other noteworthy sites. It further incited a government crackdown during which up to 1,100 people were killed which culminated in the death of the group’s leader, Mohammed Yusef, in police custody (Menner and Miller 2013). After a brief respite in 2010, there has been an escalation in violence characterised by greater radicalisation and an ineffective and in some cases counterproductive government response. Under the new leadership of Abubakar Shekau, the Boko Haram conflict has been characterised as a systematic and widespread human rights abuse ranging from abductions, sexual abuse, forced conscription into the insurgent group and human trafficking.

By 2015, 24.5 million people had been affected by the Boko Haram armed conflict (OCHA 2015). Borno State has been worst affected, with as many as 26,862 media-reported deaths between May 2011 and February 2017 (CFR 2017), and over 4,556 civilian fatalities at the hands of Boko Haram and the Nigerian military at the peak of the violence in 2015 alone (ACLED 2017). Figure 2 below shows the escalation of violence from 2011 and the significant reduction in fatalities from late 2015. Since then, Boko Haram has lost territories, resources and fighters in the face of a stronger military response, greater regional and international coordination, new leadership, and infighting between rival factions (ICG 2016).

Figure 2: Fatalities relating to Boko Haram or other police/military activity in North East (2009-2016)



Eight years into the conflict and despite the recent reduction in fatalities, insecurity and armed conflict related to Boko Haram and government counter-offensives have caused multiple forced displacements with 187,000 Nigerians seeking refuge in neighbouring countries and an estimated 14 million Nigerians needing humanitarian assistance in the North East. Although it has been recorded that a million people had already

⁴ Which translates to “People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad” in Arabic.

⁵ The Hausa word ‘boko’ is “an indigenous Hausa word originally connoting sham, fraud, deceit, or lack of authenticity” and not a loanword derived from the English ‘book’, although is now widely understood as such in the context of Boko Haram. See Newman’s study for an in-depth discussion of the etymology of the word ‘boko’ (Newman 2013).

⁶ The concept of ‘Western education’ is vague and weakly articulated, but reflects a curriculum focused on English, Mathematics and science initially introduced through missionary schools during colonialism that is now taught mostly in government and private schools.

returned to their homes by the last quarter of 2016, there are still 1.8million Internally Displaced People (IDPs) in North East Nigeria alone. Of these, 1.4 million are in Borno. An estimated 79 per cent of the 1.8 million, live with host communities causing immense strain on limited infrastructures, resources and basic services (OCHA 2016). In January 2017, UNICEF warned that 900,000 children in total or 240 children daily may starve and die of Severe Acute Malnutrition over the following twelve months if calls for funding were not met (Independent 2017a). Save the Children has further noted that many of these malnourished children are unaccompanied minors (*Ibid*).

1.3 The Impact of conflict on education

In 2015, UNICEF estimated that 37% of the Internally Displaced People (IDP) in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe states were between 6 and 17 years of age (UNICEF 2015). The Education in Emergencies Working Group Nigeria (EiEWGN) estimates that more than 800,000 school-aged children were displaced in late 2015 with more than 650,000 of these in two neighbouring Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Borno – Maiduguri and Jere (EiEWGN 2015). It is likely that the conflict has significantly increased the number of out-of-school children (OOSC).

Boko Haram has targeted government facilities, especially public schools for attack. Human Rights Watch reported that over 910 schools had been destroyed with 1,500 schools forced to close in North East Nigeria since the Boko Haram incursion between 2009-2015 (HRW 2016). Over a period of just two weeks in February 2012, Boko Haram burned down at least twelve schools around Maiduguri, the Borno State capital (HRW 2012). By 2013, well-planned and coordinated attacks became more brazen during daylight with increased brutality and a greater focus on the education system.

In May 2013, anonymous government officials reported that Boko Haram had burned or destroyed 50 schools and an additional 15,000 school children in Borno state had stopped attending school due to continuous waves of Boko Haram attacks on teachers and school children (IRIN 2013). This violence led the Borno State Government to close all public schools in 22 out of 27 LGAs for at least two years, and public secondary schools across the state for even longer (HRW 2016). The blanket closure has since been lifted. In March 2016, Borno state authorities reported that 512 primary schools, 38 secondary schools and 2 tertiary institutions had been totally or partially destroyed in the state since 2010 (Daily Trust 2016).⁷ Past government statements indicate that an estimated 49,000 children have been orphaned in Borno alone due to the armed conflict (Leadership 2016).

An infamous attack in 2014 was the abduction of 275 girls from a boarding school in Chibok, Borno (CNN 2014). By March 2015, a regional military force from Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger pushed Boko Haram into the Sambisa forest yielding most of the towns under its control and freeing hundreds of captives. By April 2016, approximately 11,000 abductees were released from Boko Haram captivity. Released abductees, especially girls, have often experienced sexual, physical and psychological violence, which present challenges to their reintegration into the education system.

In 2015, the President of the National Union of Teachers (NUT) issued a statement that 611 teachers have been killed over half of which were in Borno State, (Borno NUT records suggests 526 killed) and that 19,000 teachers had been displaced across the north since 2009 (Daily Trust 2015).

1.4 The Borno State Response

Borno state has responded to the emergency by facilitating the movement of whole LGAs to safer locations. Initially this were 22 camps in Maiduguri. In order to limit the disruption, LGA populations were relocated

⁷ Human Rights Watch (HRW). (2016). They Set the Classrooms on Fire. Attack on Education on Northeastern Nigeria, Human Rights Watch, New York.

with their schools and administrators. LGA administrations moved in to Maiduguri Metropolitan Council and schools were merged with Maiduguri schools or relocated in buildings in Maiduguri. Both administrators and teachers have continued to receive their wages, though recruitment of teachers has been frozen. As the security situation has improved during 2017, the camps in Maiduguri have been moved to LGA headquarters but very few schools in the villages have been reopened yet. Many teachers are teaching part time in Maiduguri and part time in LGAs and travelling between them by military convoys. Payment of wages is still taking place almost entirely in Maiduguri and all the Senior Secondary Schools from the conflict areas are still in Maiduguri.

Alongside immediate relief projects, the Ministry of Education has also started the State Education Programme Investment Project in collaboration with the World Bank. This aims to improve access in 6 states. It has two parts:

- Teacher training in pedagogy and psychosocial counselling and extra allowances for 2 years (from Nov 2017) for 16,000 teachers.
- Work with the School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) to build capacity and ask them to develop investment plans towards grants receipts.

1.5 Education Data in Borno

Despite the disruption caused by the conflict, there are still several data sources available for the Borno Education sector (see annex...). In addition to various one off reports, these include

1.5.1 The SUBEC EMIS

Although there has been some disruption to the Annual School Census, the SUBEC EMIS team have conducted their school based data collection exercise from 1,346 schools. They have also collected school level data about pupils, teachers and buildings. The census has collected; name, sex, rank (in school or LGEA hierarchy), dates of birth, first appointment and last promotion, highest qualification, area of specialisation, and mobile telephone number for all Pre-Primary, Primary, or Junior Secondary School (JSS) teachers and for the LGEA administrators.

1.5.2 The MDG Database

In 2010-11 the MDG office of the Presidency in Nigeria created the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) Information System, in order to facilitate the dispersal of the funds released to Nigeria under the Paris debt forgiveness programme. In collaboration with Columbia University, they created a mobile phone based system for capturing basic data including Global Positioning System (GPS) coordinates and pictures on clinics, public and private schools, that, in theory covered all facilities in Nigeria. In Borno they covered all LGAs except for Abadam and Gwoza and produced data for 1078 schools containing 16,510 teachers and 337,923 Pupils.)

1.5.3 The Institute of Migration's Development Tracking Matrix

The Institute of Migration is collecting site level and ward level data on displaced people from 252 camps or camplike sites and approximately 33,000 locations with five or more displaced households across the North East every six weeks. Data is collected from key informants by a team of 400 resident in each ward of 19 of Bornu's 27 LGAs. This includes; the support the settlement is receiving for water and sanitation, health, shelter, food, protection, livelihoods, and education; the type of settlement; the most common type of shelter in the settlement, the numbers of internally displaced households and people by age groups and sex; the displacement history and return intentions of those in the settlement, their living conditions, their health

and access to health facilities, the information they think they need and who they trust to provide it; their occupation and access to land and income; their access to education services and the location of those services, and the estimated proportion of children attending school.

1.5.4 Household Survey Data

Borno state has continued to participate in data collection for household surveys including the National Education Data surveys of 2010 and 2015 and the 2016 MICS. However the low sample sizes mean that we must be cautious in interpreting this data.

2 Research Objectives, Design, and Methods

2.1 Aim and objectives

The aim of the study was to assess the impact of protracted violence due to insurgency on the Primary School teaching workforce in Borno State. This aim was refined to produce a series of research questions in three stages.

1. An initial list of questions and sub-questions for addressing this aim was developed based on discussions with EDOREN's Education experts, previous research (see EDOREN 2016) and an examination of the literature on education in conflict zones.
2. This was refined during an initial exploratory trip to Maiduguri in November 2017⁸ resulting in the following categories of questions
 - a. Questions about the numbers of different sorts of teachers available in relation to the children in each location that can be used to identify and address areas of poor provision
 - b. Questions about the difficulties that teachers encountered during the conflict and their current problems, needs and intentions who's answers can be used to inform programmes to improve teacher effectiveness and wellbeing.
 - c. Some stakeholders, perhaps prompted by the recent experience of Kaduna State, also raised worries about the quality of teachers. However these reflected longstanding worries rather than anything specific to the conflict.
 - d. There was also strong support from some stakeholders for using scripted lessons to improve teacher performance, which suggests the need to investigate the effectiveness of the method.
3. A report describing findings from the Maiduguri exploratory trip was prepared for the EDOREN management and DFIDN. The report also contained information about possible data sources existing in Maiduguri, recommendations about approaches to adopt, and a draft instrument for a qualitative survey of teachers. The recommendations and research questions were then further refined in discussions between the two parties. As a result of these discussions it was decided to concentrate upon question categories C. and d. because:
 - Several important stakeholders suggested that investigating teacher quality would be difficult in the present climate where any attempt to test teachers would raise concerns that a large scale redeployment exercise similar to the Kaduna approach was being adopted.
 - Formal tests of the efficacy of scripted lessons would take several years to produce results. There is also no obvious reason why the technique would be any more or less effective in Borno than in any other part of Nigeria. We would therefore recommend investigating the question by examining the existing literature and further discussions with those advocating this approach in Borno.

It was also decided to refine the questions in categories a. and b. to arrive at the following five objectives

- a. Questions about the numbers of different sorts of teachers available
- . What impact has the insurgency on teacher population by location and subject?

⁸ see annexe B for a list of stakeholders contacted

- b. Questions about the difficulties that teachers encountered during the conflict and their current problems
 - i. How has the insurgency affected the teacher's person, socio-cultural and economic status?
 - ii. How has the insurgency influenced school governance and teacher-teacher, teacher-pupil, pupil-pupil relationships?
 - iii. What is the teachers' perception of peace and what are the indicators for assessing stability?
 - iv. How has the insurgency influenced teachers' personal plans and goals?

2.2 Design and Methods

Once the research objectives had been set an overall strategy for investigation was developed

- Objective a. was investigated using an analysis of the 2017 SUBEB EMIS and the 2010 MDG database supplemented by some of the questions in a qualitative survey of a sample of teachers drawn from the 2017 SUBEB EMIS. (see sections 3 and 4.1 of this report)
- Objective b. was also investigated using the qualitative survey.

The survey instrument had twenty three questions covering four areas; the displacement of teachers during the conflict, teachers' experiences of violence and the effects of that experience, the economic effects of the conflict on teachers, and teachers' future plans and intentions. (see Annex A).

In order to refine the survey instrument, an initial list of themes were identified under each objective and mapped to the different sections of the questionnaire. These were supplemented by more detailed subthemes developed after viewing the responses . shown in the matrix below.

Objective b (i) a Assessment of the Influence on teacher's person and socio-cultural status	
Themes	Subthemes
4.2.1 Effect on the person	1. Fear, anxiety, shock or depression 2. Death of close filial relations (spouse, parent, child, or sibling) 3. Death of friends and acquaintances (colleagues, friends, neighbours) 4. Abduction or arrest of relations 5. Displacement 6. Illness or physical injury 7. Molestation 8. Impairment of freedom
4.2.2 Socio-cultural effects	1. Idleness among youth 2. Loss of social ties 3. Loss of own social network 4. Adjusting to unfamiliar culture
Objective b (i) b .Assessment of the Influence on teachers' economic status	
Themes	Subthemes
4.3.1 Economic impact due to loss of income	1. Destruction of business and properties 2. Lack of access to business premises (farm, markets etc) 3. Low patronage

4.3.2 Economic impact due to Increase in expenditure	1. Inflation 2. Rent as a result of displacement 3. Taking responsibilities or hosting displaced, orphans or widows 4. Sponsoring own children to study in safer schools 5. Poor remuneration for teachers	
4.3.3 Emerging opportunities	1. Opening up of other income opportunities 2. Establishing new social networks 3. Acquiring new skills 4. Aid from other organizations (like the WB aid to teachers)	
4.3.4 Household assets as an indicator of changing economic status		

Objective b ii. Assessment of behavioural change as a result of the conflict. influence on school governance and teacher-teacher, teacher-pupil, pupil-pupil relationships

Themes	Subthemes	Source: Experience of Violence Section of Qualitative Survey
4.4.1 Behavioural changes-Teacher-Pupil relationship	1. Pupil's truancy, 2. Imitation of insurgents and admiration of insurgents 3. General stubbornness and unruly behaviour 4. Fear, anxiety, shock or depression 5. Poor pupil performance (due to prolonged idleness) 6. Empathy (sharing scarce resources)	
4.4.2 Behaviour changes-Teacher-teacher relationship	1. Fear, anxiety, shock or depression 2. Distrust and caution 3. Empathy (sharing scarce resources)	
4.4.3 Behaviour changes-Pupil-pupil relationship	1. Fear, anxiety, shock or depression 2. Tension between host and displaced pupils 3. Relocation, school type and performance	

Objective b iii. Assessment of teachers' perception of peace and stability indicators

Themes	Subthemes	Source: Future Plans Section of Qualitative
4.5.1 Indicators of Peace	1. Fear of attacks in remote areas 2. Trust 3. Freedom of movement in time and space 4. Social life 5. Absence of civilian joint task force (CJTF) 6. Absence of uniformed armed personnel 7. Official declaration of location as safe 8. Resumption of Economic activities	

Objective b (iv). Assessment of teachers' personal plans and goals

Themes	Subthemes	S O

4.5.2 Relocation and Career	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prefer current abode 2. Return to former abode 3. Continue teaching 4. Opportunity-seeking 5. Funds for other business 6. Further education 7. Retire into a new career 8. Retire and rest 	
-----------------------------	--	--

2.3 Implementation of Research Design

The table below shows the schedule for collection and analysis of the results.

