



Empowering Women in West African Markets

Case Study of Street Food Vendors in Maiduguri, Nigeria

VAM Gender and Markets Study #9

2017

The Zero Hunger Challenge emphasizes the importance of strengthening economic empowerment in support of the Sustainable Development Goal 2 to double small-scale producer incomes and productivity. The increasing focus on resilient markets can bring important contributions to sustainable food systems and build resilience. Participation in market systems is not only a means for people to secure their livelihood, but it also enables them to exercise agency, maintain dignity, build social capital and increase self-worth. Food security analysis must take into account questions of gender-based violence and discrimination in order to deliver well-tailored assistance to those most in need.

WFP's Nutrition Policy (2017-2021) reconfirms that gender equality and women's empowerment are essential to achieve good nutrition and sustainable and resilient livelihoods, which are based on human rights and justice. This is why gender-sensitive analysis in nutrition programmes is a crucial contribution to achieving the SDGs. The VAM Gender & Markets Initiative of the WFP Regional Bureau for West and Central Africa seeks to strengthen WFP and partners' commitment, accountability and capacities for gender-sensitive food security and nutrition analysis in order to design market-based interventions that empower women and vulnerable populations. The series of regional VAM Gender and Markets Studies is an effort to build the evidence base and establish a link to SDG 5 which seeks to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.

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Bureau Regional Dakar

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Acknowledgements

The authors would like to acknowledge the many people who supported each stage of this project. First and foremost, we would like to thank the women and men street food vendors and customers who participated in this study. Nearly three-hundred individuals welcomed us into their communities, gave freely of their time, and shared their personal experiences, successes, and struggles with our team. A note of thanks goes to community leaders, as well as officials from the State and National Emergency Management Agencies, who granted us access to their communities and ensured that our visits were safe and fruitful.

WFP personnel, at both the Regional Bureau in Dakar and the Nigeria Country Office, were vital to the success of this project. We would like to thank the staff at RBD for providing guidance, feedback, and direction throughout the planning process and for their input on the final report. Thank you to the team at the Nigeria Country Office for providing local expertise, linking the research team to community contacts, offering continuous logistical and technical support, and for providing feedback on the research findings during the in-country debriefings. Finally, the data collection would never have been possible without the hard work of the WFP administrative and human resources teams, security staff, and drivers, who worked behind the scenes to ensure that the project ran safely and smoothly.

We are extremely grateful to our friends at local partner organizations in Maiduguri who recognized the value in our work and offered us their time, space, contacts, and incredible range of expertise. Dr. Tina Aduke Olayemi joined our team as an honorary adviser and provided her guidance, knowledge, and encouragement, as well as working space at her office at the Samaritan Care and Support Initiative (SACSUI). Ambassador Ahmed Shehu and the staff at the Youth Federation for World Peace (YFWP) generously accommodated our team with a home-base for morning meetings, afternoon debriefings, and transcription sessions at their office. We are extremely grateful to our many partners who facilitated our site visits with local communities, especially International Medical Corps (IMC), Damnaish Human Capacity Building Initiative (DHCBI), Danish Refugee Council (DRC), and Action Against Hunger (ACF), as well as those who served as key informants for this study.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge the hard work and dedication of our extremely skilled field research team, who acted not just as enumerators, but also as facilitators, interpreters, transcribers, drivers, problem-solvers, community-liaisons, cultural ambassadors, and street food taste-testers. Thank you Christy Kalejaiye, Becky Haruna Wakawa, Kaltum Satomi, and Abba Isah Mohammed. Without you, this research would not have been possible.

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Executive Summary

In September 2015, the World Food Programme Regional Bureau for West Africa (RBD) Vulnerability Assessment and Mapping (VAM) team launched the *Gender and Markets Initiative* with support from USAID. The objective of the initiative is to strengthen the collection and analysis of gender-informed data on the different roles of women and men in markets in the region, their challenges, and their empowerment. This initiative has included a desk review of relevant literature, development of an indicator to measure women's empowerment through markets, the building of regional partnership networks, and case studies to deepen the understanding and develop practical solutions to the identified issues.

The present case study examines street food vendors in the city of Maiduguri, Nigeria, which was selected to better understand gender dynamics of urban markets in a humanitarian emergency setting. Nigeria is Africa's most populous country, and its economy is one of the largest on the continent. Despite its size and strength, three-quarters of the population live in poverty. The Northeast region of the country has been devastated by a nearly eight-year violent insurgency, resulting in an estimated 20,000 lives lost, 1.7 million displaced, and 7 million people still in need of assistance.

One result of the conflict has been mass migration to Maiduguri, the capital of Borno, the state worst-affected by the crisis. With traditional agricultural livelihoods, trade networks, and markets disrupted, displaced people and members of the host community struggle to achieve food security. The World Food Programme and other humanitarian agencies are responding to this need using a variety of modalities. WFP increasingly utilizes market-based approaches to strengthen livelihoods and market resilience. A recent assessment found that many women are involved in preparing and selling street food, however, the contribution of these activities to food security and

women's empowerment were unknown. The present study was conducted to build an understanding of the gender-specific roles and challenges faced in street food markets, and to identify opportunities for programmatic solutions.

Field data collection took place in September and October 2017 at sites throughout urban Maiduguri. The research utilized a mixed-methods approach grounded in feminist, anthropological, and sociological traditions. Focus groups discussions, in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, observation, and document review were used. The sample included nearly 300 participants, both street food vendors and clients, at 16 locations including IDP camps and host communities. Of this sample, 81 percent were female and 66 percent were internally-displaced.

The findings reveal that women and men occupy distinct roles in street food markets, both along the value chain and in terms of the foods sold. While men may occupy positions further up the value chain as retailers of ingredients, women are only found as sellers of prepared foods. Women tend to cook and sell food alone, near their homes, and may use children to assist with cleaning or carrying food to sell in other areas. Because women often sell close to the home, transportation times are short, market control is decentralized, and there are few barriers to market entry.

Women in Maiduguri tend to start a street food business due to economic hardship and a desire to feed their children, often after the loss of their husband's income. By contrast male vendors articulated their aspirations in terms of vocation, capital, and profit. Street food businesses run by women tend to be smaller, less formal, have fewer employees, and require lower start-up capital than those run by men. On average men were found to be operating their businesses longer than women, and male vendors more commonly had employees and sold from a permanent shop or stall.

Access to financing is a challenge for women due to economic conditions and social norms, and they commonly buy their ingredients on credit, which puts them at risk of default. Women's savings groups, locally called "adashe," were found to be an extremely important source of savings and peer support, however they have been largely disrupted by the current crisis. Other challenges to economic participation in street food markets faced by women include low levels of education, limited mobility, trouble obtaining firewood during certain seasons, thin profit margins, and low resilience to changes in market conditions. Youth have an essential role in street food businesses, often selling or "hawking" cooked food on behalf of women, which is vital to women's economic viability but also creates many protection risks for youth.

Although all groups of people were identified as consuming street food, children and young single men were two groups highlighted in this study, and this underscores the importance of street food for the food security of these groups. Customers generally displayed a high level of loyalty to their preferred vendors, often purchasing one or more times per day. Customers express preference for quality, price, and hygiene, and often purchase on credit until they receive their paycheck.

Although women were found to rarely question traditional gender roles in which they are primarily responsible for the household, this study also found that participation in street food markets leads to several opportunities for empowerment. Women expressed that generating income has allowed them to build positive relationships, to feel comfortable expressing themselves related to their business, and to feel the satisfaction of providing for their children. Although they often need permission from their husband to start a business,

women display autonomy in making most business decisions after start-up.

This study found that although women do not necessarily perceive their business as conflicting with their home responsibilities, many expressed that they face challenges balancing productive and reproductive activities. The activity of selling street food has a vital role for food security as children are often fed from the same food that mothers prepare for selling. Within the household, this study found that despite their initial skepticism, men are often supportive of their wives' businesses once they realize the benefit that it brings to the family.

WFP in Nigeria is increasingly including gender components in assessments and programming, and the findings of this study suggest new opportunities for programmatic interventions. In addition to inclusion of gender in market assessment and monitoring tools, several programmatic areas can be leveraged to support street food business to improve livelihoods and food security. These include formation of women's groups, which can be targeted for training on business practices, health, and nutrition. These women's groups can also be linked with improved access to financing, and can be leveraged to cook for school feeding programmes.

In addition, WFP can identify partnerships to target provision of capital and infrastructure, integrate street food into cash-based transfers and voucher assistance programmes, and address protection and gender-based violence risks specific to street food vendors. With a deeper understanding of the gendered roles and challenges faced by women, men, and youth in these markets, WFP can better respond to the food security and livelihoods needs of vulnerable people in Nigeria and other urban humanitarian settings.

Introduction

Background on the Gender and Markets Initiative

In 2015, the World Food Programme Regional Bureau for West Africa (RBD) Vulnerability Assessment and Mapping (VAM) team launched the *Gender and Markets Initiative* with support from USAID. The objective of the initiative is to strengthen the collection and analysis of gender-informed data on the different roles of women and men in the region, their challenges, and their empowerment.¹ The initiative is linked to several parallel efforts to improve the humanitarian community's approach to gender-equitable programming, combatting gender-based violence, and the promotion of women's empowerment.

The first phase of this initiative, completed in August 2016, involved a desk review of relevant literature, eight initial case studies, development of an indicator to measure women's empowerment through markets, and the building of regional partnership networks.² The second phase, which extends through November 2017, expands the case studies to a range of contexts and sub-regions in order to deepen this understanding and develop practical solutions to the identified issues. The primary objective of the case studies is to develop examples of common gender and market information needs and constraints and to develop tools to meet these needs.

Nigeria Country Context

Northeastern Nigeria was chosen for a case study to better understand the gender dynamics of markets in an emergency setting. The conflict in Nigeria's Northeast provoked by Boko Haram has resulted in

widespread displacement, violations of international humanitarian and human rights law, protection risks and a growing humanitarian crisis. An assessment by WFP and its partner Save the Children identified the importance of prepared street food as an income-generating activity and for urban food security in the northeastern city of Maiduguri.³ It was therefore decided that the Gender and Markets Case Study would focus on the connection between urban street food, food security and women's empowerment.