Table 1 Work plan for Data collection

Activities	Dates
Present research plan to Commissioner of Education and receive authorisation for study	Dec 23
Test Instrument with Teachers in Maiduguri	Dec 20-25
Collect SUBEC EMIS Files for all the LGAs, integrate into a database and clean	Jan – Feb 2018
Develop Sampling Workbooks and recruit enumerators	March 2018
Introduction, Refresher on research skills and refinement of instrument	April 4 th -6 th
Data collection in Maiduguri and Biu	April 9 th to 28th
Transcription of responses and analysis	May- June 2018
Matching of 2017 SUBEC EMIS and 2010 MDG data and analysis of changes	March 2018 – May 2018
Presentation of Results to stakeholders in Maiduguri and comments on conclusions	June 22

2.4 Sample

Table 2 below shows the achieved sample for the survey. The sampling strategy had to balance several criteria. For practical reasons only teachers who had supplied a phone number could be contacted which reduced the frame to choose from to 11,853. These were then split into 24 strata by sex, senatorial district, whether or not they were headteachers, and whether they taught in a JSS or Primary/ECCDE. The sample size for each strata was then set at 1 plus a top up chosen so that the total sample size in each strata was proportional to the number of teachers in it and then rounded to single figures.

Table 2 Frame (and Sample) for teachers with Phone Numbers in SUBEC EMIS

			North	Central	South	TOTAL
Head	JSS	F	1 (0)	23 (1)	15 (1)	39 (2)
		M	18 (1)	50 (1)	146 (1)	214 (3)
	Primary & ECCDE	F	7 (1)	24 (1)	77 (0)	108 (2)
		M	148 (1)	264 (2)	273 (1)	685 (4)
Others	JSS	F	16 (1)	740 (6)	700 (6)	1,456 (13)
		M	88 (2)	625 (5)	741 (5)	1,454 (12)
	Primary & ECCDE	F	237 (3)	3,080 (28)	1,344 (11)	4,661 (42)
		M	603 (5)	1,478 (12)	1,155 (9)	3,236 (26)
TOTAL			1,118 (14)	6,284 (56)	4,451 (34)	11,853 (104)

Once the sample size had been set a simple excel tool was produced that picked the appropriate number of records from each stratum at random. Each strata was allocated to an enumerator who began contacting the sampled teachers by phone and arranging to meet. Where the sampled teachers proved impossible to

contact the excel tool was used to select a replacement from the same stratum at random. Note that two of the female headteacher strata were left completely uncovered as it proved impossible to contact any of the sampled headmistresses. For example there was only one JSS headmistress in the Northern Senatorial district and she proved impossible to contact.

3 Results and findings from Secondary data on Schools

This section shows the results from an analysis and comparison of data collected in the SUBEC EMIS for 2017 and the 2010 collection of schools data organised by the MDG office of the Presidency as part of their efforts to administer the funds released to Nigeria under the Paris debt forgiveness program. The main purposes of the exercise are to ask whether the insurgency has caused a shortage of teachers in Borno and to present the frame used for the qualitative survey. Our tentative conclusions from the analysis are that;

- The conflict has not caused a decline in the absolute number of teachers in the state.
- The distribution of teachers between LGAs is highly uneven
- Only a small fraction of teachers in the state specialise in science and mathematics

3.1 Teacher Numbers in Borno

Table 3 Teacher Numbers in 2010 MDG baseline and the 2017 SUBEB Dataset

	MDG 2010	% Qual- ified	SUBEB EMIS 2017	% Qual- ified
ABADAM	ND	ND	ND	ND
ASKIRA	1,333	77%	956	81%
BAMA	786	66%	993	60%
BAYO	550	60%	ND	ND
BIU	922	63%	2,843	74%
CHIBOK	716	50%	1,049	65%
DAMBOA	569	54%	877	43%
DIKWA	354	54%	434	58%
GUBIO	148	72%	ND	ND
GUZAMALA	136	63%	204	28%
GWOZA	ND	ND	141	72%
HAWUL	1,114	75%	1,196	85%
JERE	1,466	49%	1,548	68%
KAGA	316	41%	335	50%
KALABALGE	206	37%	ND	ND
KONDUGA	665	60%	778	63%
KUKAWA	464	39%	457	42%
KWAYA	23	65%	502	69%
MAFA	303	51%	632	37%
MAGUMERI	235	49%	330	36%
MAIDUGURI	2,746	57%	3,021	72%
MARTE	231	41%	803	26%
MOBBAR	163	39%	222	37%
MONGUNO	761	35%	ND	ND
NGALA	26	54%	ND	ND
NGANZAI	398	16%	239	18%
SHANI	467	73%	549	69%
TOTAL	15,098	57%	18,109	63%
Same LGAs	13,407	58%	17,968	63%

Table 3 to the left and figure 3 below compare the numbers of teachers recorded in non private non SS schools in Borno in the MDG baseline collected in 2010 and the EMIS which SUBEB undertook in 2017. Comparison of LGAs with data in both periods suggest that the increase in teacher numbers has been no greater than the increase in population. Numbers increased in all LGAs except Askira, Kukawa, and Nganza, but in another 4 LGAs including Maiduguri this increase was less than the estimated growth of population in the state..



The slow growth in teacher numbers in Maiduguri is important because the growth in school age children in the capital is likely to be significantly larger than in the rest of the state due to migration⁹. Meanwhile a huge fraction of the increase was concentrated in Biu and Marte and Kwaya.

Figure 3 Change in teacher numbers between the MDG Baseline and the SUBEB EMIS

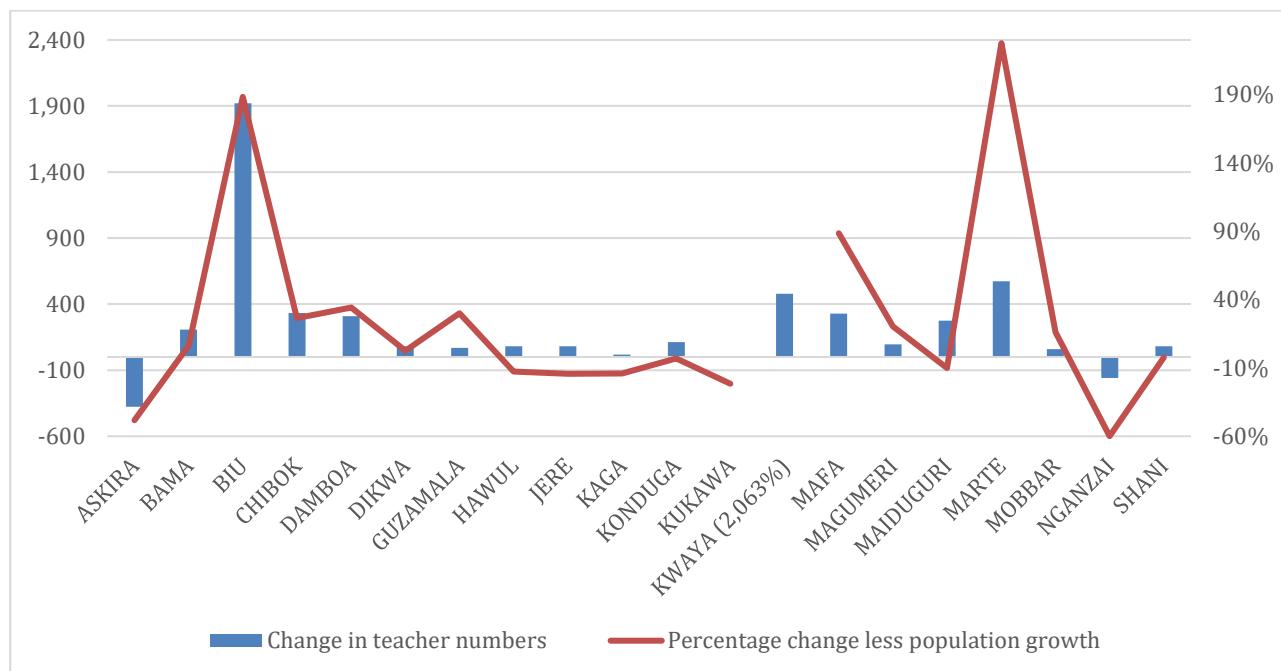
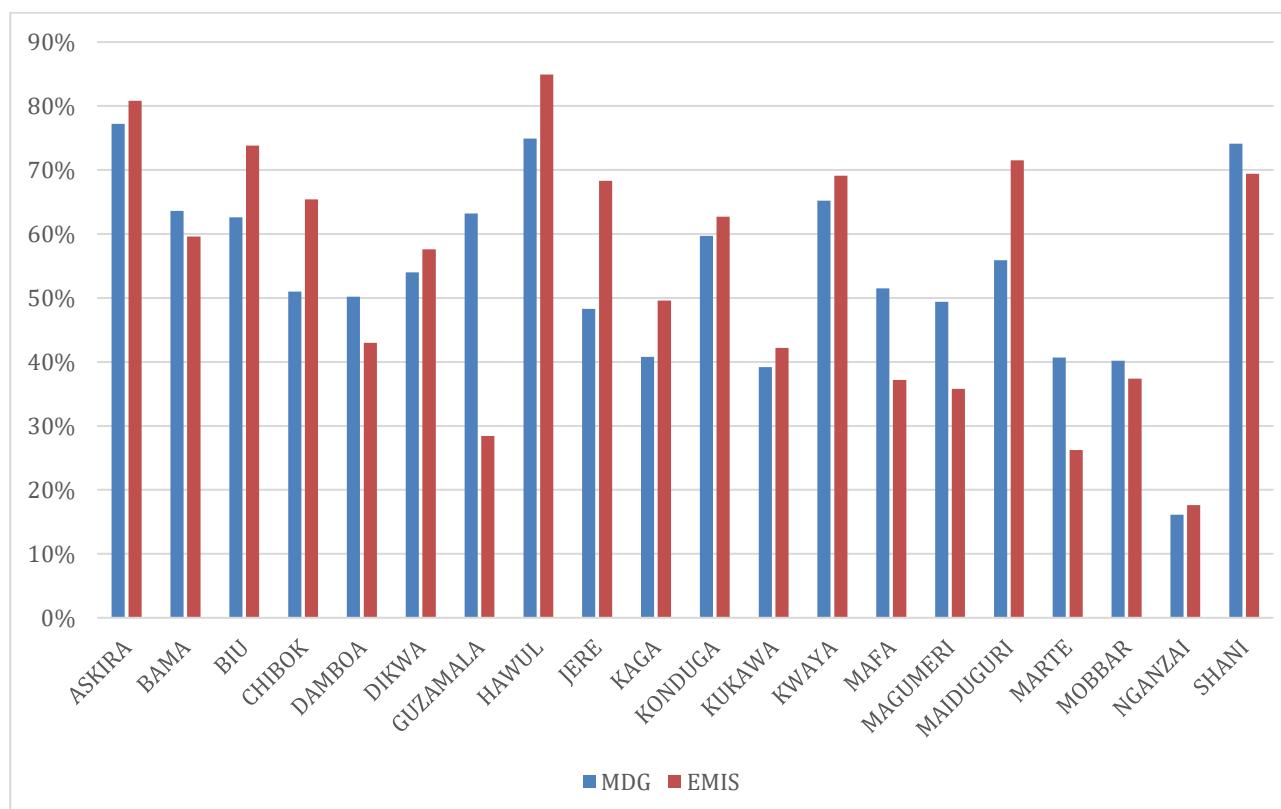


Figure 4 Qualified Teachers as a proportion of the Total



The increase in teacher numbers does not appear to have taken place at the expense of quality. The proportion of qualified teachers has increased overall and in most LGAs. The only LGA to see a big fall in the

⁹ LGA level estimates of population growth are not available.

proportion of qualified teachers is Guzamala. Note however that the proportion of qualified teachers varies enormously between LGAs with far higher proportions of qualified teachers in the Southern LGAs.

3.2 Teacher Numbers in the Same Schools

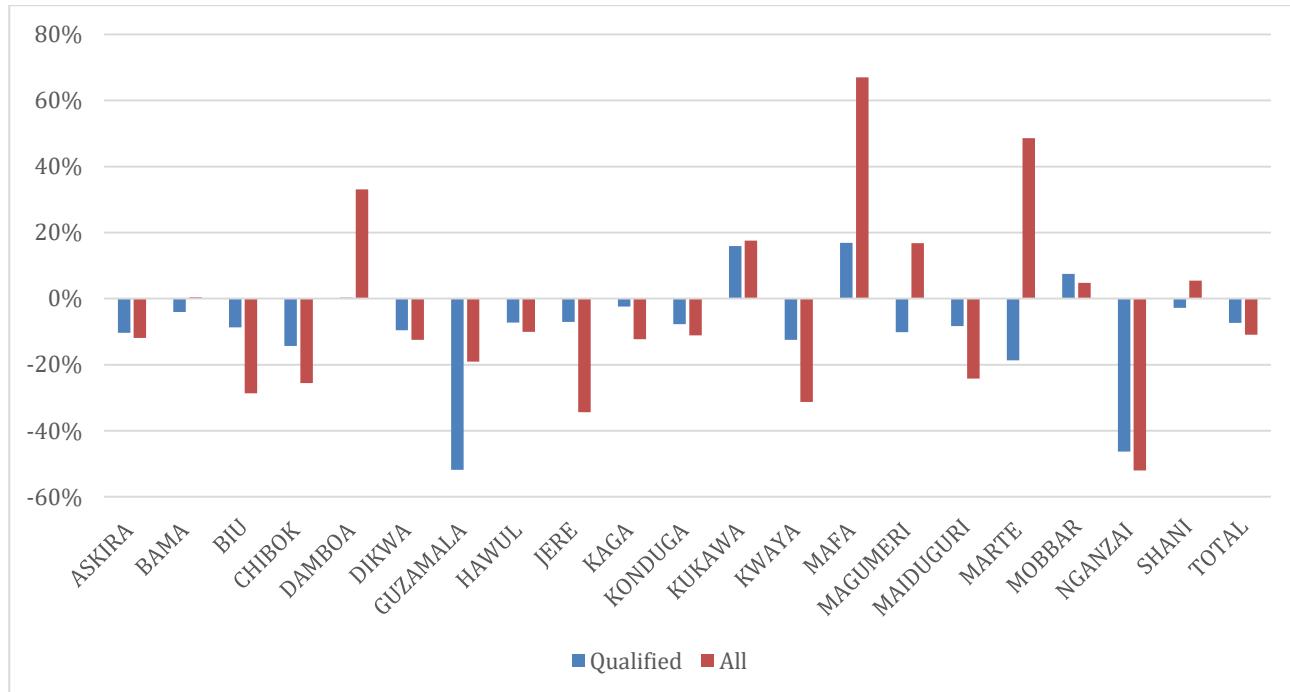
The relatively optimistic view of teacher numbers in the previous section is entirely dependent on the assumption that both the MDG baseline and the SUBEB EMIS exercise represent complete enumerations, or at least that the degree of undercounting is similar in both cases. One way of investigating this question is looking at changes in teacher numbers in the same schools. Matching schools is a difficult and time consuming exercise as school names are often recorded differently each time they are written and so can only be matched by eye. Nevertheless we have made the attempt and table 4 and figure 5 show the results. Of the 934 non SSS non private schools recorded in 2010, 674 were identifiable in the data for 2017, and 260 could not be found meanwhile 893 of the schools found in 2017 had not been found in 2010. In every LGA except Kukawa and Maiduguri, there were more “new” schools in 2017 than “closed” schools from 2010. Within the 674 schools found in both datasets the total number of teachers and of qualified teachers was actually lower in 2017 than in 2010. The falls were particularly large in proportional terms in Guzamala, Jere, Kwaya, and Nganzai.

Table 4 Teacher Numbers in Schools that can be matched in the MDG baseline and the 2017 SUBEB EMIS

	School Numbers					Teachers In Matched Schools					
	2010 MDG	2017 EMIS	Mat ched	closed	new	2010 MDG		2017 EMIS		Change	
						Qual	All	Qual	All	Qual	All
Askira	83	94	50	33	44	670	849	601	748	-69	-101
Bama	54	150	47	7	103	473	710	454	713	-19	3
Biu	109	229	34	75	195	544	790	497	564	-47	-226
Chibok	52	170	29	23	141	300	602	257	448	-43	-154
Damboa	110	125	102	8	23	284	525	285	699	1	174
Dikwa	31	45	21	10	24	126	232	114	203	-12	-29
Guzamala	15	29	14	1	15	83	131	40	106	-43	-25
Hawul	107	132	78	29	54	596	747	553	672	-43	-75
Jere	35	74	29	6	45	638	1,247	593	819	-45	-428
Kaga	33	43	28	5	15	125	294	122	258	-3	-36
Konduga	59	86	51	8	35	338	540	312	480	-26	-60
Kukawa	42	37	26	16	11	119	279	138	328	19	49
Kwaya	3	50	2	1	48	8	16	7	11	-1	-5
Mafa	40	47	34	6	13	142	276	166	461	24	185
Magumeri	18	25	14	4	11	79	161	71	188	-8	27
Maiduguri	42	68	24	18	44	896	1,572	822	1,192	-74	-380
Marte	14	47	12	2	35	91	218	74	324	-17	106
Mobbar	15	25	13	2	12	53	145	57	152	4	7
Nganzai	18	28	15	3	13	54	298	29	143	-25	-155
Shani	54	63	51	3	12	323	439	314	463	-9	24
TOTAL	934	1,567	674	260	893	5,942	10,071	5,506	8,972	-436	-1,099

The overall picture is therefore that teachers have moved from existing schools into new schools and that many new schools have been created.

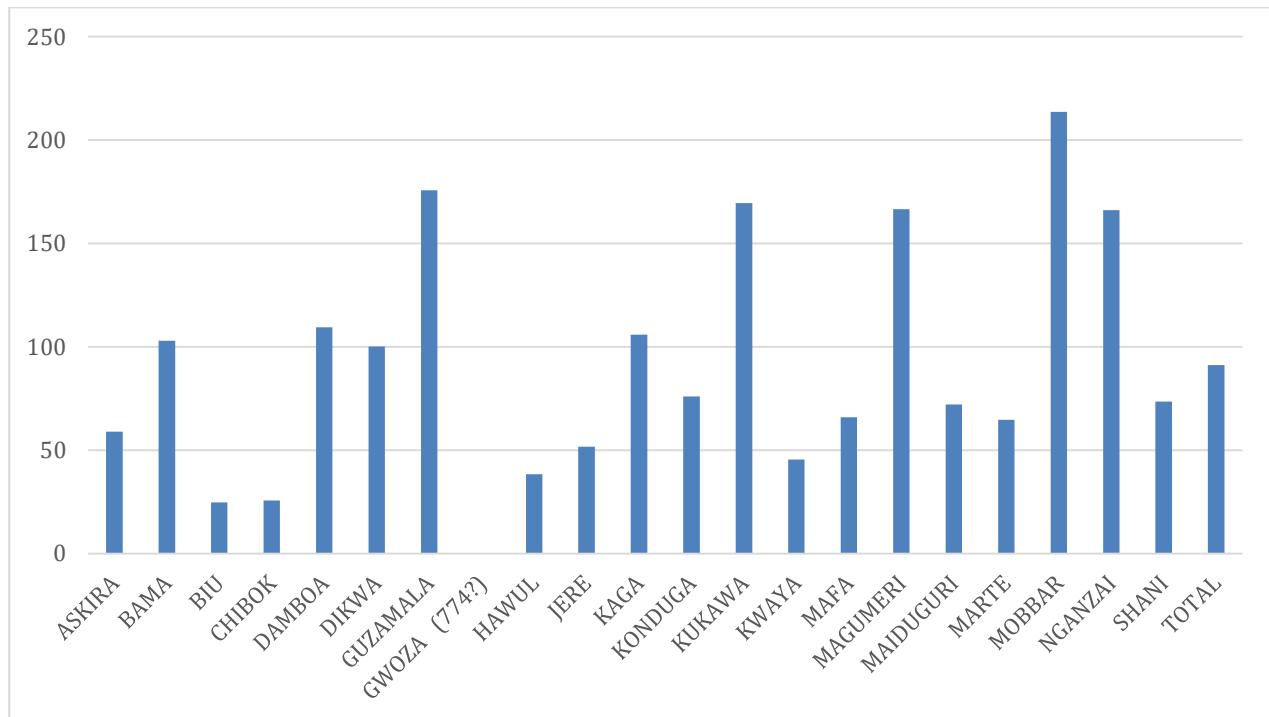
Figure 5 Change in Teacher Numbers in Matched Schools



3.3 Adequacy of the Distribution of the Teacher Workforce

Both the all schools and the matched school measures reveal large differences in teacher numbers in different LGAs but these only have any meaning in relation to the numbers of children in each LGA.

Figure 6 Change in Children aged 5-14 per teacher in 2017 SUBEC EMIS



Although the SUBEC EMIS did collect estimates for pupil numbers in each school it has not been possible - as yet - to obtain or analyse them. However it is possible to look at total numbers of children in the 2006 census and project them forward using the same approaches followed in the National Bureau of Statistics'

official population projections¹⁰. Note that these estimates show differences in children per teacher in the whole LGA rather than children actually in school per teacher and make no provision for internal migration as a result of the conflict. Nonetheless the very large differences are striking. Gwoza in particular seems to have a great shortage of teachers while other areas such as Biu and Chibok are particularly well supplied. Indeed these are the only LGAs which come anywhere near meeting UBEC's standards for children per teacher¹¹.

The SUBIC EMIS also collected data on the specialities of each teacher. Unfortunately, this was collected as a free text field which each respondent could fill in any way they liked, resulting in almost a thousand distinct responses. We have attempted to allocate as many of these as possible to UNESCO's official fields of education categories¹². Almost 60% of teachers, or three quarters of those who gave a speciality specialised in General programmes, Humanities and arts, or social sciences. Twenty six percent, or almost a third of those who gave specialities specialised in Humanities/arts of these 26% the majority, 15%, taught Arabic, Hausa, or Islamic studies. Only ten percent of teachers specialise in science and mathematics. The remaining ten percent of teachers are mostly specialists in Agriculture (about 3%) or services, largely domestic science. Interestingly the proportion of teachers specialised in science and mathematics does not seem to vary much between ECCDE and Primary schools, though the proportion in JSS is slightly higher – especially in the South.

Table 5 Proportion of Teachers in 2017 SUBEC EMIS by Speciality

	North			Central			South			ALL
	ECCDE	Primary	JSS	ECCDE	Primary	JSS	ECCDE	Primary	JSS	
0 General	22	14	9	28	18	9	20	10	5	13
1 Education	1	1	1	2	2	5	0	1	1	2
2 Humanities/ arts	12	32	32	25	22	31	15	25	29	26
<i>of which Arabic/Islamic/Hausa</i>	3	21	18	18	16	18	2	11	12	15
3 Social sciences*	22	15	18	19	19	20	22	20	20	19
4 Science	10	10	14	6	6	12	9	10	18	10
5 Engineering**	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
6 Agriculture	1	4	6	1	1	4	3	3	5	3
7 Health and welfare	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
8 Services ***	12	4	3	2	3	4	9	9	10	6
Not Given	16	19	16	16	27	15	22	21	11	21
	100									

* includes business and law, ** Includes Manufacturing and Construction, *** largely Personal services such as hotel and catering and domestic science.

Although there is no ideal proportion of teachers in different specialities, the 2004 National Policy on Education can provide some guidance. The policy prescribes a core JSS curriculum of eight subjects; English, French, two Nigerian languages, Maths, Science, Social Studies, and Technology. If each of these subjects had an equal share of teachers, about half of teachers would specialise in the Humanities and Arts, over a third in science and maths, and an eighth in social sciences. Set against these criteria Borno seems light on both Humanities and Science specialists and to have rather too many social scientists.

¹⁰ Essentially fixed annual growth rates for each state for total populations and fixed age structures for the whole population.

¹¹ The Minimum standards for Basic Education in Nigeria (UBEC 2010) quote the following standards for teacher/pupil; ratios from the National Policy on Education (4th Edition 2004) ECCE 25:1 ,Primary 35:1, JSS 40:1

¹² See Annexe iv, fields of education, in the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) 2011 published by UNESCO in 2012

4 Results from Qualitative Survey

The instrument used in the survey covered four main areas; displacement of teachers during the conflict; experiences of violence and its effects, the economic effects of the conflict and teachers' future plans. Full details of the instrument are shown in Annex A.

4.1 Displacement of Teachers during the conflict

The first set of questions covered the questions shown in table 7 below. Almost all of them had stayed in Borno throughout the conflict and three quarters were teaching in the same school they taught in before the conflict. They also believe that most of their colleagues are still teaching in the same schools they were teaching in before the conflict.

Table 6 Indicators of turnover of teachers during the Conflict

Weighted Proportion of respondents answering "Yes" to the following questions	Total	Split by Senatorial District		
		South	Central	North
Have you been in Borno throughout the conflict?	98%	96%	100%	100%
Is the School you are now working in the same one as you were working in before the conflict?	76%	72%	82%	69%
Do you come from the Community where you are now working?	76%	89%	64%	75%
Estimated Proportion of those Staff who were Present in Respondent's School at beginning of the conflict as reported by each respondent				
Who are still teaching in the same school	56.70%			
Who are teaching in another school in Borno	9.20%			
Who are teaching outside Borno	1.00%			
Who have left teaching and are working in another job	1.30%			
Who have left teaching and are not working	1.00%			
Who were killed in the insurgency	0.40%			
Who went Missing in the insurgency	0.10%			
Who have died	2.30%			
Who are on study leave	0.40%			
Who have retired	0.40%			
Who were dismissed during a verification exercise	0.20%			
Who's whereabouts you are completely unsure about?	27.00%			

Teachers were also asked about the reasons why their colleagues who had left the profession were no longer teaching? Of the 104 respondents, 57 gave an answer of which 30 mentioned only economic factors, 12 mentioned the violence, three mentioned both economic factors and violence and the other 12 mentioned only retirement or sickness.

The conclusion seems to be that the teaching force has remained remarkably stable throughout the conflict. We may speculate that this is partly due to the fact that many come from the communities where they work. The state government's policies of evacuating whole communities and their schools together and continuing to pay salaries even when schools were closed were also important.

4.2 Violence and its effects

For this section teachers were asked about violence witnessed by themselves, their colleagues, and their pupils and the effect of the conflict on teacher and student behaviour and the management of the school. *All but fifteen of the respondents had witnessed violence themselves and those fifteen had been in close contact with many who had witnessed violence.* The following sections describe some of the effects.

4.2.1 Effect on the person

4.2.1.1 Fear, anxiety, shock or depression

Teachers went through terrifying moment during the insurgency and still exhibit a lot of fear and anxiety. Psychologically, teachers are now scared, leery and doubtful of strangers. Persons who experienced loss of close relations due to killings or abduction still remember the gory sights of their deaths. Many reported to have significant loss of properties leading to shock, depression, high blood pressure and in some cases mental illnesses. Some explained to have dreams and night mares in fear of being killed, others reported near-death experiences with guns placed on their heads and knife place on their necks before they were spared. Majority of the teachers expressed signs of worry, depression and hopelessness and the thought of losing their loved ones makes them surreal

The continuous exposure to sounds of bombs, commotion, gunshots and sights of blood has inundated many teachers living in Borno. It has placed them in a mode of perceptual anxiety over what could be and depression over what has been. Several times, the teachers expressed how the insurgency had destabilised them.

“Ever since I came to Maiduguri...whenever I hear bomb attacks I panic,” says a respondent.

Teachers went through and are still experiencing distressing moments because of the Boko Haram insurrection. Many exhibit tons of concern and anxiety. Psychologically, the trauma is existential with most teachers weary and uncertain of strangers. Most of them lost close relatives while many saw the mangled and tortured bodies of their loved ones. The memories still rankle till date.

“Sometimes, when it was too dangerous to be identified with teaching, people were reluctant to go to work.” said a respondent. *“We were scared too. There was a time when teachers were being killed. While we normally take books home to prepare our lesson plans, but we stopped doing that because we feared that we could be identified as teachers. Before now I don’t even use the same route to go to work every day. I take one route today and another the next day. Just because I was afraid [of possible dangers] because it was said that they [BH] can recognise teachers...”* some other teacher recounted.