Nigeria is often called the "Giant of Africa" due to the size of its economy, rapidly growing population, and regional influence. With a population of nearly 186 million, Nigeria is predicted to be the world's third most populous country by 2050, and its economy remains one of the largest on the continent.⁴ Nevertheless, over 75 percent of the population lives in poverty, and well-being varies vastly between regions, ethnic groups, and genders within the country.⁵

The indicators of health and well-being reflect the poor development outcomes for much of the population. Nationally, the under-5 stunting rate is 33 percent while the under-5 mortality rate is 113 per 1,000, among the poorest child health outcomes on the continent. Women suffer disproportionately as a result of underdevelopment. Women in Nigeria average 5.7 births, with higher rates found among women living in the Northeast of the country and those with lower levels of education. Pregnancies at a young age are common. Only 50 percent of women over 18 are literate, and the prevalence of anemia among pregnant women, which is associated with reduced work capacity and increased risk of maternal mortality, is estimated at 48 percent.

According to the 2015 African Gender Equality Index, Nigeria ranked 23rd on the continent, behind West-

¹ World Food Programme. *West Africa Gender and Markets Initiative: Working towards Zero Hunger by Empowering West African Women*. <http://resources.vam.wfp.org/node/106>

² World Food Programme. *West Africa Gender and Market Initiative: Case studies*. <http://resources.vam.wfp.org/node/103>

³ Save the Children, World Food Programme, International Rescue Committee. *HEA Urban Baseline Report: Displaced and*

Host Community Livelihoods and Food Security, Borno State, Nigeria. 2017.

⁴ World Bank. *World Development Indicators*. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/>

⁵ World Bank. *World Development Indicators*. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/> Note: Poverty headcount ratio at \$3.10.

African neighbors Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone, and Ghana. While Nigeria ranked 18th for female Economic Opportunities, the country placed 32nd for Human Development, and 30th for Law and Institutions. Although female labor force participation rates in Nigeria are roughly the same as male rates, the labor markets in Nigeria are heavily segregated. Women are more likely than men to take lower-paying employment, be self-employed, or work in the informal sector.⁶

The Conflict in Northeast Nigeria and the Impacts on Women and Livelihoods

The multi-year insurgency led by militant group Boko Haram has devastated Northeast Nigeria, which already had some of the lowest development indicators in the country. Decades of social inequality, lack of access to basic services, and a failed governance system have fueled desperation and frustration, which have manifested as violent religious extremism. An estimated 20,000 lives have been lost as a result of the conflict, with 1.69 million still displaced, of whom over 50 percent are children. UNOCHA estimates that 7 million people are in need of assistance and 450,000 children risk severe acute malnutrition across the three most affected states of Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe. According to recent estimates in March 2017, 50,000 people are still believed to be in famine-like conditions.⁷ Women and girls have been disproportionately affected by the violence. While extremist ideology directly targets girls' rights to health care and education, forced displacement and disruption of traditional livelihoods and markets have increased women's vulnerability.

Traditional socio-cultural gender roles, lower levels of education, and exclusion from social and political

decision-making have rendered women in the Lake Chad Basin vulnerable even before the current crisis.⁸ Environmental pressures on the region, including changing rainfall patterns, and traditional systems of land tenure meant that women had less access to productive resources. Forced displacement and migration have increased the exposure of women and girls to gender-based violence, survival sex, sexual exploitation, and HIV transmission.⁹

Other long-standing risks to women, girls, and boys include human trafficking by international criminal organizations for sex enslavement rings or beggars-networks, and recruitment of youth by terrorist organizations for carrying-out suicide attacks.^{10 11 12}

Displaced women lack access to health care, family planning, and reproductive health services. Migration to urban centers such as Maiduguri has also increased the pressure on host communities, straining scarce resources even more. Camps and temporary shelters increase protection risks for women and girls, and female-headed households including "war widows" face stigma and changing societal roles.

The violence has disrupted markets and traditional livelihood activities including agriculture, livestock rearing, and trade.¹³ Agricultural activities have been prevented and community assets destroyed. Trade, especially the essential cross-border trade with Niger and Cameroon, has been disrupted by the threat of violent attacks and military road closures. Combined with the economic crisis currently hitting the country, including the falling oil price and the depreciation of the Naira, the result has been reduced purchasing power and increased prices for agricultural staples. These disruptions have reduced

⁶ African Gender Equality Index 2015. African Development Bank

⁷ Food Security Cluster. *Cadre Harmonisé*, Nigeria. March 2017

⁸ World Food Programme. Gender and Markets: VAM Case Study – Lake Chad Basin. August 2016

⁹ UNHCR (April 2015). Nigeria Regional Refugee Response Plan: January - December 2015

¹⁰ Olateru-Olagbegi, B., Ikpeme, A., Review of Legislation and Policies in Nigeria on Human Trafficking and Forced Labour. Geneva, UNESCO, 2006.

¹¹ United Nations Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, 19 January 2015. S/PRST/2015/4.

¹² Nagarajan, C. *Managing Conflict in North East Nigeria: Gender Assessment*. June 2017 (manuscript).

¹³ World Food Programme. Lake Chad Basin Crisis. Regional Market Assessment. June 2016

food security and have had a major impact on women.

Women are predominantly involved in agriculture, and have an essential role in post-harvest activities such as milling, grinding, and processing cereal grains. There are other constraints to women's economic participation and empowerment along the value chain and as market players in the region. Women in Northern Nigeria are more likely than men to be small-scale retailers with no employees rather than wholesales.¹⁴ A lack of productive capital and lack of credit are constraints for women in markets, as are security and protection concerns. Insurgents have targeted urban markets in Maiduguri, and young girls specifically have been recruited and coerced into carrying out suicide attacks.

Solutions to the current humanitarian crisis must address its deep roots in inequitable social structures and economic disempowerment. Interventions to empower women to participate in sustainable livelihoods and to support the development of resilient markets align with WFP's mandate to save lives and support local livelihoods in emergencies. Market-based interventions have a key role for supporting women's empowerment, improved nutrition, and human development. Given the importance of street food vending for women's livelihoods, this livelihood activity represents one such area for potential intervention.

WFP Operations in Northeast Nigeria

On-going WFP operations in the Northeast continue to target vulnerable people with food aid and food assistance. WFP is working with more than 18 partners including national agencies and international humanitarian organizations to reach vulnerable populations using a variety of modalities. In July 2017, WFP reached 1.1 million beneficiaries,

with approximately 87 percent receiving food distributions while 15 percent received cash or vouchers. WFP works with partners to provide specialized nutritional food assistance to malnourished children under 2 and to pregnant and lactating women, and with FAO to distribute seeds and tools for livelihood protection.¹⁵

The World Food Programme increasingly utilizes market-based approaches to strengthen and protect livelihoods and during emergencies and to strengthen market resilience to enhance recovery during post-crisis periods. A recent Protection and Gender Risk Assessment in Maiduguri found that market-based interventions support the pride and dignity of beneficiaries there because they avoid the stigma associated with queuing in line for aid distributions.¹⁶ A 2017 Household Economy Approach study by WFP and its partner Save the Children identified the importance of prepared street food as an income-generating activity for women and for urban food security in Maiduguri.¹⁷

The Importance of Street Food in Urban Settings

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) describes street foods as ready-to-eat foods and beverages prepared and/or sold by vendors or hawkers especially in the streets or other similar places.¹⁸ These foods represent a significant part urban food consumption for many urban dwellers, a regular source of income for those engaged in selling, and they have the potential to contribute to food security in urban areas. Nevertheless, there are significant challenges to promoting urban street food for food security, including barriers to credit and capital, food safety and hygiene, sanitation and disposal, traffic congestion, illegal occupation of space, child labor, and social tensions.¹⁹ There is a substantial gap in the knowledge of how

¹⁴ World Food Programme. Lake Chad Basin Crisis. Regional Market Assessment. June 2016

¹⁵ World Food Programme. Nigeria Situation Report #18, July 31, 2017

¹⁶ World Food Programme. *Protection and Gender Risk Assessment in the Context of GBV 2017*

¹⁷ World Food Programme and Save the Children. Displaced and Host Community Livelihoods and Food Security Borno State Nigeria. HEA Urban Baseline Report. 2017.

¹⁸ FAO, Food for the Cities Initiative. "Street Foods." <http://www.fao.org/fcit/food-processing/street-foods/en/>

¹⁹ FAO, *ibid*.

participation in a street food business contributes to women's empowerment in an urban setting, and especially in an emergency context.

Research Methodology

Objectives of the Current Study

This study was conducted to fill the aforementioned knowledge gap by better understanding the dynamics of women's empowerment and street food vending in Maiduguri in order to inform and improve WFP's gender-sensitive programming to improve the food security and well-being of vulnerable people. The objectives of this study include:

- Examine the role of women in the markets with extensive mixed-methods research. Qualitative methods, founded in participatory, feminist approach will include focus groups, interviews, and observations. Quantitative methods founded in a positivist

research approach will utilize semi-structured interviews with closed and open-ended responses.

- Develop and revise context-appropriate market analysis-tools that incorporate gender-specific analysis to better understand the dynamics of women's empowerment and market participation.
- Examine the extent to which WFP is gathering and completing gender-sensitive analysis in its current operations in response to the crisis in Northeast Nigeria.
- Share the findings of the research, along with the data sets produced with WFP and relevant partners.
- Make recommendations for WFP programming in assessments and market-based food assistance.