Some are still experiencing nightmares concerning near-death situations. Many tell scary tales of having had guns pointed at them or knives at their throats. This combined adroitly with the loss of other valuables has made life quite depressing. Majority of these teachers continually show symptoms associated with insomnia, depression and despair. The thought of losing their means of livelihood or worst still their cherished ones makes them surreal.

4.2.1.2 Death of close filial relations (spouse, parent, child, or sibling)

Many teachers lost wives, husbands, friends, and close relatives. This has left both emotional and financial scars. When those killed were the family breadwinners, which is often the case, the anguish is made worse. The family members were left to fate with some becoming so depressed that it became difficult to separate the economic from the psychological constraints on the teachers’ performance. One of the teachers’ experiences was typical:

"In 2012 my elder brother who had two wives and seven children was killed in this town. During the aftermath of an attack by the BH, the soldiers went from house to house and selected men they suspected and killed them. My brother was one of those killed."

Another teacher expressed his anguish at losing their mother when a brother was killed.

"...Our mother died due to heart attack...Yes, there is a teacher who was transferred from another school. Two of his adolescent sons were slaughtered; they were killed..."

4.2.1.3 Death of friends and acquaintances (colleagues, friends, neighbours)

The teachers also watched and heard of friends, neighbours, colleagues, and acquaintances murdered and had encountered corpses of children, women, men old and young. These images lingered. A teacher told a story of how the husband of one of the Headteacher in a Junior Secondary School was killed in details thus:

"Our Headmistress' husband was killed. They {BH} were the ones who killed him. His [killing] was very brutal. He was riding his bicycle when they caught him. They tied him and tried slaughtering him but they couldn't. So they somehow pierced his veins and left him to bleed to death. When his corpse was brought it was awful. It was God that enabled them [she and her children] to escape. It wasn't a minor loss. And now [to think that] she has to take care of those her children."

"There is another incident where they entered our neighbourhood and slaughtered a lot of people. Even my relative (uncle) was affected. He came home one night and hid under his bed. They (Boko Haram) pulled him and slaughtered him. We have really suffered, honestly."

Some of these teachers watched their colleagues being murdered in the schools. Sometimes, warnings and threats were sent through telephone calls and SMS before the actual attack. The fact that often the Boko Haram attacks were preceded by such contacts with the target victim heightened the fear and trepidation. The gruesome way in which life is lost causes huge emotional pain in these teachers.

"At time we were scared and left the area because a lot of people were killed even though I didn't see the bodies as our area is behind and those killed were in front. We left."

4.2.1.4 Abduction or arrest of relations

The fear of Boko Haram was not the only anxiety these teachers expressed, they also narrated how they were treated by overzealous Nigeria security personnel. Some members of the Boko Haram that witnessed their relatives and family abducted and were later declared dead often went on revenge missions and could be extremely brutal, as they use knives to slaughter their victims like rams or cut off main veins, leaving them to die.

4.2.1.5 Displacement

With many looking for family, close relatives and friends, these teachers have continued to be displaced both emotionally and physically. Without assured abode, they have had to remain in the enclosures of the Internally Displaced Persons' [IDP] camp.

To move around still brings a sense of danger. *"The teachers are the same like before, though they really experienced anxiety when coming to work and unsure of their safety back home"*, says one of those interviewed. Another added, *"You see this crisis is very tragic; it has destroyed virtually everything. Because of the way we were displaced we aren't sure who is still alive so sometimes when you run into someone you know from back there you would both be asking each other: so you are alive? It saddens me a lot"*

So many ills befell teachers in Borno state. It looks physically impossible to move on from the dastardly experiences. A respondent told of how a colleague's wife miscarried because of the physical exertion of walking long distances.

Relocation additionally causes a marked change in the social condition and disturbance of social and family ties. What is more, it causes financial insecurity because of the crumpling of businesses and a resulting higher cost for basic items in urban areas compared to the areas where most teachers were living.

4.2.1.6 Illness or physical injury

A few teachers who survived assaults subsequently took ill. Some maintained wounds from snakebites while attempting to escape from the site of the assault. One of the respondents was shot in the arm and stomach. The wound has remained a physical damage, which is still been treated till date. Another respondent who got hit with a gun butt is yet to recover from the pains. Others maintained wounds on their head and legs.

"A relative of mine [my sister] who works in the hospital whose home was burnt couldn't even escape that evening. They spent the night in the smoke-filled atmosphere," said an agonised respondent on some of the tortures that transpired when the insurgency was at its hottest.

"The smoke really affected her [health]. As we were returning the following morning we found her desolate and crying. So she and I moved to Maiduguri where my in-laws rented a room for us. She eventually died in 2014." He added.

4.2.1.7 Molestation

The kidnapping and attack of youngsters by Boko Haram has continually deterred parents from sending their girl children to school as the insurgents specially targets them. A Junior Secondary blended school in a network was accounted for to have no female student till date. Most girls were recalled from school since the unbelievable 2014 kidnapping of hundreds of Chibok students, all female, from their school premises.

Some answered to being attacked by Federal Government military personnel at the peak of the uprising, which saw to the rise of teenage mothers in IDPs. Also, security staff abused a few teachers, and this hampered the latter from continuing their work. Teachers feel more secure with Civil Joint Task Force (CJTF) instead of the military personnel.

4.2.1.8 Impairment of freedom

The work of the security work force constrained many get-together occasions during the time of extreme clashes with the insurgents. The dread of extremists for the most part also hindered the opportunity to develop and commit to economic activities. *"We are always standing. We are always alert. Before we were comfortable. Now if we hear anything we get scared."* one of the respondents decries. A teacher from one of the schools gives a more elaborate account of yet another incidence of restriction of freedom and the peoples' access to basic needs:

"When I was in Shehuri South the people (BH) used to come around there or pass through there so I could hear some shootings. I once peeped and got really scared. This happened not long after the conflict started but when it was becoming intense, around 2012 before they were driven out [from Maiduguri]. We have been locked in; our husbands/men cannot go to mosque for Maghrib and Isha prayers. All shops were locked. We have to remain locked in and consume the only things we have. Sometimes we go hungry. During one Sallah [Eid-el-Kabir] my husband bought two rams and some of our neighbours also had rams so they all decided to keep them in an unoccupied house near us. They (BH) came and took away all the rams. They even entered

the house of Executive Secretary of the LEA. They were dressed like ordinary people but had guns. Honestly that got the entire neighbourhood really terrified”

4.2.2 Socio-cultural impacts

4.2.2.1 Idleness among youth

Most adolescents in the community would ordinarily cultivate crops while others were sent to school, but that is no longer the case. “*Even the ones we are here with some have abandoned school and resorted to playing. No farming, no money, no education...they will eventually become spoilt,*” a teacher lamented. The farms have disappeared. With the loss of parents and guardians, the push to be schooled seems to have been lost.

Most schools were shut amidst the insurrection; be that as it may, teachers and students were hesitant to come back to class after it re-opened. Some teachers, who resumed fled back to Maiduguri to re-join their families. A few schools were shut for two terms while some have been shut for up to four years.

There is an abiding concern for the out of work teens that are now idle in the IDPs. With nothing to expend their energies on, these teenagers have been found to indulge in bad habits. In the absence of economic powers to call upon, most of the parents lack the wherewithal to send any of their children to school. A long time back, the government trained young people in building block, interlocking tiles making among other skills. However, the numbers of inhabitants that are adolescents have expanded overwhelmingly in recent years.

4.2.2.2 Loss of social ties

Killings and displacement meant the interruption of social ties. Now and again, companions needed to remain separated because of a few reasons ranging from security by area and settlement accessibility. “*Our Headmistress husband was killed by Boko Haram. She suffered again after the inheritance of her husband was shared,*” a respondent said. The whereabouts and state of a few teachers, associates and companions remains unclear.

The uprising forced a great number of teachers to escape from their communities since they were considered as primary target. Some migrated to different nations like Niger Republic, Cameroon and Chad, while some moved to Lagos, Nasarawa, Adamawa and Gombe states to fill in whatever jobs they were able to find including menial ones. Be that as it may, the teachers who chose to settle in Maiduguri griped about the excessive cost for basic amenities, which isn't the situation in their own former abode. Some still pay visits to their former localities to purchase certain foodstuffs.

Note however that the survey also indicates that almost all of the teachers we talked to had stayed in Borno throughout the conflict, that most of them have remained teaching in the same school, most of them are teaching in their native community, and they believe that most of the teachers who were teaching in the school at the beginning of the insurgency are still there.

4.2.2.3 Loss of own social network

Prior to the insurgency, most teachers lived in their places of birth and taught in the same locality or in a neighbouring community. They had informal businesses by which they get both social and monetary advantages to support their meagre incomes. Critical social and monetary ties created inside the network have since been upset.

A teacher explains, "*It has affected me adversely. Before I was living in my own house and I don't have to buy things like water. But now I have to pay rent, buy water. Some people have occupied my house in Konduga and are not paying me rent. So it has affected me indeed*"

4.2.2.4 Adjusting to unfamiliar culture

The pressures of the conflicts made many persons move from the hinterlands to urban settlements where they believed they could be guaranteed better protection. Most teachers experienced difficulty coping with life and its higher costs of living. One communicated that the life in Maiduguri is weird and insufferable. According to him, individuals scarcely accord one another the greetings and pleasantries often shared in villages. He also found it unbelievable that grown-ups refuse to intervene and settle public scuffles among children. Teachers in urban territories experienced troubles overseeing IDP students from other areas. They observed that majority of the students had become wild due to exposure to the war. A few of the students were dislodged from one area to another where difference in language has made it hard to instruct them.

4.3 Economic effects of the conflict

The survey asked open questions about the economic effects of the conflict on teachers and also specific questions about respondents' accommodation and to the assets in their households before the conflict and now in order to get a rough idea of the change in their economic status. Responses fell into the following categories.

4.3.1 Economic impact due to direct loss of income

4.3.1.1 Destruction of business and properties

Additional streams of income gotten from farming, animal husbandry rearing and businesses engaged after school hours became impossible to access due to the destruction and insecurity caused by the conflict. This caused unquantifiable hardship for the teachers. Some had their animals stolen from them, leaving them with nothing. *'They took my one hundred and ten (110) cows and one hundred (100) rams.'* A teacher reported. A primary school teacher was said to be making a kill fattening cows. This is now history.

Others who have travelled back home feel unsafe and they still have temporary homes in the urban area, which they feel safer in. The displacement within the last eight years is considered as a complete set back for many businesses.

The insurgence led to direct destruction and looting of several businesses and properties. Insurgents' raids are often characterised by arson on houses, shops and vehicles. They also loot cash, shops, foodstuff and vehicles during attacks. These affected many teachers who usually engage in other businesses.

Farm produce, animals, are often destroyed or looted during raids. A teacher told of how a school's Headmistress narrowly escaped with her children after her house and 70 bags of grains were all burnt. A teacher was reported to have lost her knitting machine used for making children wears to an attack. According to the account, she hurriedly fled on foot as their house was set on fire.

"I also used to sew and mend clothes before the conflict but I can't now because I have problem with my eyes. It has also impeded my intention to further my studies." This lamentation by another teacher, gives a glimpse of how the conflict directly impinges on economic capacities of the people.

Similarly, military responses also led to the destruction of businesses but on a lesser scale. Business premises were burnt or removed due to security reasons. Motorcycles that are mostly used by teachers as

a means of transportation and commercial purposes were banned because members of the insurgent group also wreaked havoc with it also regularly.

4.3.1.2 Lack of access to business premises (farms, markets)

Access to farms, markets and other business premises in many rural places has become highly limited. During the peak of the conflict, many communities were denied access to their farmlands for security reasons. This led to a halt in economic activities in many communities. A teacher was said to have run out of business because the weekly market was stopped for safety reasons. After school hours, most teachers farm to get some extra income to complement their earnings. Others farm to feed their family. However, such activities have ceased since they moved to Maiduguri as there are no access to farm lands and there is also no avenue to generate extra income. The high cost of living in the town that was mentioned earlier seriously compounds this situation for the teachers.

4.3.1.3 Low patronage

General economic hardship caused by insurrection and fall of businesses has reduced the support systems for the teachers who once worked in rural areas. Back home, they have farms, livestock, marketable commodities and more to guarantee them some level of comfort. They hardly need to purchase food stuffs and other basic things. The situation has since changed for the worse. *"We have financial problems mostly because shops were burnt, some have their properties taken away and the fact that roads have been closed..."*, one of those interviewed explained.

4.3.2 Economic impact due to Increase in expenditure

4.3.2.1 Inflation

The conflict brought about inflation because there was a curb on what could be sold and how they could be sold. *"Before the conflict, life was easy or rather comfortable for us. But now things have changed, many things are very difficult, things are very expensive; while our salary is not meagre, Alhamdulillah, but it would be nice to have an increase because by the time you pay transport and other expenses you are left with very little."* One of the respondents opined.

4.3.2.2 Changes to accommodation and Rent payments as a result of displacement

Quite a number of the teachers complained about the increased cost of living in Maiduguri when contrasted with the rural area they once lived in. Most of their small salaries are spent on the cost of renting a space for accommodation. Teachers were living in their own homes or less expensive rented houses before the breakdown of peace. However, most still appear to be still living with their immediate families.

Table 7 Response to question on accommodation before and after conflict

Proportion of Teachers who are	Before the Conflict	Now
Living in their own house together with their immediate family	69%	47%
Living in rented accommodation together with their immediate family	28%	40%
Staying with Friends or Relatives together with their immediate family	3%	4%
Staying in temporary/impermanent accommodation	0%	8%
Living in rented accommodation without their immediate family	0%	1%
	100%	100%

4.3.2.3 Taking responsibilities or hosting the displaced orphans or widows

The teachers have become overstretched on all fronts. They now have to take responsibility for orphaned children and widows of different relatives and colleagues who had lost their lives. Teachers, as bastions of the community needed to offer help to other uprooted people. This has however, further impoverished the teachers. Here is what one of them has to say:

"Well, I have to work partly to support our family; my husband and I have to pool our resources together."

The teacher added:

"...My husband has a lot of responsibility now for his relatives because he has sisters who are widowed and nephews and nieces who are orphaned – all of whom he has to provide for. And he too is just a teacher like me. Then you add to all that our own immediate family's needs of food, children's school fees.... All these we have to do with salary as our only source of income. In fact there are times when I don't even have the transport money to go to work or I may only have money for going to school and have to walk back home...I sometimes walk both ways. I sometimes borrow money to transport myself to work. There are also IDPS which my husband rented a house for them and he caters to their needs."

This increase in responsibilities has in turn affected the purchasing power of the people. Another teacher shares her story thus:

"I actually personally sheltered almost 30 persons consisting of family members. Even our neighbour's ran away. We rented an extra room and kept them but after they opened the camp they transferred there."

The lamentation continues:

"Before, everyone can have three square meals. Since they started the conflict. It has affected everyone's economy. ...All our family members that were in villages have come to stay with us. Your mother's family or your father's family... We need to take care of all of them now...a lot of responsibilities...this one says I'm not feeling fine; my wife is not feeling fine. Nobody is doing well."

4.3.2.4 Sponsoring own children to study in safer schools

When the goal is survival, many teachers are not even thinking of sending their children that survived back to school at all. Due to the damage of the uprising and its unending nature, those that wanted to re-enrol have found it harder having been out of the school system for up to four years. Others have had no option than to send their children to other neighbouring but more peaceful states. This has however brought its own challenges as the teachers need more money to support the venture because the schools are way more expensive than those in their former communities.

4.3.2.5 Poor remuneration for teachers

This was a reoccurring protest among all the teachers spoken to. Borno State teachers are paid less than their counterparts in most of the other states of Nigeria. To make matters worse, those in southern Borno are paid even less than those in other parts of Borno. Some get paid as low as N7, 000 a month. This may be on the grounds that the majority of the workforce in Borno is from the southern part.

A reason given for this is the low statutory allocation from the Federal Government (FG), to Borno State and the twin dilemma of the state professing to have a large number of workers. It was however found out that most of the numbers of teachers claimed hardly physically exist. A teacher on the state payroll was actually living in Gombe State with his family but shows up for physical audit.

4.3.3 Emerging opportunities

4.3.3.1 Opening up of other income opportunities

Teachers have emigrated to as far as Lagos to seek opportunities to meet their economic responsibilities. Though some have had to take up other forms of work. A respondent mentioned that he now drives a commercial motorcycle during long vacations. Some of these jobs have proved to be safer and more lucrative sources of income. One teacher is said to have saved enough to resume schooling and also plan for a wedding ceremony. Some teachers were reported to have switched from one lucrative business to another outside Borno state. Others have also been promoted. One of the respondent mentioned that he has been promoted to the post of a head teacher in his new school but if he returns to his former abode he may remain a teacher.

4.3.3.2 Establishing new social networks

While it has been generally difficult for many of the teachers to commence life afresh in their new locations, a lot of them have had to move on all the same. They have therefore made new friends and built new social networks in their new locations.

4.3.3.3 Acquiring new skills

The acquisition of new skills has been a major fallout of the insurgency. Those that relocated to more urban areas have learned how to start thriving businesses in addition to learning new skills. Many Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have also come to the aid of these displaced teachers by organising workshops and seminars to improve their skills whilst also helping them pick up their lives again. Some NGOs also collaborated with the state government to conduct capacity building workshops for teachers to skilfully manage the challenges of teaching in a post-conflict setting.

4.3.3.4 Aid from other organisations (like the World Bank aid to teachers)

A number of the teachers have also benefitted from the support from the World Bank, which provided N6,000 to help ameliorate their situations. One of the teachers disclosed that this has been helpful and is sometimes the only income available. *"There is no other means of income except for the 6,000 naira being given to us by World Bank."* He declares.

4.3.4 Household assets and Economic Status

As the table below shows the respondents replied that they now have fewer assets in every single category except telephones, which have gone from being almost universal to universal.

Table 8 Proportion of Teachers living in households containing.. before and after conflict

	Before	Now		Before	Now
Electricity	77%	68%	Phone	95%	99%
A Fan	73%	51%	A Television	77%	61%
An Electric iron	64%	50%	A Radio	70%	58%
A Computer	16%	6%	A tricycle	5%	1%
An Air conditioner	8%	4%	A motorbike	57%	7%
A Generator	55%	21%	A car	35%	15%
Satellite TV	37%	27%	A bicycle	52%	34%
Refrigerator	55%	24%			

Note however the change in this indicator is slightly misleading, both because mobile phones have become more affordable and because the sample was selected from teachers who were contactable by telephone.

There is a well established tradition of using asset lists to develop estimates of household wealth by quintile using a method called principal components analysis, identifying those in the Q1, the poorest 20% of households, Q2, the next 20%, all the way up to Q5, the richest 20%. This method has been applied to all recent Demographic and Health Surveys in Nigeria including the NEDS 2015 survey and the resulting quintiles have been attached to the publicly available dataset. Although would not be sensible to repeat this method for our small sample, the asset lists used are the same so it is possible to apply the NEDS 2015 relationship¹³ to our dataset and use it to summarise the asset changes for each respondent.

Table 9 Average Estimated Wealth quintile of Teachers' Households before and after the conflict

				Population		Change		
Head Teachers		Sex	Stratum	Total	In Sample	Before Conflict	Now	
North Senatorial District	JSS	M	F	20	1	2.0	3.0	
	Primary and ECCDE	F	G	12	1	5.0	2.0	
		M	H	193	1	2.0	3.0	
Central Senatorial District	JSS	F	A	24	1	5.0	5.0	
		M	B	52	1	4.0	5.0	
	Primary and ECCDE	F	C	26	1	5.0	4.0	
		M	D	293	2	3.5	3.5	
South Senatorial District	JSS	F	I	18	1	5.0	3.0	
		M	J	180	1	3.0	3.0	
	Primary_ECCDE	M	L	589	1	1.0	2.0	
Other Teachers								
North Senatorial District	JSS	F	Q	36	1	1.0	1.0	
		M	R	136	2	4.5	4.0	
	Primary and ECCDE	F	S	692	3	4.0	3.0	
		M	T	1656	5	3.4	2.8	
Central Senatorial District	JSS	F	M	837	6	4.8	4.2	
		M	N	722	5	4.4	3.4	
	Primary and ECCDE	F	O	3651	28	4.1	4.0	
		M	P	2230	12	4.3	3.2	
South Senatorial District	JSS	F	U	841	6	4.3	3.3	
		M	V	1042	5	3.8	4.6	
	Primary and ECCDE	F	W	2303	11	4.1	3.3	
		M	X	2587	9	3.8	2.9	
Total				18140	104	4.0	3.5	
Weighted Total						3.9	3.4	

The table above confirms that inevitably, the average quintile score fell over the conflict, going from 3.9 which would suggest that a typical Borno teacher in Q4, richer than 60% of households in Nigeria, to 3.4 which would suggest they had fallen to Q3, about average for Nigeria or only a little richer. Perhaps surprisingly it also suggests that the head teachers are not living in households with substantially more

¹³ The relationship was recovered by estimating a multinomial logit equation from the NEDS2015 dataset. Alternative formulations were tried but did not make a significant difference to the results.

assets than the others, though we must remember that the sample sizes are very small. It also reminds us that not all teachers lost assets during the conflict. Looking just at the teachers in our sample it seems that there was a sort of bunching effect. Before the conflict five teachers were living in households in the lowest quintile while thirty nine were living in the highest but now only two are living in households in the lowest quintile and only twenty in the highest.

Table 10 Movement of teachers in the sample between quintiles during the conflict

		Quintile Teacher in After Conflict					
		TOTAL	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
TOTAL		104	4	15	34	25	26
Quintile Teacher in Before Conflict	Q1	7	1	3	2		1
	Q2	5	1	1	3		
	Q3	12		4	6	2	
	Q4	33	2	2	9	12	8
	Q5	47		5	14	11	17

The 19 teachers above the diagonal are moving up, the 48 below it are moving down

4.4 Behavioural changes

4.4.1 Behavioural changes: Teacher-Pupil relationship

4.4.1.1 Pupils' truancy,

The effect of the insurgency and subsequent abduction and conscription of some of the students has led to a high degree of truancy. A body like the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) came in to help reintegrate these groups of students by offering palliatives like uniforms, books and school bags to get them interested in restarting their learning. Some have however become averse because of the emotional turmoil they have gone through.

4.4.1.2 Imitation of insurgents and admiration of insurgents

A set of students are so affected that they have began to mirror the behaviours of the Boko Haram members. They mimic and sometimes imitate what they have seen by carving wood or iron into guns whilst playing out kidnapping and abduction scenes. Some also role-play execution displaying admiration for the sect. A teacher said, “*Some of them admire them (Boko Haram) because they see guns as something powerful and considering that the BH boast of taking over the world, they therefore wish to become them*”.

4.4.1.3 General stubbornness and unruly behaviour

It was observed that a number of the students that have once been abducted by insurgents displayed stubbornness and unruly behaviour. The influence is perhaps because of their experiences and exposure to severe brutality while held hostage. However, some of the behaviours exhibited by students are not necessarily unruly but merely misconstrued by teachers because of socio-cultural differences. The change in behaviour is more pronounced amongst pupils that were recently rescued as most teachers reported none or minimal behavioural changes among pupils who have not been abducted before. “*Once a boy wearing uniform was caught and interrogated. He wasn't a student but wanted to enter a school and detonate a bomb. He was quickly handed to the authorities. But we refused to tell the students so that they are not alarmed*,” a class teacher shared.

Another teacher had a scary depiction of the negative behavioural influence of Boko Haram activities on the students:

For example, you see, before they don't used to fight. But because their eyes have seen how Boko Haram killed their parents now they have arguments amongst themselves and you hear one of them say, "I will kill you", "I will break your head". Later on you see they have hit someone's stomach, they get hurt. After a while you see they hit someone's eye. It is the people from the nearby villages that came and stayed in our school."

4.4.1.4 Fear, anxiety, shock or depression

The insurrection brought about dread and nervousness in the teachers, students and even parents. One of the respondents revealed, "...They have burnt down our schools, even the trees we sit under to teach, they burnt it down. It was when the government built another building that we started teaching again in buildings".

The degree of assault experienced determined the level of dread in every person. "*The parents come and they take their children. Honestly it has affected the education negatively. Immediately they hear gunshots, the parents will start coming to the school to pick their children. The parents don't have rest of mind. Immediately the hear anything they will just come and take their kids from school.*" Another teacher explained.

For students whose schools were assaulted, and saw their classmates or schoolmates abducted, it took a considerable measure of influence to inspire them to return to class. Quite a number of students, particularly females, refused to come back to class because of the fear of being kidnapped. Students likewise experience the ill effects of injury or loss of guardians or friends. Bodies such as UNICEF have set up psychosocial bolster programmes and Education Crises Response (ECR) has been put in place to alleviate this depression among students.

4.4.1.5 Poor pupil performance (due to prolonged idleness)

The closure and partial operation of schools for prolong periods had negative impacts. It has led to lessons having to be repeated for the benefit of the students, who have totally forgotten whatever they were taught before the escalation of the Boko Haram attacks. A teacher complained, "*Indeed it affected them a lot because at some point we could hardly have students coming to school, just very few of them did.*"

4.4.1.6 Empathy (sharing scarce resources)

The disturbance of the mental facility of these young students has led to teachers having to become more patient in teaching and assessing violent behaviour. Teachers reported that they go extra mile to cope with pupils with strange behaviour and also offer support to those distressed. Head teachers do persuade teachers not to be hard on stubborn pupils, so they do not to revolt and stop schooling.

One of the teachers explained that they have had opportunity to be trained on handling the emotional challenges of the students and have been practicing it:

"We've attended some workshops during which we were trained on the need to be accessible to the students, to draw them close to us and not rebuff them and always guide them on appropriate behaviour. I do my best to practice what I have learnt in the workshop. We are entrusted with peoples' children in order to educate and train them so we have to make them feel comfortable with us in order for them to even pay attention and imbibe what we are trying to impart on them. But if you rebuff a student he/she would not be attentive and therefore cannot learn anything. And you know the students may behave differently; you may notice a student being quiet or not writing... Then you have to call them after class and inquire. Then offer them a treat or words of encouragement. Next time you are in class you will see a change."

Despite exposure to some type of training, teachers are still having serious conflict with addressing the attendant issues caused by the conflict. Some schools have allowed students to attend without uniforms, and waived fees. Many schools are also benefitting from aid on account of the number of pupils they are catering for from IDP camps.

Again, some teachers train children on the need to be observant. “*We have told them that whenever they are coming to school, when they see strange faces or strange behaviour, let them be very careful. Even if people are friends of their parents they should be careful. We also told them not to pick up strange metallic objects because one of our teacher’s son once picked up a bullet which eventually went off and injured his eye...*”

4.4.2 Behaviour changes: Teacher-Teacher relationship

4.4.2.1 Fear, anxiety, shock or depression

The teachers became terrified. Going to work on a daily basis became a risk, as no one could be sure of safety. “*Well, before, we come to school safely and our minds are at rest. But now, you leave your house to come to school, before you get to school, we hear of a bomb attack. You get stuck somewhere. By chance, you are able to return home. Tomorrow you come out again to head to work and we hear of another bomb attack. The next day, you will be scared to get ready to go to school. So the attendance of teachers has been affected greatly. Because some will decide to come to school, but then hear bomb and go back home.*”

This anxiety becomes even more heightened as the Boko Haram sect specifically targeted some teachers. A primary school teacher narrates an ordeal he is aware of:

“*Our Assistant Head teacher was killed. They met him eating dinner with his neighbours (as it is usually done) about four or five of them were eating together at that time. When they came they called him aside and warned the others not to say a word. They shot him there and then and asked the other neighbours to disperse.*”

Another teacher was called out of his house and shot dead in front of the said teacher. In his words: “*This incidence terrified me a lot and it was most pathetic because, being a senior person, he was the one holding the large family together and with his demise, the big house got destabilised*”

4.4.2.2 Distrust and caution

Cases were reported of some teachers being suspected to be a part of the violence in one way or the other. This has led to mistrust between the teachers and the students. The latter also exercise restrain while dealing with such teachers.

4.4.2.3 Empathy (sharing scarce resources)

The umbrella body of the teachers – the National Union of Teachers [NUT] has also been providing some succour. At the height of the conflict, the headquarters in Maiduguri, gave shelter to some displaced teachers while fellow teachers have also come to the aid of their displaced colleagues. Some help the relatives of teachers that were lost to insurgency. A teacher reported to have benefitted from NUT aid to offset his surgery bills.