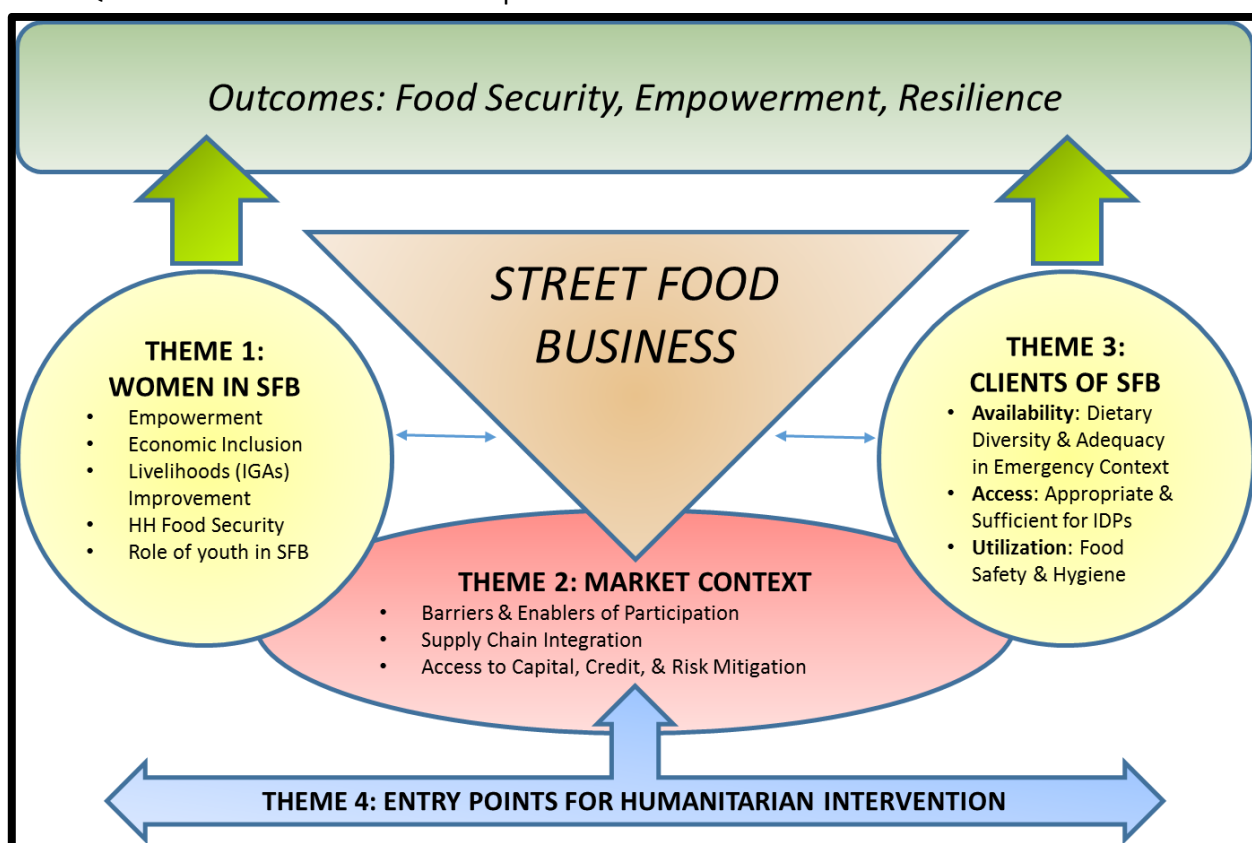


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for Research

Conceptual Framework for Research

The conceptual framework in Figure 1 identifies the four thematic areas that were identified for investigation in this study. Each of the four areas is listed in the following section, with pertinent research questions grouped according to thematic area. The first three thematic areas represent those areas for potential intervention by WFP. In these areas, the study focused on describing and understanding the current dynamics centered around street food businesses. An inclusive approach to research was taken to ensure that participants, especially women, are co-creators in knowledge and in defining empowerment for themselves. The fourth thematic area examined the implications of programmatic interventions and changes of the market structure on food security and women's empowerment. The relationships between these themes, and some of the key issues of interest for each theme, are depicted in the Conceptual Framework.

Theme 1: Focus on women who are active in street food business (SFB): What are the economic, empowerment, and food security implications of participation in an urban street food business?

Theme 2: Focus on the urban street food market structure: What is the structure of urban street food markets, including access to credit, regulations and barriers to entry, supply chains, and competition?

Theme 3: Focus on the clients of street food businesses (SFB): What are the nutritional and food security implications for customers of urban street food businesses, especially those internally displaced by the humanitarian crisis?

Theme 4: Focus on implications of interventions by WFP and other actors in humanitarian response: What are the gaps in current market-based programming, and how do potential interventions affect the three areas identified above, namely: women sellers, the market, and clients of the business?

Specific Research Questions

Theme 1 – Women Economically Active in Street Food Businesses (SFB)

1. What are the characteristics and distinguishing features of SFB's of various size? What do women sell most and to whom?
2. What are the enabling factors and roadblocks (supply chain participation, fees, credit access, startup capital) to achieving economic *inclusion* and market participation? Do these factors come from within or outside the household? How can challenges be made easier to overcome?
3. What are the enabling factors and roadblocks (knowledge, skills, decision-making, productive tools) to economic *empowerment*? Do these factors come from within or outside the household? How can challenges be made easier to overcome?
4. How do women manage and balance their time? What are the reproductive (household or community tasks) faced by women involved in SFBs? Are women involved in other productive tasks or income-generating activities?
5. What is the current household food security situation of women in SFB? Do they resort to coping mechanisms (skipping meals, eating less preferred foods) and do their children suffer from the effects of malnutrition?
6. How do women and communities define empowerment in their own context? Are there economic outcomes (decision over household spending) or social outcomes (pride and local leadership roles) that are important for them?
7. What are the most significant positive and negative impacts of SFB participation? Are there aspects of contextually-defined empowerment that can be identified as resulting from participation?

8. How does the contextually-defined empowerment vary between women working in SFB and women not in SFB?
 9. What is the role of youth in SFB? What specific roles do youth play in the production and selling of street food? Is their participation voluntary or forced? Does their participation affect their ability to go to school or engage socially with other children?
 10. What are the security and protection risks (notably GBV) of women and youth involved in SFB? Do risks arise from the productive activities (ex: staying out in public space late at night) or from the perception of women within households (ex: resentment from husbands or in-laws)?
 11. What array of recipes and dishes can be produced by the women? Which meals are finally selected and why? Are there barriers to actually producing some meals, such as knowledge, training, or availability of ingredients or utensils?
 12. What is the social and environmental footprint of the meals? How is solid/food waste and waste water handled? What is the quality of water used and is it contaminated? Is it treated (boiled, etc.)?
 13. How do women access energy for cooking? What are the protection or other issues surrounding access to energy (for example, from gathering firewood)?
 14. What are the most important needs that women in SFB identify that would allow them improve and scale up their businesses (training, nutrition education, access to credit, permits, licenses, etc.)
- value chain? Are value chains developed or immature, especially for the most important ingredients?
 2. What are the costs of street food meals? Which of these costs come from ingredients and which come from operating expenses? Which meals have the biggest profit margin (markup)? What are the costs arising from taxation and operation fees (formal and informal)?
 3. What would it take to expand and strengthen the supply chains of the most promising ingredients (those with highest demand, profitability, and nutrition)? Are market actors ready and able to respond to scaling-up production of the most promising ingredients?
 4. What are the different gender-specific roles of women and men along the value chain? Are there certain barriers or credentials (education) required for certain roles?
 5. Do young people have specific roles in the markets and value-chains? Is child participation voluntary or forced labor? How many hours do they work and what tasks do they do, according to age and gender? Are there risks associated with those tasks? What is the education level of children and how does their work impact their ability to go to school?
 6. Are there any age, gender, and diversity-specific gaps in supply chain integration? Are certain groups systematically excluded or otherwise prevented from participating in any part of the market?
 7. How do vendors access markets and capital and what are the barriers to doing so? How do vendors decide where to set up their business (safety, convenience, profitability, permission) and who makes those decisions? How do vendors seize new opportunities and build resilience, and what role does gender play?
 8. What adaptation or coping strategies do women employ to mitigate risks?

Theme 2 – Market Context of SFB

1. How are the supply chains and value chains for prepared street foods structured? Are there any gaps in the path of products, especially as related to gender, age, diversity? Are there seasonal barriers and risks for obtaining certain goods along the

9. How many SFB operate in a given area? What is the competition, is there hostility toward new entrants, and how is competition regulated? Do any restaurants consider street food competition, and if so are they hostile toward them?
10. What are the payment methods used and accepted to obtain ingredients, equipment, and secure a space for their business (credit, barter, mobile money, vouchers, etc.).
11. How can VAM market information systems (including mobile data collection) be harnessed to support SFB? What opportunities do women identify for support and how receptive are they likely to be to various interventions?

Theme 3 – Clients and Potential Clients of SFB

1. Who are the primary clients (demographics) of SFB? Is there substantial variation in the type of client (typologies) between geographical locations or kind of street food?
2. Do clients eat street food at the point of sale, or do they carry it for consumption later (at home or at work)? Is street food shared with others (especially family and children)?
3. How often do they consume street food and why (preference, convenience, cost, etc.)? Why do they reject certain street food and choose others instead (cost, hygiene, location, stigma, cultural appropriateness, etc.)?
4. What are their preferences and to what degree are their preferences met by street food? Is it a preferred or less-preferred (coping strategy) food?
5. How do clients perceive the cost of street food? Does it make up a significant portion of their household budget? Would they be willing to pay more for more preferred, safer, or better food?
6. What are the most commonly consumed and requested meals? Are there meals that clients would like (culturally appropriate, or

common back home) but that they are unable to find?

7. What is the nutritional value of the meals and what is their contribution to food security and nutrition for consumers?
8. How do clients perceive the impact of street food on their health and well-being? Do they perceive street food as being safe and sanitary? Have users ever fallen ill due to consumption of street food? If a client falls ill, are they likely to return to that same vendor in the future?
9. How can WFP adapt and improve its operations to leverage the SFB's to better benefit the clients, especially in terms of food and nutrition security, with consideration of affordability and health risks?