4.4.3 Behaviour changes-Pupil-pupil relationship

4.4.3.1 Fear, anxiety, shock or depression

The students were also a major group that suffered the effect of the conflict. They largely experienced the same emotions of fear, anxiety, shock and depression that the teachers go through. The schools recorded poor attendance from students. A teacher revealed, "*Some of the students were also scared to attend the school and stopped coming even before the Chibok abductions*"

4.4.3.2 Tension between host and displaced pupils

There are instances of discrimination, separation and strain amongst the displaced students and their hesitant hosts. Some have been harassed and bullied, and frequently alluded to as "hijra" which means migrants. Teachers have continued to encourage integration between the students and the word "hijra" is largely being banned from all communication.

4.4.3.3 Relocation, school type and performance

There is obvious disparity in pupils' performance among schools. Usually, students from urban-based schools have been a step or steps ahead of schools based in rural areas in terms of their academic abilities. Teachers have challenges reconciling some cases of gross disparity between pupils especially pupils from the rural schools expected to be in same class with those in the urban area. The conflict has seen more students displaced from rural schools enrolled in urban schools. This has led to some pressure on the teachers, who are finding it hard to coordinate the varying educational levels of the students. Consequently, many of the displaced students have to repeat classes.

4.5 Future Intentions

In this section teachers living in the area they lived in at the beginning of the conflict were asked about whether or not they felt comfortable living in the area they were living in, and what would make them feel more comfortable. Those who were not living in the same area were asked what would make them comfortable returning. They were also asked about any immediate plans for the future.

4.5.1 Changes that would make teachers feel more comfortable/Indicators of Peace

4.5.1.1 Fear of attacks in remote areas

Teachers have various understanding of what peace connotes to them. Some have resolved to retrace their steps despite the attendant adversities. Despite the relative peace in Maiduguri and Biu, many teachers are hesitant to go back to their homesteads. The dread exacerbates when such returnee teachers are forced to flee again in the face of heightened clashes between the insurgents and the Nigeria Military. They will rather wait when the insurgents have been totally vanquished. These sets of teachers will accept that peace has returned according to them, "*When government tells us that there is no BH in the forest, there is security and after one year of no incidences...*"

4.5.1.2 Trust

A number of the teachers believe that the return of trust would be an indicator of peace. Currently, there is mutual suspicion between teachers and students as against the community spirit in existence prior to the insurgency, which had strong base in mutual trust. The case of teachers and even students who were found

to have links with Boko Haram has heightened mistrust in many ways and the teachers believe this must be handled decisively.

4.5.1.3 Freedom of movement in time and space

Freedom of movement is another major indicator of peace to many of the respondents. Places where people can move without hindrance within and between towns and villages are declared peaceful. The absence of military checkpoints and posts is also an indicator of freedom, hence peace. *"Signs would show that peace is restored. Signs like if we hear that BH are no more. If we are assured that they are no longer sighted anywhere."*

One of the respondents explained the lack of freedom in terms of the basic things he once freely enjoyed, suggesting that peace would be being able to do those things again. *"The things we enjoy doing there are no more: buying fish from the market, getting firewood..."*

4.5.1.4 Social life

The return of various gatherings – be it naming ceremonies, graduations, weddings, also give many respondents the belief that things have returned to normal. *"Things are better now, much peaceful, because we have weddings and occasions that take place. People attend and sleep over with no worries.",* said a teacher who was interviewed.

4.5.1.5 Absence of civilian joint task force (CJTF)

The presence of more Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) in their neighbourhoods has also been advised to give a semblance of peace. A few respondents say the presence of the task force personnel means wellbeing and peace. Others think they are more prone to attacks just as they also limit the freedom of the people.

4.5.1.6 Absence of uniformed armed personnel

While some respondents, think uniformed armed personnel like the military is an indication of safety and peace, others think their presence increase the risk of attacks, infringe on peoples' freedom of movement and exposes community members to molestation. The divergent standpoint mostly depends on location and individual's experiences.

Communities close to the notorious Sambisa forest for instance where the Boko Haram Sect have been said to have their base, want the nearness of military personnel as a continuous assurance of safety. *"What will make me feel secure is that if there are security personnel behind our environs. Those that were there have been removed. If they [BH] were to come, they can have access to our area because there is no security,"* a respondent stated.

However, most locations in Maiduguri prefer the CJTF and they regard military presence in their neighbourhood as double threats. Some military personnel have been accused of molesting and raping and their presence may invite insurgents.

4.5.1.7 Official declaration of location as safe and Resumption of Economic activities

A few teachers mentioned they would endeavour to return to their previous residence if the government pronounces it as safe. However, most made their reservations known over the undependable nature of such affirmations by the government. A respondent insists, *"What would make me feel safe is when this thing stops completely, no more attacks or bombs. Last time I was there and people were saying they are beginning to feel safe. But only about after I left there was a bomb explosion."*

On a few events, some have endeavoured to return in light of such information just to flee after yet another assault. Some have tried to return based on such information only to run back after an attack is experienced. Others return despite the insecurity when they find that there are no economic possibilities at their communities. Generally, attacks are still reported on the highway to some communities and suicide bombings in newly liberated communities.

4.5.1.8 Justice for the displaced

One teacher specified that a pointer of peace would be a situation where town heads accommodate the general population and equity is served to those that were displaced. Different pointers of peace should incorporate the nearness of common experts, traditionalist, for example, the Emir, Shehu, Police headquarters and area heads, markets, easy movement between communities without escorts, leading functions unreservedly without dangers, going home uninhibitedly and the absence of any assault for at least 12 months. With all these, justice would have been served for those affected by the conflict.

4.5.2 Plans and goals

4.5.2.1 Teachers who will not return to their previous abode

Teachers who have lost their jobs want to farm. In any case, some have discovered new open doors like volunteer educating in camps and are been paid by NGOs. This way, they will settle in their present communities. Some do not have anything or anyone to return to in their previous dwelling place and they are thus inclined toward the city life they are currently learning to adjust to. others are engaged with petty trading and have discovered agreeable habitations offered by relatives, which has made life easier in their new abode.

4.5.2.2 Teachers who wish to return to their former abode

There are however other teacher who still prefer to return to their former home. This population continues to refer to the missed conveniences, cultures, relationships and opportunities that the homes they knew before the conflict commenced offered. To them, there many never be a place like home. One of those interviewed paints the situation this way:

"Some people have gone back because it is better for them. Some have difficulties with children's school fees, others with rent therefore they felt it was better to return not because they wanted to. This is the case with displaced teachers and displaced persons in general."

4.5.2.3 Continue teaching

Most of the teachers want to go back to work even though their current emoluments are not enough. Some desire to retire immediately but have fears that their pensions and gratuities will be withheld. It was also discovered that some have actually stopped teaching but have continued to draw wages from the state.

4.5.2.4 Teaching is not enough

Some teachers also seek to learn some skills to supplement the income from teaching. *"I would like to have some skills to do some business. Unlike here there is no skill training there in Baga, though they have started a new programme of Family Support but it hasn't gone far yet. If I can get that I would like that because it would help me a lot."* Said one of such teachers.

4.5.2.5 Opportunity-seeking

Many of the current teachers are only teaching because there is no other option for them as they are constantly on the lookout to better themselves. Be that as it may, the primary purpose behind looking for other openings is the continuing conflict. Most teachers said their dissatisfaction about their present wages is that there is usually nothing left to invest or save. A degree holder said his position is that he is currently unemployed despite being a teacher. He is hoping his application for N-power facility will soon be granted.

4.5.2.6 Further education

Most teachers interviewed plan to pursue further education except for those who have reached the age of retirement. “*In the future I want to return to school, University and further my studies.*”¹⁷ One of the teachers said. “*I want to further my education to find a better job and change career. In order to further education, you need money.*”, added another. Some of the teachers also mentioned continued education for their loved ones.

A large portion of the respondents alluded to a pay increase as a determinant factor to realising their own plans. A teacher stated, “*If there is anything I may say is an appeal to the government to kindly increase our salaries so that our livelihood may improve and reduce hardship in our lives. That would also assist me to return to school to further my education and help us to give our children a better education and a better life.*”

4.5.2.7 Retire into a new career

There are also teachers who would prefer to retire and move into entirely new careers. These teachers allude to the various issues of poor remuneration and the impact of the insurgency on their person, the teaching profession and their communities. Others just got totally disinterested in the profession and are looking to raise capital to venture into businesses, which they said would bring more money into their pockets to cater for their various needs.

4.5.2.8 Retire and rest

Some teachers plan to do nothing more than taking care of their family and resting after retirement. The teachers feel things have become less encouraging and depressing. “*Which plan other than when I retire I should have a house of my own and continue to support these girls that have been entrusted to me to see them through the completion of their studies?*” One of the teachers asked.

4.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

Teachers made many recommendations for the authorities during the interviews. These are synthesized below.

- The state government should increase teachers' salary and implement a minimum wage policy. With the insurgency and risk associated with their job, the teachers need to be motivated.
- Teachers' salary should be paid promptly. It is one thing to increase salary; it is another to pay promptly. Government should make it imperative to pay teachers salaries as at when due.
- Government as a form of sponsorship should assist teachers on study leave. The study conducted revealed some teachers are interested in higher learning if they have the funds. Government sponsorship would ease them and this will lead to quality education of the students.
- The government should renovate schools and build modern infrastructure. One of the ways teachers could be motivated is having a conducive and safe environment to work. The conflict led to buildings being destroyed; there is a need for the buildings to be renovated.
- More teachers should be recruited and trained. During the conflict, some teachers were killed, some have found other jobs and some will be retiring. More teachers need to be recruited and trainings need to be organised for those new teachers.
- Current teachers should be retrained; a respondent reported that over 60 per cent of teachers are not qualified.
- The schools in rural areas should be reopened under safe conditions and necessary infrastructure should be fixed.
- Psychological support should be rendered to any teacher in need of it since most teachers witnessed the violence. Also, those teachers should be trained to give psychological support to students who maybe in need of it.
- A special programme should be introduced in the school curriculum to foster trust and confidence amongst teachers and students in the school. This will assist teachers-students relationship.
- The guidance and counselling unit in all schools should be well equipped with qualified teachers and materials. The report shows some students affected by the insurgency are scared to go back to school. The guidance and counselling unit would do a lot in building the students' confidence back.
- Government should look into how to achieve the stated "perceptions of peace"; it should be made clear that indicators of peace for the government may differ from teachers' perceptions. The government could have meetings with the teachers' body to know what would make them feel safe.
- Focus should be geared to building teacher capacity in addressing post-conflict issues.
- Improved service condition should be considered to get more teachers into the classrooms; this should be preceded by a proper personnel audit and followed by proper supervision.
- In terms of addressing conflict issues and resettling displaced populations, teacher desires and priorities should be considered during deployment and redeployment.
- A proper risks and threats assessment should be carried out in communities in order put in place tailor-made security measures.

References

- ACLED (2017). Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Version 7 Data (1997-2016). <http://www.acleddata.com/data/acled-version-7-1997-2016/> [05 April 2017].
- Agbiboa, D. E. (2013). 'Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective' in *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*. 3(1), pp.146-159.
- Al Jazeera (2016). *Nigeria: Boko Haram 'releases 21 Chibok girls'*. 13 October 2016. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/nigeria-boko-haram-releases-21-chibok-girls-161013102746662.html> [05 April 2017].
- Amnesty International (2015). *Stars on their Shoulders. Blood on their Hands: War Crimes Committed By the Nigerian Military*. London. Amnesty International.
- Antoninis, M. (2012). *Tackling the largest global education challenge – secular and religious education in northern Nigeria*. CSAE Working Paper WPS/2012-17.
- Asfura-Heim and McQuaid (2015). *Diagnosing the Boko Haram Conflict: Grievances, Motivations and Institutional Resilience in Northeast Nigeria*. CNA Analysis and Solutions.
- Bennell, P, Anywau, S. and Dodo, M. (2015). *The supply of and demand for primary and junior secondary school teachers in Katsina State (2014-25)*. Abuja: EDOREN. <https://edorennigeria.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/edoren-katsina-tsd-study.pdf> [10 April 2017].
- CNN (2014). 'War on Boko Haram': African, Western nations unify in hunt for Nigerian girls. 17 May 2014. <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/05/17/world/africa/nigeria-abducted-girls/> [06 April 2017].
- Coinco and Morris March (2017) Primary school attendance in the wake of conflict in Borno, Nigeria Case studies from two communities in Maiduguri Abuja: EDOREN. <https://edorennigeria.wordpress.com/publications/>
- Council on Foreign Relations (2017). *Nigeria Security Tracker: Mapping Violence in Nigeria*. <http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/nigeria-security-tracker/p29483/> [05 April 2017].
- Creative Associates (2015). *Back in the Classroom: Displaced Students in Nigeria Find Education & Hope*. <http://www.creativeassociatesinternational.com/feature-story/back-in-the-classroom-displaced-students-in-nigeria-find-education-hope/> [07 April 2017].
- Daily Trust (2015). '600 teachers killed by Boko Haram, 19,000 displaced – NUT' in *Daily Trust*. 5 October 2015. <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/education/600-teachers-killed-by-boko-haram-19-000-displaced-nut/113731.html> [05 April 2017].
- Daily Trust (2016). 'Nigeria: World Bank Report – Borno Lost N1.9 Trillion to Boko Haram' in *Daily Trust*. 21 March 2016. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201603210101.html> [05 April 2017].
- De, S., Pettersson, G., Morris, R. and Cameron, S. (2016). *Teacher Development Programme (TDP) Impact Evaluation of Output 1: In-service training – Final baseline technical report volume 1*. Abuja: EDOREN. <https://edorennigeria.wordpress.com/publications/> [10 April 2017].
- Displacement Tracking Matrix <https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/displacement-tracking-matrix-dtm-round-xix-report-october-2017>
- Education Above All (2012). *Education for Global Citizenship*. Doha: Education Above All. <https://www.slideshare.net/jbernard44/eaa-education-for-global-citizenship> [10 April 2017].