Theme 4 – Implications of Market Growth and Interventions by WFP and Other Actors

1. What requirements would need to be met to increase the quantity of daily meals produced by street food businesses? What are the risks resulting from increased quantity (health, hygiene, protection)?
2. What are their vendors' attitudes toward growth and what is their ability to meet the increased demand and production?
3. What requirements would need to be met to increase the quality of daily meals? Are women knowledgeable about nutrition and hygiene? Do they require training? Is there a demand from women or from customers to improve nutritional quality and safety of meals?
4. What are the current gaps in gauging and tracking empowerment with regards to urban markets for street food?
5. How can WFP improve its operations (especially assessments and programming) in Nigeria to leverage the potential of street food and to meet the needs of street food vendors and clients?

6. What are the protection risks and consequences (notably gender-based violence affecting women, girls, and boys) of interventions in street food markets? What are the factors that lead to these risks (location, time of day, public perception or stigma, coercion by powerful actors, etc.)?
7. How could these risks be eliminated if labor or work arrangements were formalized (and regulated) and supply chains strengthened?

Research Methods

The methodology for answering the above research questions utilized a mixed-methods approach consisting of desk review of existing literature, documents, and secondary data, and primary data collection in Nigeria. Desk review of secondary data and existing literature from WFP, partners, academic research, and other relevant sources took place prior to field data collection and throughout the course of the research. This emergent design allowed the researchers to identify themes for investigation, but also to contextualize new themes that may arise from the data collection.

Primary data collection took place in urban street food markets, host communities, and camps for internally-displaced people (IDPs) in Maiduguri in September-October 2017. Data collection and analysis consisted of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Qualitative research methods utilized a participatory, non-extractive, feminist approach grounded in anthropological and sociological research traditions. This approach de-emphasizes existing power structures and the role of the researcher as an “expert” and allows the respondents (mostly women) to become co-creators of knowledge and meaning. Qualitative methods used include focus group discussions (FGDs), participant-observation, and in-depth interviews with key informants.

This methodology incorporates the concept of “meal security,”²⁰ which structurally reframes the concept of “food security” by putting gender and nutrition at the center. In this paradigm, the most relevant questions emerge from focusing on who transforms food into edible meals, as well as on the physical conditions and the knowledge necessary to enable the transformation. This allows a direct focus on the factors that turn preferences into choices, and it facilitates a people-centered and a gender-responsive approach to researching and programming for food security.

Interviews and focus group discussions were recorded using digital recorders and transcribed by the research team into English language. Transcriptions were analyzed through a process of coding and grouping themes using qualitative data analysis techniques. Quantitative research methods supplemented the qualitative approach by providing tools for empirically testing theories that emerged from the desk review and from the on-going participatory qualitative research. Quantitative methods for data collection included semi-structured interviews on participant demographics, preferences, value chain structure, nutrition, and other relevant themes. Data was recorded on both paper surveys and using the Open Data Kit application (ODK) on tablets. Data was entered in Excel and STATA software and analyzed using descriptive statistics as necessary supplement the qualitative analysis.

Procedures for Protection of Human Subjects

This research worked with vulnerable groups, including internally-displaced people, children, and individuals that have experienced gender-based and other forms of violence. As such, the study strictly adhered to all WFP and UN guidelines as well as international best practices for ethical data collection and the protection of human subjects in research. Prior to commencing data collection, the

²⁰ Teherani-Kroenner, Parto (1999). “Women in Rural Production, Household and Food Security: An Iranian Perspective”. In U. Kracht / M. Schulz (eds.) Food Security and

Nutrition – The Global Challenge, Lit Publication, New York, pp. 189-218.

research team worked to establish trust with authority figures, community leaders, and respondents, and to ensure community support.

Every effort was taken to minimize disruption to participants' daily lives and physical setting. Qualitative and quantitative data collection adhered to the principles of voluntary participation, harmlessness, and non-coercion. Researchers disclosed to participants the purpose of the study and obtained informed consent prior to participation, as well as for audio recording and photography.

The researcher team worked closely with group leaders and other authority figures to avoid coercion and to assure women that their choice to participate or not will not have any impact on the eligibility to receive future benefits. Although this research did not ask specific women whether they have been victims of GBV or other forms of violence, these and other issues of protection arose occasionally during group discussions. To mitigate the risk of these discussions being difficult for participants, discussions took place in a trusting, communal, and non-extractive setting²¹ where women are co-creators of knowledge, allowing their voices to be heard. Anonymity and confidentiality were maintained throughout data collection and storage. Personal identifiers will be removed from surveys and notes so that it is not possible link an individual with a given responses.

The participatory approach used in this research may empower women by providing a platform for their voices to be heard, and by providing self-reflection opportunities. After several interviews, women considered their experiences from a different perspective, saying that they felt "encouraged by being interviewed" and that they were now "aware of the necessities in business and the value of hygiene."

Full implementation of a non-extractive approach would include sharing the findings back with all study participants and involving them in future programming. Resources constraints and field realities mean that it may not be possible to share findings with individual participants. Nevertheless, the findings will be disseminated to WFP partners and local organizations who facilitated community visits, and will benefit the participants by improving WFP and partner programming.

Research Team Composition

The primary research team consisted of two international consultants and four locally-recruited researchers. One international consultant traveled to Maiduguri to conduct the field work In September and October 2017. A full schedule of activities conducted during field work is included on the appendix. Three of the four national researchers were women, and researchers were selected for their experience and training in qualitative research approaches (anthropology, sociology, and gender), their experience with community facilitation, and their skills in local languages.

Research Sites and Sampling

Sampling Determination

This research utilized a purposive sampling approach to select participants for the study. In purposively sampling, cases and group participants are selected according to their characteristics and criteria to achieve the goals of the research. Cases in the sample are selected because they are information-rich and have specific characteristics of interest. Some of the specific characteristics of interest in this study were participation in street food vending, IDP status, residence in camps vs. host communities, size of IDP camp, geographic location, and gender. Focus group discussion participants were selected to achieve homogeneity in characteristics of interest

²¹ An "extractive" research setting is one in which participants are seen as objects of investigation, valuable only because they reveal information useful to the researcher. Once data collection is complete, the extractive researcher leaves and does not share the findings with the community. Extractive

research can be disempowering and harmful to the population. By contrast, "non-extractive" research allows participants to express their voice, allowing them to create knowledge and truth. In non-extractive research, the findings are ultimately used to benefit the community.

(for example, “all female IDPs living in a large camp”). The purposive sampling technique is considered ideal for research with the following characteristics: is primarily qualitative, is exploratory, has limited financial and time resources, is used to provide illustrative example for comparisons, lacks a comprehensive sampling frame, has a difficult-to-reach population; and has a small target size.²² Each of these criteria were met to some degree in the present study.

The sample size and target number of interviews/focus group discussions for this research was selected to achieve theoretical saturation, or “information redundancy,” subject to resource and time constraints and other practicalities in the field. Theoretical saturation occurs when additional interviews or focus groups no longer provide new information about the properties of interest of the target group. However, the sample size must also be big enough to avoid discovery failure (missing out on key pieces of information within the population). Maximum Variation Sampling was employed to select sites and respondents with diverse characteristics that are relevant for the study. Triangulation between multiple data sources was used to achieve internal validity.

Characteristics Used in Site Selection

- **Geography:**
 - Urban centrality (urban, intermediate urban, lower urban, or peri-urban)
 - Proximity to city center vs. outer roads to major cities
 - Geographic spread across area (maximize variation and representation)
 - Length of Displacement: non-displaced, recently displaced (< 3 years), long-displaced (3+ years)
- **Permanence of Markets:** Host Community (pre-existing markets) vs. IDP camps
- **Magnitude** of camps: large (over 1,000 HH) vs. small

- **Status:** Formal (Administered by government Emergency Management Agencies) vs. informal
 - **Provenance** (LGA of origin). Camp location is a proxy (i.e. camp along major road will house people from that region)
 - Within camps, participants will be selected to represent a variety of LGA’s of origin
- **SFB Vendors vs. Clients:** Clients identified and approached at point of sale
- **Access:** Community contacts and trust, security approval

Research Sites and Participants

The research was conducted in 16 total sample sites, 8 of which were primary sites selected for extended visits with focus group discussions (20-32 total participants per site). The remaining sites were accessed for interviews with vendors and clients, and for observations (3-19 participants per site). Of the 8 primary sites, they included 4 IDP camps and 4 host communities. All sites are listed below in Table 1.

A total of 294 individual respondents, of whom 68 percent were female, participated in this study. Sixteen Focus Group Discussions were conducted, totaling 160 participants, of whom 81 percent were female (31 female FGDs). A semi-structured survey was given to 103 street food vendors, of whom 69 percent were female and 66 percent were Internally-Displaced People. Finally, a survey was administered to 31 clients, all of whom were male.

In addition to the above participants, key informant interviews were held with representatives from WFP and other UN agencies, local and international NGOs, camp managers, community leaders, local authorities, and gender experts. A full list of community contacts and partners is provided in the appendix. Participant-Observation took place at each interaction and study site.

²² Daniel, J. (2012) Sampling Essentials: Practical guidelines for making sampling choices. Washington, DC: Sage Publications.