- EiEWGN (2015). Education in Emergencies Working Group Meeting Presentation. 25 November 2015.
<https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/operations/nigeria/document/eiewg-meeting-presentation-25-november-2015> [05 April 2017].
- Girl Effect (2017). *Understanding school attendance in Borno, Northern Nigeria*. Unpublished report.
- Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). 'Competing paradigms in qualitative research', in eds. Denzin, N. K and Lincoln, Y. S., *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hoechner, H. (2015). 'The Cost of 'Boko' and Alternative Education Options in Northern Nigeria'. <http://www.norrag.org/en/publications/norrag-news/online-version/reflections-on-the-world-education-forum-and-financing-education-and-skills/detail/the-cost-of-boko-and-alternative-education-options-in-northern-nigeria.html> [11 April 2017].
- Human Rights Watch (2012). *Nigeria: Boko Haram Targeting Schools*. 27 March 2012.
<https://www.hrw.org/news/2012/03/07/nigeria-boko-haram-targeting-schools> [06 April 2017].
- Human Rights Watch (2016). "*They Set the Classrooms on Fire": Attacks on Education in Northeast Nigeria*. April 2016.
- Independent (2017a). '90,000 children are expected to die in Nigeria over the next 12 months, Unicef warns' in *The Independent*. 25 January 2017.
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/nigerian-children-starve-to-death-2017-nigeria-africa-help-unicef-international-community-aid-a7546176.html> [06 April 2017]
- Independent (2017b). 'Islamist terror groups in Nigeria are now using babies in suicide bombing attacks say officials' in *The Independent*. 24 January 2017.
- International Crisis Group (2014). *Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency*. Report No. 216. Brussels.
- International Crisis Group (2016). *Boko haram on the Back Foot?*. Briefing No. 120. Brussels.
- IRIN (2013a). *Boko Haram attacks hit school attendance in Borno State*. 14 May 2013.
<http://www.irinnews.org/news/2013/05/14> [06 April 2017].
- IRIN (2013b). *Conflict gives rise to food crisis in northeast Nigeria*. 22 August 2013.
<http://www.irinnews.org/news/2013/08/22/conflict-gives-rise-food-crisis-northeast-nigeria> [07 April 2017].
- Leadership (2016). 'Boko Haram Rendered 49,000 Children Orphans in Borno – Osinbajo' in *Leadership*. 17 June 2016. <http://leadership.ng/news/537229/boko-haram-rendered-49000-children-orphans-borno-osinbajo> [06 April 2017].
- Leadership (2017). 'Governor Shettima Asks Non-performing NGOs to Vacate Borno' in *Leadership*. 11 January 2017. <http://leadership.ng/news/566728/gov-shettima-asks-non-performing-ngos-to-vacate-borno> [07 April 2017]
- Menner, S. and Miller, E. (2013). *FTO Designation: Boko Haram and Ansaru*. Background Report. START.
- MPTFO (no date). *Nigeria Safe School Initiative Multi-Donor Trust Fund*. Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office, UNDP. <http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/fund/NGA00> [07 April 2017].
- MPTFO (2016). *Nigeria Safe Schools Initiative Multi-Donor Trust Fund: Terms of Reference*. 4 November 2016. UNDP.

- National Bureau of Statistics of Nigeria (2010). *The National Literacy Survey*. Abuja, Nigeria.
- National Bureau of Statistics and UNICEF (2015). *Multi-Sector Rapid Assessment of Host Communities in Borno and Yobe States: North East Nigeria*. Assessment Final Report. December 2015.
- National Population Commission (Nigeria) and RTI International. (2016a). *2015 Nigeria Education Data Survey (NEDS): Borno State Report*. Washington, DC. United States Agency for International Development.
- National Population Commission (Nigeria) and RTI International. (2016b). *2015 Nigeria Education Data Survey (NEDS)*. Washington, DC. United States Agency for International Development.
- Newman, P. (2013). *The Etymology of Hausa boko*. Mega-Chad Research Network. <http://www.megatchad.net/publications/Newman-2013-Etymology-of-Hausa-boko.pdf> [11 April 2017].
- Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2016). *Humanitarian Needs Overview 2017*.
- Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2017a). *Lake Chad Basin: Crisis Update No.12*. 6 February 2017.
- Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2017b). Nigeria-Northeast: Humanitarian Emergency Situation Report No.4 (as of 31 January 2017). http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ocha_nga_ne_sitrep_no_04_07_jan_2017_31_jan_2017_31012017_0.pdf [10 April 2017].
- Pantucci, R. and Jesperson, S. (2015). *From Boko Haram to Ansaru: The Evolution of Nigerian Jihad*. London. Royal United Services Institute.
- PINE (2015). *The PINE Long-Term Economic Reconstruction and Redevelopment Plan: Initiatives, Strategies and Implementation Framework*. Abuja: Presidential Initiative on the North-East.
- Premium Times (2015a). Nigeria launches schools for Boko Haram victims. 4 October 2015. <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/191023-nigeria-launches-mobile-schools-for-displaced-boko-haram-victims.html> [07 April 2017].
- Premium Times (2015b). *Northern Nigeria lagging behind in education – Senator*. 29 June 2015. <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/185846-northern-nigeria-lagging-behind-in-education-senator.html> [10 April 2017].
- Premium Times (2016a). *Many Borno schools unsafe years after Chibok abductions - Report*. 22 October 2016. <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/213382-many-borno-schools-unsafe-years-chibok-abductions-report.html> [07 April 2017].
- Premium Times (2016b). *How we will reconstruct the Boko Haram-damaged North-Eastern Nigeria*. 27 October 2016. <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/213759-will-reconstruct-boko-haram-damaged-north-eastern-nigeria-buhari.html> [07 April 2017].
- Premium Times (2016c). *Nigeria: Borno to Build ‘Mega-Schools’ for 49,000 Boko Haram Orphans*. 13 September 2016. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201609140024.html> [07 April 2017].
- Premium Times (2017a). *Boko Haram: Government to provide education to 23,000 displaced orphans*. 7 February 2017. <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/198110-boko-haram-borno-provide-free-education-23000-displaced-orphans.html> [07 April 2017].

- Premium Times (2017b). *Nigeria commences social security programme, pays N5,000 monthly to poorest citizens*. 2 January 2017.
<http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/219477-nigeria-commences-social-security-programme-pays-n5000-monthly-poorest-citizens.html> [10 April 2017].
- Pressreader (2016). *Shettima presents N183b budget Capital gets, 60% Education N33bn Quarterly stomach infrastructure*. 22 December 2016.
<http://www.pressreader.com/nigeria/daily-trust/20161222/281685434498332> [07 April 2017].
- Protection Sector Working Group (2016). *Rapid Protection Assessment Report: Borno State, Nigeria*. May 2016.
- Saavedra, J. E. and García, S. (2012). *Impacts of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs on Educational Outcomes in Developing Countries: A Meta-Analysis*. RAND Corporation.
https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/working_papers/2012/RAND_WR921-1.pdf [10 April 2017].
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). ‘Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects’, in *Education for Information*, No.22, IOS Press, pp.63-75.
- Sigsgaard, M. (2012). *Conflict-Sensitive Education Policy: A Preliminary Review*. Doha: Education Above All. http://protectingeducation.org/sites/default/files/documents/eaa_conflict_sensitive_education_policy.pdf [10 April 2017].
- Smith, M. (2014). *Factsheet: Explaining Nigeria’s Boko Haram and its violent insurgency*. Africa Check. <https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-explaining-nigerias-boko-haram-and-its-violent-insurgency/> [05 April 2017].
- Snistveit, B. et al. (2016). *The impact of education programmes on learning and school participation in low- and middle-income countries*. Systematic Review Summary 7. 3ie.
http://www.3ieimpact.org/media/filer_public/2016/09/20/srs7-education-report.pdf [10 April 2017].
- Steenbergen, V. and Hill, P. (2016). *Primary School Teachers in North-Western Nigeria: Policy Goals, Objectives and Challenges*. Abuja: EDOREN. May 2016.
https://edorennigeria.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/january-18th-2nd-edit_edoren_north-western-nigeria.pdf [10 April 2017].
- The Guardian (2015a). *Federal Government to employ 0.5m teachers in 2016*. 22 December 2015. <https://guardian.ng/news/fg-to-employ-5m-teachers-in-2016/> [07 April 2017].
- The Guardian (2015b). *Nigeria falls into ‘a state of war’ as Islamist insurgency rages*. 8 March 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/08/nigeria-state-war-islamist-insurgency> [11 April 2017].
- The Guardian (2016). *The Nigerian school for orphans of jihadists – and their victims*. 17 November 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/17/nigerian-school-teaches-boko-haram-orphans-alongside-children-of-victims?CMP=share_btn_fb [10 April 2017].
- The Nation (2016). *USAID commits fresh \$4.1m to education in Borno*. 27 July 2016.
<http://thenationonlineng.net/usaid-commits-fresh-4-1m-education-borno-state/> [07 April 2017].
- UBEC (2010). *2010 Basic Education Profile National and Regional Statistics Facts and Figures: Northeast Region*. Universal Basic Education Commission.

- UNICEF (2014). *Cash transfer as a social protection intervention: Evidence from UNICEF evaluations 2010-2014*.
https://www.unicef.org/evaluation/files/Social_Protection_Evaluation_Synthesis_Final.pdf [11 April 2017].
- UNICEF (2015). UNICEF Nigeria response for internally displaced children and women in North-East Nigeria. 5 February 2015.
https://www.unicef.org/appeals/files/UNICEF_NorthEast_Nigeria_Snapshot_5_Feb_2015.pdf [07 April 2017].
- UNICEF (2016a). Nigeria Humanitarian Situation Report
- UNICEF (2016b). WASH Priority Wards in Maiduguri & Surrounds (Map).
http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/nga_unicef_priority_ward_mmc_surrounds_09072016.pdf [06 April 2017].
- UNICEF (2017). *Nigeria Humanitarian Sitrep No. 4*. 16-28 February 2017.
https://www.unicef.org/appeals/files/UNICEF_Nigeria_Humanitarian_Situation_Report_28_Feb_2017.pdf [10 April 2017].
- USAID (2015a). *Nigeria: Education Crisis Response*. Powerpoint presentation delivered at 2015 Global Education Summit. http://eccnetwork.net/wp-content/uploads/EdSummit15_ReflectivePractice_Oleksy-Ojikutu_Nigeria.pdf [10 April 2017].
- USAID (2015b). *Rapid Situational Analysis in Borno State: Education and Conflict*. December 2015.
- Vanguard (2016). *We've hired 200,000 teachers – FG*. 21 November 2016.
<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/11/weve-hired-200000-graduates-fg/>
- Watchlist (2014). *Who will care for us? Grave Violations against Children in Northeast Nigeria*. New York: Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict.
- Yin (2003). *Case study research: Designs and methods*. Third edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Annex A Instrument for Teachers enquiry

RESEARCH INTO TEACHER EXPERIENCE IN CONFLICT IN BORNO STATE

Interview with Teachers

Introduction and consent

Hello! My name is _____ and this is _____. Thank you for meeting with us today. As you may already be aware, we are working with an organization called EDOREN. We help the UK and Nigerian governments produce new information and better understanding of how best to support equal access and improved learning for all Nigerian children.

Today we would like to learn more about teachers' experience during the recent disturbances in this state.

Your participation is completely voluntary. Non-participation will not have any implications for you, your career or your organisation. The discussion with you will take about sixty to ninety minutes to complete. If you agree to participate, we will ask you questions that are designed to start an open discussion on a particular topic, and we will note your answers. We are not testing your knowledge or ability as part of this interview.

We will put things we learn from you together with things we learn from other teachers, so no one can tell which information came from you. When we tell other people about this research, we will never use your name, so no one will ever know what answers you gave me. Only a few researchers will have access to this information, and all information will be stored safely under the care of the lead researcher.

Anytime you would like to stop, please tell me and we will immediately stop. That will not be a problem. Some questions may address sensitive issues, including your experience of conflict in this community. If there are questions you feel uncomfortable with, you may choose not to answer them. We have details of an organization that provides psychosocial support and counselling to people affected by the conflict and we will provide you with their details before we leave you today.

I am unable to pay you anything for your participation but the information you provide during the interview may help improve future programs in Maiduguri. Feel free to express your feelings and opinions. There are no right or wrong answers to our questions.

With your permission, I would also like to use a voice recorder so that I may capture all the information and stories that you will share. We will not share the recording with anyone outside our independent research team. Like the written information, it will be stored safely on the research team's computers. It will help me later when I organize my notes.

Do you have any questions before I proceed? You may ask these questions now or later. I will leave behind the phone number of our Fieldwork Coordinator Abba Jimme Mohammed for any follow-up questions.

Please circle as appropriate and sign below.

Do you agree to be part of this discussion today?		Yes	No
Do you agree for your discussion to be recorded?		Yes	No
Date	Signature (Education provider)	Signature (Researcher)	

Thank you very much.

Document data

Case Number: _____

Community Name: _____

Interview date: _____

Interviewer: _____

Introducing key themes

I would like to ask some questions about your experience during the conflict.

1. Have you been in Borno throughout the conflict?

[include all who have experienced the conflict even if go back and forth. If no skip to 7]

2. Which school were you working in at the time that the Boko Harram insurgency began?

[n.b. indicate if it is the same school that they are working in now]

3. Do you come from that community?

[If not ask what community they do come from)]

4. Approximately how many other teachers worked in that school at the time the insurgency began?

5. Aproximately how many of those teachers would you estimate are now

	Not Sure	Sure
Teaching in the same school where you teach now		
Teaching somewhere else in Borno?		
Teaching Outside Borno?		
Have left teaching and are working in another job in Borno?		
Have left teaching and are working in another job somewhere else?		
Have left teaching and are not working?		
And how many are you completely unsure about?		

[Check that the numbers in the sure column add up and prompt if do not...]

6. I would like to ask you about the teachers who are no longer teaching? What do you think the main reason is for them leaving?

Violence and its effects

I would now like to ask some questions about your experience of violence during the conflict.

7. Have you yourself witnessed violent incidents during the conflict? Could you tell me anything about those incidents?

[Remember to probe for details: who, what, where, why, when, how]

8. Have the other teachers in your current school witnessed violent incidents during the conflict? Could you tell me about the incidents they witnessed?

[Remember to probe for details: who, what, where, why, when, how]

9. Have the other teachers in your previous school(s) witnessed violent incidents during the conflict? Could you tell me about the incidents they witnessed?

[Remember to probe for details: who, what, where, why, when, how]

10. Have the students in your current school witnessed violent incidents during the conflict? Could you tell me about the incidents they witnessed?

[Remember to probe for details: who, what, where, why, when, how]

11. How has the conflict affected student behaviour?

[Remember to probe for details: who, what, where, why, when, how. Ask the teachers to describe any new patterns of behaviour that were not there before]

12. How has the conflict affected teacher behaviour?

[Remember to probe for details: who, what, where, why, when, how. Ask the teachers to describe any new patterns of behaviour that were not there before]

13. [For Headteachers only] How have these changes in behaviour affected the management of the school ?