NO	COMMUNITY NAME	CHARACTERISTICS	FGDS	VENDOR SURVEYS	CLIENT SURVEYS
1	Shagari Lowcost	Peri-urban Host community, north	2	10	0
2	Garba Buzu Quarters	Small, informal IDP camp	2	12	0
3	Gwange III	Host Community, central urban	2	0	0
4	Shehuri North	Host Community, central urban	2	12	0
5	Bakasi Camp	Large formal IDP camp, south	2	12	0
6	Teacher's Village Camp	Large, Formal IDP Camp, urban	2	0	0
7	Farm Center Camp	Large, Formal IDP Camp, east	2 (1 Male)	15	0
8	Samaritan Care Office	Vendors of various origin	2 (2 Male)	12	0
9	Moduganari Bypass	Clients in busy urban area	0	5	14
10	Bank of the North	Clients in busy urban area	0	1	7
11	Pompomari Bypass	Vendors at busy traffic circle	0	4	0
12	Bulumkutu Abuja	Clients/ Vendors in urban area	0	3	0
13	Jiddari Polo	Clients/ Vendors in urban area	0	4	0
14	Shuwari Damboa Rd	Clients/ Vendors in urban area	0	9	0
15	777 Housing Estate	Clients/ Vendors in urban area	0	4	0
16	Central MMC (Includes Federal Secretariat Maiduguri, Gomari Bus Stop, and Post Office Area)	Clients in the busy urban center	0	0	10
TOTAL			16	103	31

Table 1: Name and Characteristics of Research Sites, September-October 2017

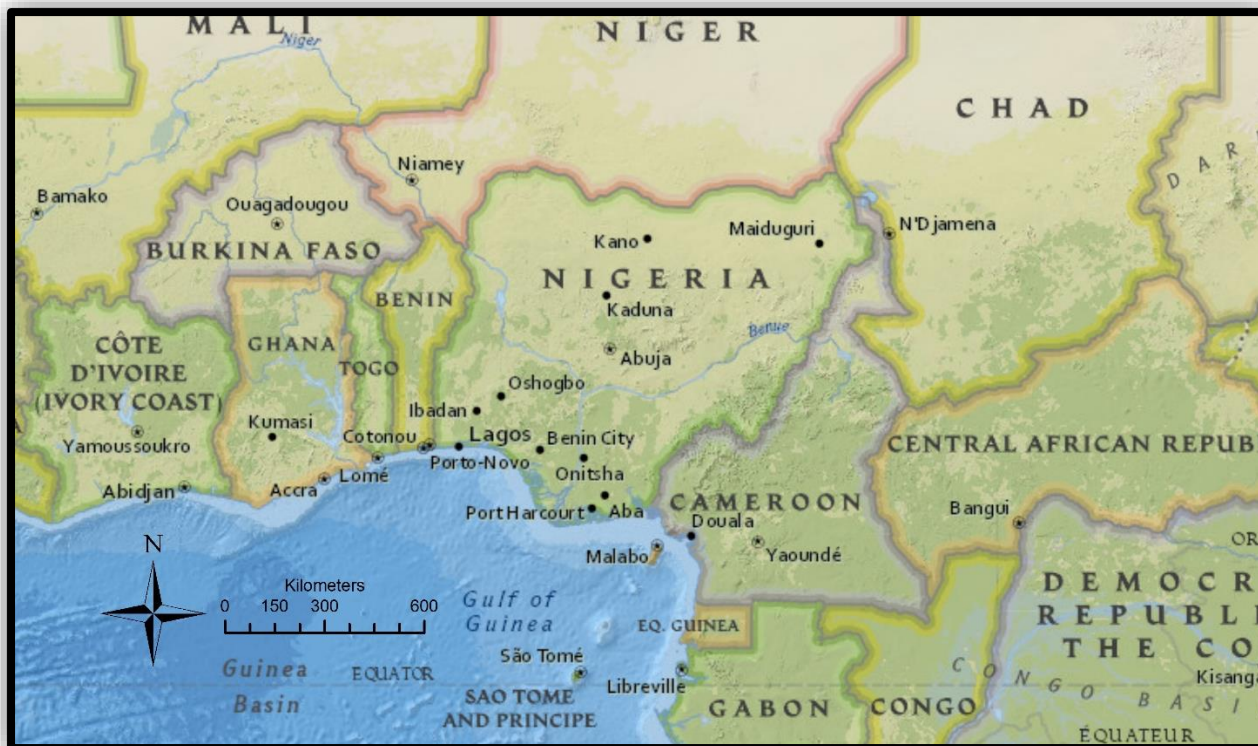


Figure 2: Nigeria Country Map and Maiduguri City Location

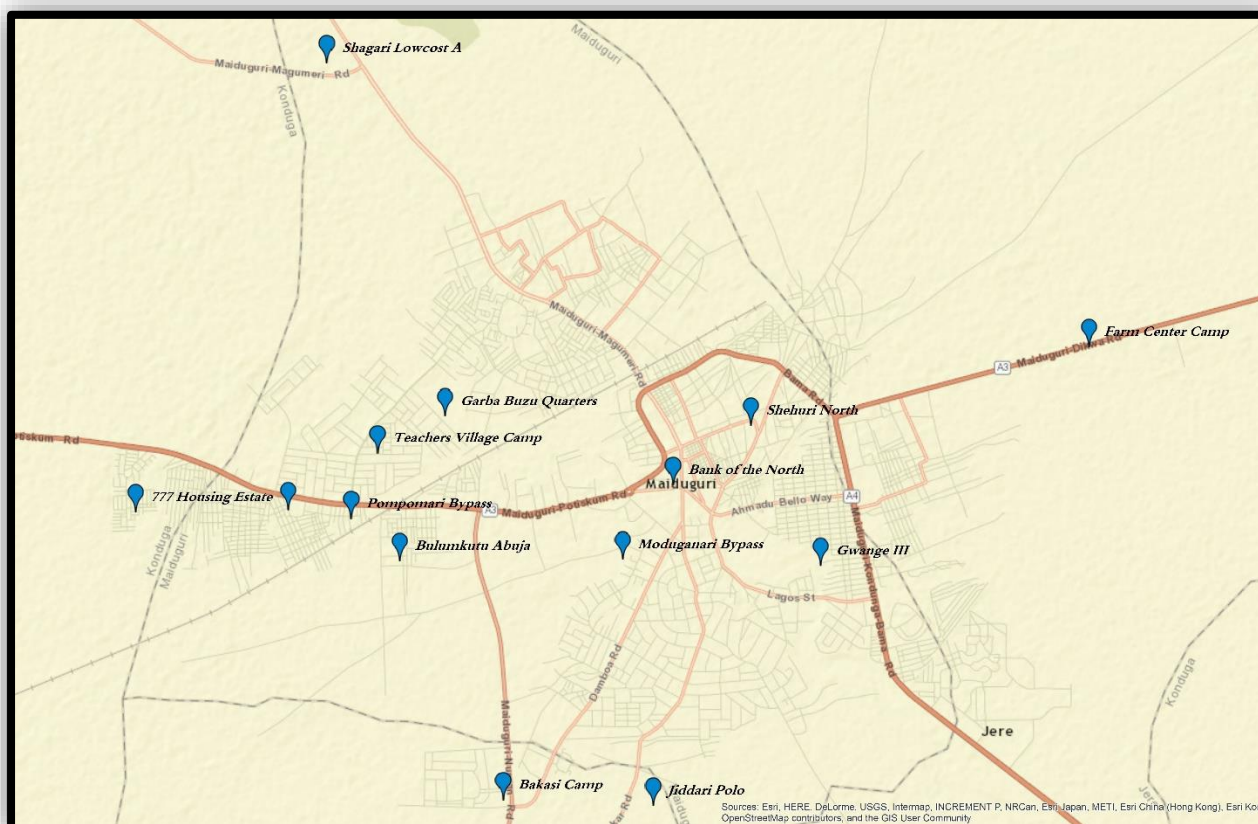


Figure 3: Maiduguri City Map Displaying Locations of Research Sites

Limitations to the Research

As with all research, there were theoretical and practical limitations faced in this study. There are external validity limitations to the qualitative approach that was used for the research. Because of the scope of this project and the qualitative approach select to meet the study goals, the sample size is not statistically representative of all women and men street food vendors in the geographical area. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to the larger population of Maiduguri.

In all qualitative research, there is a chance that the presence of the research can bias the behaviors and responses of participants. There is also the possibility that respondents were biased by the presence of the authority figures, expectations of receiving aid, or other internal power dynamics in the community.

In certain cases, the Bulama, or community head, was observed listening in on focus groups discussions and individual interviews, which likely influenced the participants' abilities to speak freely. In such case, the individual was respectfully asked to allow the participants to talk to the researchers in private. In other communities, it is suspected that local leaders may have exhibited favoritism in

selection of participants, in the hopes that they would be receiving assistance. To mitigate the risks posed by these non-inclusive power structures, the research team tried to work through women leaders whenever possible, and to make it clear that there was no distribution taking place and that participation had no effect on one's future ability to receive aid. However, it was impossible to eliminate these elements entirely.

Security restrictions and safety considerations were paramount during field research. Several areas of the city that were targeted for data collection were not cleared by WFP security, and therefore the voices of individuals in these areas were not heard. The safety of the field research team was also a priority. In two communities, Gwange III and Teachers Village Camp, the research team had to leave before individual interviews could be conducted, because community members had expectations of receiving an aid distribution. As a result, large crowds gathered, making it impossible to conduct interviews in an orderly fashion. Finally, because the research was conducted in several local languages (Hausa and Kanuri) and translated into English, there is inevitably some nuance and meaning that was lost during translation.



Photo: Women in Shagari Lowcost host community participate in a Focus Group Discussion. Greg Sclama.

Sector committees
Central Working committee

History of the Camp		DELIVERIES		Sectors Activities		Sec. Personnel	
The camp was established on 25 th January, 2015 with population of 4,763, from Monguno L.G.A. influx of IDPs are recorded as a result of Military activities in the liberated areas and consolidation of IDPs who are taking refuge at various collective centers has rise the population to 32,203 with 6,012 households.		Pregnant Women	15/10 PER WEEK	WASH		NA	7/N
		Lactating Mothers	3201	No. of Boreholes	27	NIS	4
		Separated Children	2254	No. of non-functioning Borehole	17	NPF	98
		Orphans	140	No. of Solar Borehole	8	NSCDC	48
		Unaccompanied	361	No. of Hand-pump	6	Vigilante group	
		DEATH	86	No. of Latrines	995	BOYES/civilian	
		Physically Challenged	1	No. of non-functioning Latrines	45	PC	10
		Blind	4	No. of Bathrooms	808	There are five (5) NOA/WAI brigades	
		Deaf	20	No. of non-functioning Bathrooms	50		
		LEPER	68	DAILY WATER CONSUMPTION	360,000 LITERS		
		Mentally disorder	17	General sanitation	once in a week		
		Health Condition		Shelter			
		H.I.V./Aids	2001	Total number of shelter	2,760		
		Diabetic	97	UNHCR	1,235		
		High blood pressure	2,113	IOM/NEMA	750		
		Asthmatic	6	PCNI	233		
		TUBERCULO SIS	6	NRC	72		
		Quarantined & discharge		IRC	30		
				Housing Estate	400		

Bakasi IDP camp update as at 10 th JULY 2017			
1. Gweza L.G.A.		4. Monguno L.G.A.	
Men	2061	Men	1510
Women	2953	Women	2352
Boys	2511	Boys	1923
Girls	2802	Girls	2009
Total	10,327	Total	7,794
2. Guzamala L.G.A.		5. Nganzai L.G.A.	
Men	454	Men	106
Women	617	Women	193
Boys	640	Boys	118
Girls	755	Girls	123
Total	2,466	Total	540
3. Marte L.G.A.		Total in camp	
Men	2214	Men	6345
Women	3449	Women	9534
Boys	2488	Boys	7678
Girls	2957	Girls	8646
Total	11,076	Total	32,203

Photo: Bakasi IDP camps hosts over 30,000 internally-displaced people from the region. Greg Sclama.



Photo: Men share their experiences with the research team in the Farm Center IDP Camp. Greg Sclama.

1. Characteristics of Street Food Markets in Maiduguri

Startup Procedures and Capital Requirements

To start a street food business in Maiduguri, one must first obtain the required start-up capital. The amounts required vary between men and women. Most of this capital will be used to procure ingredients, fuel, and equipment although many women use the same equipment that they use for cooking at home. The reported startup capital requirements for most of the women's street food business (SFB) were relatively small, ranging from 1000-3000 Naira, and rarely exceeding 5000 Naira.²³

Many women received startup capital from family, friends, or neighbors as a gift, although occasionally some used the term "borrow," indicating an obligation for repayment. No women reported getting assistance to start from an NGO or other agency, and none reported borrowing using the formal financial system nor borrowing at interest. Some women raised the capital by saving money from other income-generating activities such as cap-making or raising chickens, while a number reported selling assets such as furniture, ceramics, and other belongings.

Although startup capital represents the main hurdle, after meeting the capital requirements, the startup procedures are relatively simple. Women need to find a location to sell, and many simply sell in front of their homes, or cook at home and have children hawk on the street for them. Few women who do sell in public places reported any negative pressure from authorities or from competitors when they start, indicating that new entrants face low barriers to entry. Men's SFB are more formally organized, and nearly all of them reported having to pay regular taxes beside a start-up fee, which poses a barrier to entry given the current economic climate.

Additional challenges to new entrants include establishing trust with retailer to buy ingredients on credit (the importance of buying on credit is discussed later), and building a consistent customer base, as many customers prefer to frequent the same vendors over time (consumer preferences are also discussed in more detail below).

Male vendors also remarked on the importance of having a "large" startup capital, sometimes in amounts 10 times as high as those reported by women (upwards of 50,000 Naira). A number of men reported getting startup money from an "inheritance," a theme that was not mentioned at all by women. Some men did say that they borrowed the capital, while others worked other jobs or sold assets such as a cow. Some men reported that they received the gift of startup capital from the same people from whom they learned the trade, thus representing a kind of vocational apprenticeship, which may be a service provided and likely paid back later.

As with women, for men startup capital represents a hurdle for new entrants as well as a significant liability. One man explained to the research team that selling suya is "all about capital." He reported that he borrowed startup capital from a friend but lost the money in his business. The man explained that after losing the loan, "[The friend] reported me to the police, and I was prosecuted and arraigned before a court of law. Since then I knew if you don't have capital you can't go into business."

Size of Operations and Employees

Street food business are typically small operations, with the proprietor as the only employee. For both women and men, a little over half (57 percent) of respondents indicated that they run their business alone, without assistance. For those who do utilize assistance (paid or unpaid), by far the most common type of association was help from a family member.

²³ At the time of the study, the exchange rate was stable at approximately 1 USD = 360 Naira.

Women were likely to use children to assist with their business. Many women explained that their children, especially daughters help with secondary tasks such as sweeping, dishwashing, and hawking. Young boys may also assist their mothers, but above a certain age, boys no longer work with them, as the business is highly gendered and women's trades are not considered suitable for men. Several women also pay a small amount to "almajiri," itinerant boys who attend Quranic schools and rely heavily on street begging, to go out and hawk leftovers at the end of the day. The central role of youth will be discussed in detail later.

For business run by men, it is common that an older son, a brother, or another man will assist with the business. These employee relationships tend to be more formal and to be remunerated. Men were more likely to use business-oriented words like "hired," "paid," "staff," and "employee" to describe their work relationships, and several men explained that they themselves learned the trade while working for someone else. One man said that he hired four staff whom he pays 500 Naira each at the end of the day. Some women, meanwhile, lamented that they would hire staff, but they do not have the capital.

Sale Locations, Fees, and Market Control

Location of Street Food Business Operations

As one would expect, street food is sold across a wide range of locations in the urban Maiduguri area. Among female participants of this study, it was commonly found that food is either prepared and sold in a public space (often along a busy traffic route), or is prepared close to home. For those who prepare food at home, they usually sell either very close to their house or they package the food to be carried and sold in busy areas away from the house.

Those who sell along busy traffic routes have the luxury of mobility, may have a wheelbarrow to transport their ingredients, and can often afford the fare for a keke napep (a three-wheel motor rickshaw taxi). Others may face practical and social limitations on their movements, requiring them to sell near the

home. This group may not have the financial resources to pay for the transportation. In one focus group discussion, a respondent explained that she cooks at home because she does not have enough money to rent a secure location elsewhere. Preparing food at home also means that women do not have to transport cooking equipment and may eliminate security issues, such as theft of the equipment. In addition, some IDP camps themselves represents a bustling marketplace where women may not have to travel far to find customers.

However, many women cook and sell near the home because they face restrictions on their mobility. One such group is IDPs who have limitations on their movement in and out of the camps for security reasons. Others face cultural and religious restrictions. In traditional communities such as Gwange III, a woman needs the permission of her husband to leave the house to conduct her business. If he denies permission she is unable to leave the house to access more profitable sales locations. In a traditional community, a woman who is divorced or widowed may have restricted mobility, while in other instances they may have increased mobility because they do not need to ask permission. While some may be able to find a busy market outside their door, other women commonly will have their son or daughter take the prepared food to a busy area to sell. Women expressed the challenges that they face, explaining, "Selling at home we face the issue of few costumers and low patronage." These mobility restrictions for some women mean not only that the markets they can reach are limited, but there may also be protection and security issues when children are out hawking alone.

Over 90 percent of respondents said that they decide where to sell themselves, although several said their location is determined by "market demand." Very few indicated that a community leader or authority figure decides where they operate; one women said that she was given her location by the *bulama*, the community head.

Means of Transportation and Mobility

The majority of study participants are selling at a location that is close to their home. Ninety percent of respondents reported that their commute takes 30 minutes or less, while 60 percent reported that it takes under ten minutes. This figure reflects the very high number of women, especially in camps, who sell in front of their house. The most common means of transportation by far was walking, followed by using a keke napep taxi. Very few reported any other means of transport, although some respondents also use push-cart to transport their equipment. Ninety-seven percent of survey respondents said that their means of transport was sufficient, and 95 percent of respondents cited that security was not a concern when transporting commodities for their business.

Market Access, Control, and Fees

Most women access the location for selling street food through informal arrangements, both those within IDP camps and those who sell throughout the city. Accordingly, market control was very decentralized and informal among the populations surveyed. Participants were asked who controls the location where they sell, and many women identified “myself” if they sell in front of their own houses or within the IDP camps. Other responses included “camp officials” or “government” if they are living in a formal IDP administered by the State Emergency Management Agency.

However even in these cases, the actual extent of market control by these authorities, in terms of regulating business and charge fees, appears to be quite low. The low level of market control may be beneficial for women, especially new entrants to the marketplace; few respondents reported any challenges with market access. Some respondents living in the host community described a “formal” arrangement if the Borno State Housing Cooperative controls the area, if they rent space, or sell in a shop. Arrangements described as “formal” were more likely to be the ones in which vendors had to pay a regular fee to access the location.

Approximately 33 percent of all respondents pay a fee to access their location of sale. While 16 percent of women pay a fee, 69 percent of men pay a fee, indicating a higher level of formality and structure in the markets in which men operate. This more structured, formalized arrangement for men may have a protective effect in that they may have a more legitimate or legal claim to their space, and thus may be less subject to informal bribes or extortion because they have official permission. As one man explained, “once you give the fees to the housing cooperation office, a tent or shop will be located.”

Of the few women who reported paying a fee, most paid 500 Naira or less per month. Although rare in this sample, several women did report in conversations that they are subject to extortion or bribes by unknown individuals claiming to be authority figures who visit them without warning and demand a tax. For men who pay a fee, most fall in the range of 1,000-1,500 Naira per month. Some men who rent a large shop or permanent facility reported paying upwards of 30,000 Naira per month to government regulators at the local, state, and federal levels.

Supply Chain Structure

Most women procure ingredients for their business from the larger city markets, including the Monday Market, Custom Market, Bullumkutu, and Baga Road Market. In most cases, access to markets was not found to be a barrier. There were few reported security issues with purchasing ingredients, although bombing attacks were previously a concern during the height of the insurgency period.

In some host communities, such as Gwange III, women are buying from small markets in the neighborhood. They say that there is not much price difference between the small outlets and the larger markets, and they cannot afford the transportation. The cost of transportation to the main market was a theme that came up in many discussions as a barrier to procuring ingredients. In IDP camps, some vendors buy their ingredients within the camp or from shops right outside. Some IDPs also report

using ingredients from aid rations in their meals and from buying from the rations of other IDPs. Male suya (roasted meat) vendors reported buying their meat in abattoirs, at the cow market, and from a butcher.