[Remember to probe for details: who, what, where, why, when, how]

Economic effects of the conflict

I would now like to ask some questions about the economic effects of the conflict.

14. Are you and your family better or worse off financially than you were at the beginning of the conflict *[Get them to answer Better, Worse, or About the same]*

15. Could you tell me more about how the conflict has affected your family's financial circumstances [Probe, ask them about what the extra expenses they face are (if any), if they are receiving any extra payments or assistance as teachers, and if not what strategies they are adopting to meet the extra burden.]
16. Many people have been displaced during the conflict. I would therefore like to ask a question about your accommodation now and at the beginning of the conflict. Are/were you

Are/Were you

	Before the Conflict	Now
Living in your own house together with your immediate family [wife/husband or parents/children]		
Living in rented accommodation together with your immediate family		
Staying with Friends or Relatives together with your immediate family		
Staying in temporary/impermanent accommodation [ie camps tents or shelters] together with your immediate family		
Living in your own house without your immediate family [wife/husband or parents/children]		
Living in rented accommodation without your immediate family		
Staying with Friends or Relatives without your immediate family		
Staying in temporary/impermanent accommodation [ie camps tents or shelters] without your immediate family		

[Note Ask if person has more than one wife or family]

17. I would like to ask a question about the assets of your household now and at the beginning of the conflict

Does/Did your household have

	Before the Conflict	Now
Electricity		
A Fan		
An Electric iron		
A Computer		
An Air conditioner		
A Generator		
Satellite TV		
Refrigerator		
A Mobile phone		
A Television		
A Radio		
A tricycle		
A motorbike		

A car		
A bicycle		

Future Intentions

I would now like to ask some questions about your immediate plans.

18. Is the school where you teach currently located in the same area/village as the school where you were teaching at the beginning of the conflict?

[If answer is yes go to 19. Otherwise go to 21]

19. Do you feel comfortable living in this area/village? *[ask for a yes or no answer and also find out if they stay full time in the location where they teach]*

20. What would make you feel more comfortable in this area/village? *[Probe, try to get them to be specific Ask for signs of peace (Markets operating? Frequency of Attacks?) Ask for things govt should do (more security etc.)]*

21. Would you be comfortable returning to teach in the area/village where you were teaching at the beginning of the conflict? *[ask for a yes or no answer]*

22. What would make you more eager to return to teach in that area/village? *[Probe, try to get them to be specific. Ask for signs of peace (Markets operating? Frequency of Attacks?) Ask for things govt should do (more security etc.)]*

23. *Do you have any other immediate plan that you have not discussed that you would like to tell me about?*

Important Quotes:

Summarise key points in the activity (facts):

Interviewer's personal notes/observations:

Thank you for your time etc.

Annex B Interviews in initial scoping visit

Organisation	Person	Post	Contacts	Time
State Ministry of Womens Affairs and Social Welfare	Yabawa Kolo	Director	07030461716 yabawa2008@yahoo.com	Thursday 16/11/2017 11:30-12:15pm
National Emergency Management Agency	Said Moham med Alkali	Relief and Rehabilitation officer Zonal office of North east.	ssalkali@gmail.com	Thursday 16/11/2017 12:15-12:45pm
National Union of Teachers Borno State	Bulama Abiso	Chairman	08038500447 abiso68@gmail.com	Thursday 16/11/2017 14:00-15:00pm
State Ministry of Education	Hon. Musa Inuwa Kubo	Commissioner,	08032856102 musainuwa62@gmail.com	Thursday 16/11/2017 16:00-17:00pm
	Aisha Sheikh	DPRS, Commissioner,	08060023441 ayshasheikh87@gmail.com	Friday 17/11/2017 10:30-11:30am
Education Crisis Response	Ayo Oladini Project	Director	0803-703-1195 0805-569-0012 AyoO@crea-nigeriaaccess.com	Thursday Evening
State Universal Basic Education Board	Abba Kura Maliwu	DPRS 08066848441	abbamaliwu@gmail.com	Friday 17/11/2017 09:00-10:00am
	Alhaji Umaru Mustau Mustapha	Head of EMIS	07035852533 080125599496 Umarmustapha777@gmail.com	Friday 17/11/2017 09:00-10:00am
State Emergency Management Agency	Moham med Bukar	Director	07037746807 mobukar@bosema.gov.ng	Monday 20/11/2017 11.30-12.30pm
State Teachers Service Board	S Bello	Chairman	sbello409@gmail.com	11:30 Monday

	Bitrus Kamai	DPRS	BitrusKamai9@gmail.com 08026970929, 08161646220.	
State Ministry of Religious Affairs	Sheikh Muhammad Mustapha	Director, Da'awah,	08036919388	Monday 20/11/2017 11:00-12:00pm
Institute of Migration	Henry Kwenin	Director DTM		Monday 2:00-4:00
UNICEF	Terry Durnian ,	Chief for Education		
University of Maiduguri	Abba Jimme Mohammed,	Senior Lecturer, Geography,	08037168161 08051595079 jimmeam@gmail.com jimmeabba@yahoo.com	

Annex C Alternative secondary data sources

Table 11 Structure of IOM Dataset Baseline Data for 1031 Locations

FIELD NAME	DESCRIPTION
State PCode	Code of the State based on the name
State Name	Name of the State (Nigeria Administrative unit 1)
LGA PCode	Code of the LGA based on the correspondent State name and numeric order
LGA Name	Name of the Local Government Area (Nigeria Administrative unit 2)
Ward PCode	Code of the Ward based on the correspondent State name and LGA number
Ward Name	Name of the Ward (Nigeria Administrative unit 3) - small administrative unit usually encompassing few villages in rural areas or neighborhoods in urban areas
Estimated number of households by Ward	Number of IDP Households in the ward as per DTM team estimation based on observation, key informants interview and available lists
Estimated number of individuals by Ward	Number of IDP Individuals in the ward as per DTM team estimation based on observation, key informants interview and available lists
Location Type	<p><u>Host community:</u> where the IDPs are temporarily living with family, relatives or friends. In this setting the basic needs of the displaced family are provided by the host family.</p> <p><u>Camp/camp-like settings</u> include:</p> <p>Camp: open-air settlements, usually made-up of tents, where IDPs find accommodation; Collective center: pre-existing buildings and structures used for collective and communal settlements of the displaced population; Transitional center: centers which provide short term/temporary accommodation for the displaced population.</p>
SSID	Site ID
Displacement Year	Year of displacement of the majority of IDPs in the Ward
State of origin of majority	Name of the State identified as being the origin of the majority of IDPs in the Ward
LGA of origin of majority	Name of the LGA identified as being the origin of the majority of IDPs in the Ward
Reason of displacement Insurgency_Yes or No	Wards where DTM identified IDPs displaced due to insurgency reasons
Number of household displaced by insurgency	Number of IDP Households identified as being displaced due to insurgency reasons
Number of individuals displaced by insurgency	Number of IDP Individuals identified as being displaced due to insurgency reasons
Reason of displacement Community clash_Yes or No	Wards where DTM identified IDPs displaced due to community clash reasons
Number of household displaced by community clash	Number of IDP Households identified as being displaced due to community clash reasons
Number of individuals displaced by community clash	Number of IDP Individuals identified as being displaced due to community clash reasons
Reason of displacement Natural disasters_Yes or No	Wards where DTM identified IDPs displaced due to natural disasters
Number of household displaced by natural disasters	Number of IDP Households identified as being displaced due to natural disasters
Number of individuals displaced by natural disasters	Number of IDP Individuals identified as being displaced due to natural disasters
Other reason of displacement_Yes or No	Wards where DTM identified IDPs displaced due to other reasons
Number of household displaced by other reasons	Number of IDP Households identified as being displaced due to other reasons
Number of individuals displaced by other reasons	Number of IDP Individuals identified as being displaced due to other reasons

Table 12 Structure of six weekly IOM data collection

Field	Field
DTM Round	% HH living outside (no shelter)
SiteID	% HH living in EmS
Site name*	% HH living in makeshift/self-made shelter
State_Pcode*	% HH living indoors (solid walls)
State	% HH have access to electricity
LGA_Pcode*	% HH have access to safe cooking facilities
LGA	% HH have private living area
Ward	% HH have mosquito nets
Status*	Most needed NFI
Longitude	Location of site main water source
Latitude	Main drinking water source
Site Management Agency	Avg amount of water available /day/person
SMA type	Is drinking water potable
Registration activity	Complaints about drinking water quality
WASH support	Condition of most of the toilets
HEALTH support	# of functioning toilets
SHELTER-NFI support	Main garbage disposal
FOOD support	Garbage and solid waste problem
PROTECTION support	Availability of hand-washing station
EDUCATION support	Hygiene promotion campaign
LIVELIHOOD support	Evidence of open defecation
classification	Access to food
Type	Access to market near from the site
Land ownership	Frequency of food distribution
Most common type shelter	Most common source for obtaining food
Number households	Screening for malnutrition
Boys (<1) **	Most health problem
Girls (<1) **	Regular access to medicine
Boys (1 - 5 y) **	Access to health facility
Girls (1 - 5 y) **	Location of health facilities
Boys (6 - 17 y) **	Main provider of health facilities
Girls (6 - 17 y) **	Access to education services
Men (18 - 59 y)	Location of education facilities
Women (18 - 59 y)	% of children attending school
(Elderly men 60+ y)	Occupation of majority of IDPs
(Elderly women 60+ y)	# of HH with source of income*
Number individuals	Access to income generating activities
Have IDPs been displaced previously	Livestock on site
Area of return	IDPs have access to land for cultivation
Reasons not return	Most trusted source of info
	Main topic community is requesting info
	Serious problem due to lack information

* Collected for the 252 sites but not the 33,000 locations

** The Locations File claims sites for “Infants”, “Children”, and “Youths” but does not give age bands

Table 13 Examples of NEDS 2015 Data for Borno with Confidence Intervals

All Children and Children in School 2015 by School level and Type																		
	All	OOS	Government								Private							
	Thou-sands	%	%	%	%	%	%	Religious?	%	%	%	%	%	%	Religious?			
		Prim	JSS	SSS	Other	All	R	NR	Prim	JSS	SSS	Other	All	R	NR			
Borno	2035	81	9	2	1	0	12	1	11	5	1	0	1	7	4			
National	63889	27	32	6	3	3	44	3	41	17	3	1	9	29	6			

Comparison of NEDS and ASC Based Estimates for Children in School

	NEDS Based Estimates										All eligible childrn*	ESSPIN & GEP States ASC	National Bureau of Statistics							
	Proportions in school		Thousands		2015 confidence interval															
	2010	2015	2010	2015	lower	Upper	2015	2014/15	2014											
Nigeria			36631	46823	44747	48899										31182				
Borno	24%	19%	380	389	158	620	2035									1124				

Change in the proportion of OOSC 2010 and 2015, GEP/ESSPIN states

	2015				2010			
			Confidence Interval				Confidence Interval	
Lagos		1.2%	0.5%	1.9%		6.3%	4.0%	8.7%
Kwara		2.5%	1.0%	4.0%		28.1%	16.2%	40.0%
Zamfara		61.8%	47.4%	76.3%		68.7%	56.7%	80.7%

Annex D Research ethics

The research strictly followed recognised ethical principles for conducting research in conflict-affected situations and with individuals affected by conflict. This annex outlines the principles summarised in Section **Error! Reference source not found.** in more depth.

D.1 Informed consent

Written informed consent was sought from all respondents approached to participate in the research. In both PRAs and KIIs the following information was provided to ensure consent was appropriately informed:

- Explaining the purpose of the research, expected duration and procedures;
- Informing potential participants of their right to decline to participate or withdraw at any point, and consequences of doing so (i.e. no side-effects);
- Highlighting factors that may influence their willingness to participate (e.g. risks, discomfort);
- Informing potential participants of the research benefits;
- Explanation of how data will be captured (i.e. audio recorder), stored and shared (i.e. confidentiality and privacy);
- Provision of a contact point in the research team for any follow up questions.

All participants provided informed consent to participate and this was recorded on written forms. Participants were also provided with a written document summarising the above information for their future reference.

D.2 Do no harm

At a minimum research should establish measures to avoid doing harm. This research identified two main ways in which harm could be inflicted on individuals and communities.

1. **Discussion of sensitive topics may trigger psychological trauma.** To counter this, researchers emphasised the risk of discomfort talking about conflict when seeking informed consent. Interviewees were also made aware of a referral pathway to access psychosocial support from the ICRC and MSF in Maiduguri (although no such support was available locally in the communities).
2. **Time invested by research participants may prevent them from pursuing livelihoods and income-earning opportunities.** This was identified as a major risk for the PRA in particular, which lasted 3 hours. As a result, participants were provided with some light refreshments (water and a snack) and given a small financial reward to compensate them for their time. The proliferation of INGOs in Maiduguri had meant that expectations for participation were much higher than expected. A decision was taken to set the financial reward at the lower end of the range provided by INGOs to avoid further entrenching these high expectations.

3. **Discussion of sensitive topics during PRA may result in conflict between individuals or groups with different perspectives.** This was considered a particular risk when bringing together IDPs and members of host communities in the same PRA. Researchers were trained in the principles of conflict-sensitive facilitation to identify emerging conflicts and manage them effectively to prevent escalation.
4. **Participation in research may increase vulnerability of respondents and communities through association with research project.** There is still a fear of outsiders and Boko Haram informants in many communities in Maiduguri. Communities were therefore initially approached through the community leader. A safe, private location for carrying out the PRAs was used to limit public association with researchers. Furthermore, international researchers only visited the communities for a short period of time and at a different time to most of the national researchers from Borno and Adamawa to further limit association.

D.3 Inclusive and participatory research

The research recognised that bringing together a diverse range of stakeholders and groups using a participatory approach was an opportunity not only to collect data for the research but also to address unequal power relations within communities by giving a voice to marginalised groups (such as IDPs, single mothers and religious minorities). By bringing together these diverse stakeholders, the research provided communities with a platform through which to build a shared understanding of problems and discuss potential solutions. The relationships formed through and knowledge generated by this interaction may contribute to building the foundations for communities' subsequent collective action and further engagement with external stakeholders.

D.4 Privacy and confidentiality

Data was collected, stored and managed in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998 which sets a high bar for data management. Confidentiality was also discussed with research participants. An appropriate balance has been sought in writing this report between disclosure of enough information about informants' roles/locations/sex to inform readers' understanding and withholding other personal information to ensure research participants' anonymity.