There are several significant gender divisions along the supply chain for ingredients for street food businesses. The retail shops from whom the women vendors buy raw ingredients are run exclusively by men, while women only occupy positions at the final point of the value chain as vendors. The minimum and maximum price of ready to eat food also varies significantly between women's and men's SFB, as products are quite different, with women's meals being based mostly on cereals and legumes, while meat and fish based dishes are only sold by men.

Women also expressed having a more difficult time procuring ingredients than men. Among men, 91 percent of respondents said that their supply is sufficient, while only 72 percent of women claimed

the same (Figure 4). Ingredients that women vendors have trouble procuring at certain times include beans, groundnut, grasshopper, oil, firewood, vegetables, soybean, yams, beans flour, and palm kernel oil. However, for most of these ingredients it is not an issue of availability per se, but rather that women lack sufficient capital to purchase them in bulk on a regular basis, especially in the face of ingredient price fluctuations and unpredictable sales. Many women within camps cited high prices, while many women in host communities also describe price volatility. This leads to an inability to plan accurately for purchase, especially when they receive insufficient cash from sales at the end of the day, and therefore cannot repay their obligations for ingredients bought on credit. Some women may even resort to buying small quantities several times per day as a coping strategy, which has a significant impact on time availability for both productive and reproductive tasks.

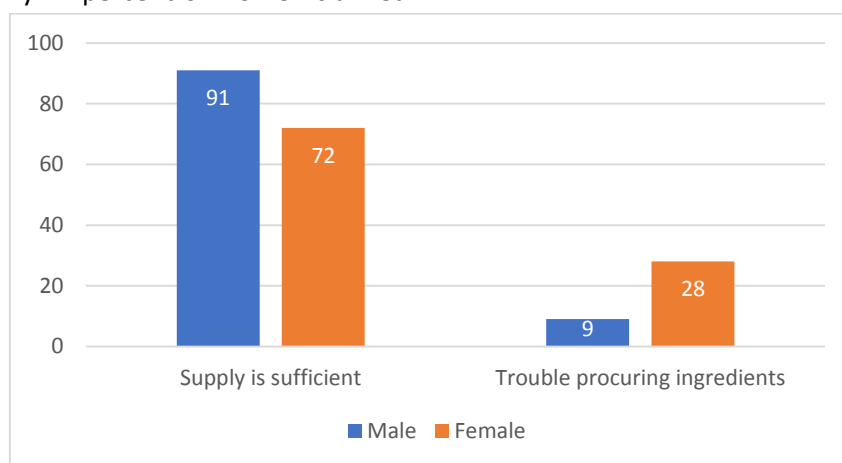


Figure 4: Is your supply sufficient to meet your needs for selling food, or do you have trouble procuring ingredients?

Access to Financial Services

Access to and use of formal financial services such as loans, savings, and insurance was nearly non-existent among the participants in this study. There are many social, cultural, and religious and economic barriers to participation in the formal financial sector.

In the local conservative customs surrounding the interpretation of Islamic traditions that dominate Borno State, there are taboos against women borrowing money, especially at interest. For most

women, participation in the formal financial sector is not considered within the realm of possibility. One woman summarized her feelings succinctly as, "I'm scared of that." In addition to the religious restrictions, some women expressed that they cannot get a loan because of their lack of education, or because of the size of their business. "Because my business is small," one woman explained, "I could not get a loan." In the absence of such service, many women rely on gifts from family members, although

others said that they cannot borrow from others because everyone is facing hardship.

Although some women suggested that men selling street food would have better access to financial services, no men in this study reported using financial services or products. The most important barriers faced by men are likely also economic. As one suya-seller recounted, “I applied for a microfinance loan but could not get it.” Another man described his challenges, saying, “Economically I am less empowered. I have no means of getting a loan, and I don't have collateral.”

Competition, Product Differentiation, and Meeting Customer Demand

Street food markets in Maiduguri carry many of the economic characteristics of perfect competition. There are low barriers to entry, low product differentiation, each individual seller has a small market share, and she has little power to set the price at which she sells. Many women respond to these market pressures by competing on portion size and price. A number of women reiterated that “there is nothing unique in what we sell,” and that their product is “nothing special, we all make the same things.” Nevertheless, some vendors do try to differentiate their products by attention to hygiene or by innovating on their recipe. Women noted the importance of their operation appearing clean and hygienic to attract customers. Some described preparing their meals in a “special way,” or using extra spices, maggi, tomatoes, and onions to “make it tasty.” Several women agreed that their “recipes are the same, but how you do it changes. [One must take] care of the process.”

Some vendors displayed more innovation. In Bakasi IDP Camp, many of the residents were displaced from Gwoza LGA. Women in the camp make a fried soyabean food that was very popular in Gwoza. One woman who is not from Gwoza used to make akara, but she learned the soyabean recipe from other women living in the camp. She then innovated with own spice recipe, and she reported that her product is even more now popular than the others.

Male vendors generally remarked that products are similar with no difference between them. However, one respondent was proud of his unique process. He explained, “I make two different kinds of tea with different ingredients. You always use more ingredients and spices to draw the attention of your customers to patronize you.”

Competition between vendors is generally cordial, as women often relate to each other as having shared a similar experience, often coming from the same communities, and facing the same hardships. Occasionally women encounter antagonism in the market place. One explained, “Some [competitors] will discourage their customers from buying from you, by telling them that you are dirty.” There may also be a strong gendered element where wives perceive women sellers as competitors for their husbands’ loyalty. As one vendor explained, “Some women are not comfortable with their husbands buying from us [because we are widows], so they spoil the market for us.”

Male vendors on the contrary are very aware and worried about competition, remarking that they compete among each other to attract the attention of customers to their business. They also remarked that the influx of IDPs has negatively affected their sales because many IDPs have entered the street food market and create competition.

Client Characteristics, Food Preferences, and Spending Patterns

Demographics of Customer Groups

Street food in Maiduguri is regularly consumed by a wide range of demographic groups. Vendors in communities located near the army barracks, school grounds, factories, or other organizations see many clients from those institutions. The Shagari Lowcost community, for example, is located on the northern boundary of the urban area near the army barracks. Vendors there said that many soldiers purchase from them and that farmers buy food and bring it to their farms. Vendors in Pompomari Bypass sell to workers

at the nearby Coca-Cola bottling plant, who pre-order and bring their food to the factory.

Children represent a major customer group for near all vendors, which underscores the central role of street food in children's diets. In camps where the economy may be very depressed and the market otherwise small, women still sell akara to children or to their mothers in the morning before school. Other IDPs also reported selling to their "neighbors in the camp." Nearly all vendors reported selling to male traders, laborers, and construction workers, as well as police and civil servants. Among this demographic is young unmarried men. Male vendors explained that this group buys indomie and egg (the least expensive meal), and that for them street food is "an easy way to eat since they don't cook." Some vendors were unaware of their customers because they cook at home while their children go out to sell the products.

A client survey was administered to thirty-one customers patronizing street food vendors in several busy market areas on weekday afternoons. Although the findings are not statistically representative of the broader population, the demographics of the sample do align with the vendor's accounts, and their responses provide important insight into the patterns and preferences of street food customers.

The sample consisted only of men, ages 18-49, with an average age of 31. Research was conducted in an area with many auto repair shops, therefore livelihoods of the group include car dealers, mechanics, and spare parts dealers. Other livelihoods represented in the sample include keke napep driver, teacher, civil servant, laborer, trader, and wheel barrow pusher. Fifty-five percent of men sampled completed secondary education and 13 percent completed university, and only a small proportion (6 percent) of those surveyed are IDPs.

The sample was split, with roughly half of the men married and half single. Only 58 percent of the men have children, with the average number of children among them being 4. Forty-four percent of the men with children said that their children also eat street

food. For those whose children eat street food, it was equally common that the children buy the street food themselves and that their fathers purchase it for them. While the predominant client groups appear to be men, vendors in across the city stressed that their businesses were patronized by all groups of people, including women.

Client Buying Behaviors and Meal Preferences

Most female vendors said that there is no clear pattern to the purchasing preferences of different demographics groups, rather all groups tend to purchase all kinds of food. Nevertheless, the male the male vendors and some key informants suggested that men and women consume different street foods, especially regarding meat dishes which are subject to social taboos.

Male indomie sellers said that women and children are their main customers. Suya (roasted meat) vendors, however confirmed that their customers are mostly men. "The people that mostly buy are men because some women don't feel comfortable to buy meat on the street." "Only men eat here," one vendor explained. "The women do not eat street food." Another explained that men eat rice and beans and other dishes that are consumed on-site, while women by contrast patronize take-away food. Another vendor attributed to the pattern to household responsibilities, stating that women eat at home because they cook there. Price may also play a role in food preferences, as women commonly buy inexpensive cereal-based foods like awara and akara, often for their children, while men purchase meat products.

Customers may eat street food on-site or take it away to their place of employment, home, or school. When customers purchase take-away, the vendors package the food in a polythene bag or they may charge the customer extra for a plastic take-away container with lid (Figure 5). Of the survey sample, 87 percent reported that they usually eat on-site, 10 percent take-away to eat later, and 3 percent do both equally. Sharing of food is also a common behavior. A quarter of clients explained that they

sometimes share their food or buy for others if they have enough money, often work colleagues and family members.



Figure 5: Danwake packaged in a polythene bag for take-away consumption. Photo: Greg Sclama.

Customers surveyed typically displayed a high reliance on street food and strong loyalty to repeat patronage at the same vendors. In the sample, 36

percent said that they eat street food 6-7 times per week, while an additional 39 percent said that they eat street food every day (Figure 6). Customers have a high degree of loyalty to their preferred vendors: 36 percent reported eating at the same vendor 6-7 times per week, and 26 percent reported eating at that vendor for every meal (Figure 7). This relationship is very beneficial for vendors who develop a reliable customer base on whom they can count for daily business, which aids in planning how much to buy on credit. Customers will often call their preferred vendor's mobile phone to place an advanced order or to ask them to hold food if they are running late. Vendors assure repeat patronage by extending credit to customers, allowing them to pay for meals later after they receive their pay (discussed in more detail below).

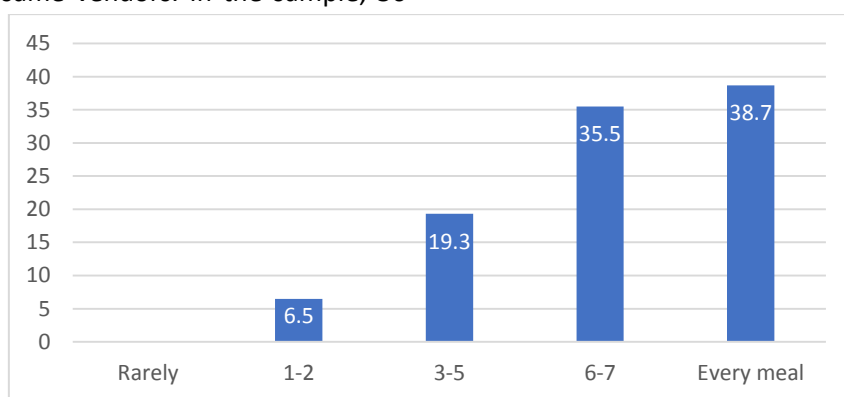


Figure 6: How many times per week do you eat street food (any vendor)?

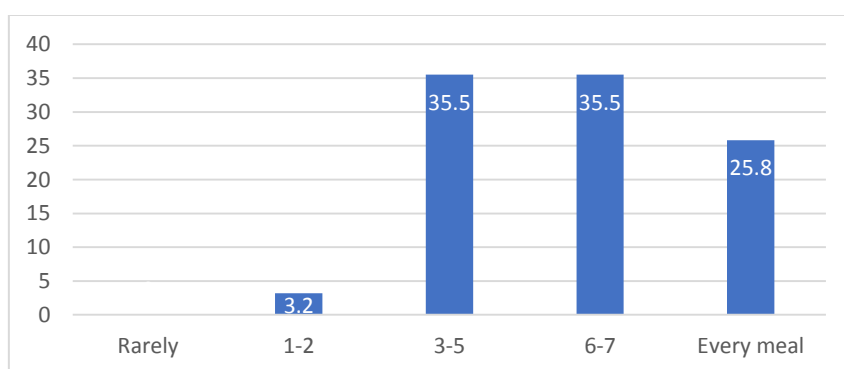


Figure 7: How many times per week do you eat street food from this vendor?

Customers select which street food vendors to patronize based on several criteria, most importantly taste, or how “good” they perceive the food. The next most commonly-reported preferences were

sanitary conditions and low price. Customers also prefer a vendor that is convenient, and that they know and trust, all of which is consistent with

vendors' own perceptions of their customers' preferences (Figure 8).

A wide variety of street foods are consumed in Maiduguri. Some of the most common customer favorites are akara, rice and beans, couscous, masa, danwake, jollof rice, indomie, suya, and spaghetti. Customers mostly reported that they perceive their meals as delicious, nutritious, healthy, and sanitary (Figure 9).

While customers displayed a high degree of satisfaction with the existing offer of foods, 58

percent of clients said that there was some food that they desired but were unable to find in Maiduguri. These included baobab leaves (Ngaji karkaraa), Breadfruit (ukwa), pounded yam and egusi leaves, cowleg pepper soup, fresh fish, chicken and oxtail, and couscous. Although the research did not specifically explore the barriers to finding these products, customers explained that couscous is very expensive and that in Maiduguri the available chicken is old, not fresh.

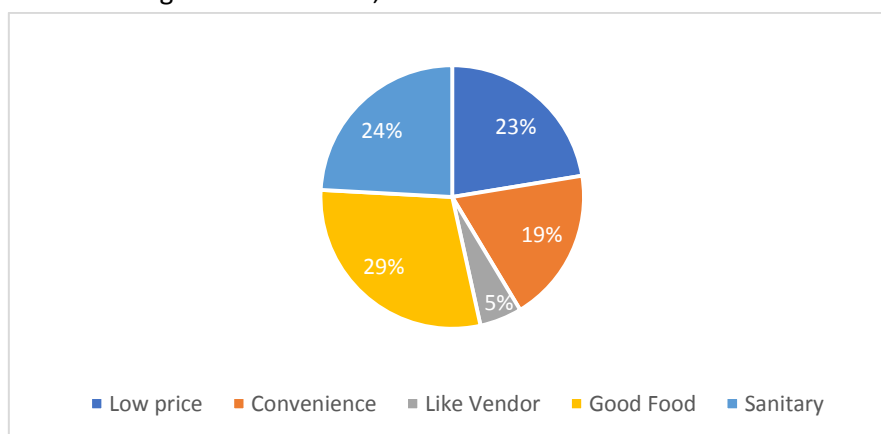


Figure 8: Most Preferred Qualities in a Street Food Vendor

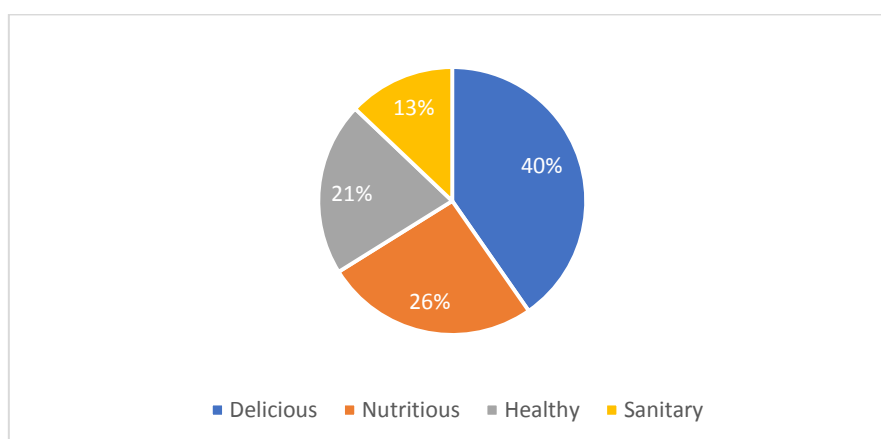


Figure 9: Customer Perceived Meal Characteristics

Spending Patterns, Perceptions of Price, and Willingness to Pay

Both male and female vendors commonly sell to customers on credit, a practice reported by 84 percent of all vendors (Figure 10). In some communities, all customer groups were reported to commonly use credit. In others, such as Garba Buzu

Quarters, vendors remarked that while keke drivers pay cash, laborers pay on credit. This is likely due to patterns of cash flow; drivers receive payment throughout the day, while laborers are paid at the end of the month. One vendor explained that while the arrival of IDP has allowed her to make more sales, they buy on credit which poses a risk to her cash flow balance.

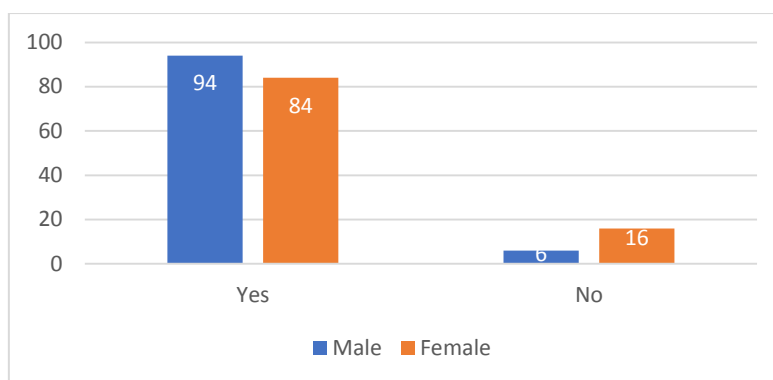


Figure 10: Do you ever sell to your customers on credit? (Percent of Respondents)

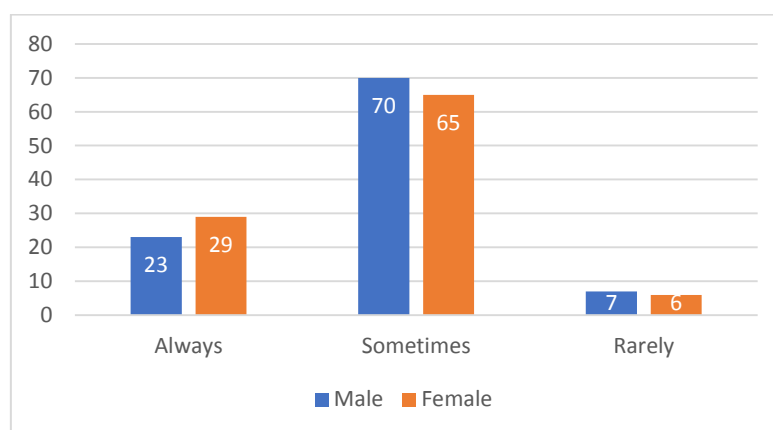


Figure 11: How often do customers repay their credit? (Percent of Respondents)

Customers commonly fail to repay and this poses a major risk for vendors who has very little cash reserves. Only 22 percent of vendors said that their customers “always repay,” meaning that most sellers deal with some degree of customer default (Figure 11). According to one female vendor, customer’s failing to repay or even just repaying late can “destroy the business.” Another remarked that men abuse the credit system to take advantage of disempowered women: “Because I am a woman, some men tend to disrespect me and abuse me and collect food on credit and don’t want to pay back.”

Low price is one of the most important reasons customers patronize street food. Customers can typically choose a portion size based on how much

they are willing to pay. In Gwange community, women sell akara and awara for 10 Naira per piece. Some customers buy a plated dish for 50 Naira, while teenagers buy bigger plates for 100 Naira. Sixty-eight percent of customers surveyed perceive the price of street food as fair (Figure 12). Figure 13 below displays the portion of their daily wage that customers reported spending on street food. Ninety-four percent spend less than 25 percent of their daily wage on street food. Most customers would continue to eat street food even if they had more income, and would be willing to pay more for better and more hygienic food. This finding reinforces the value that they place on those qualities (Figure 14 and Figure 15).

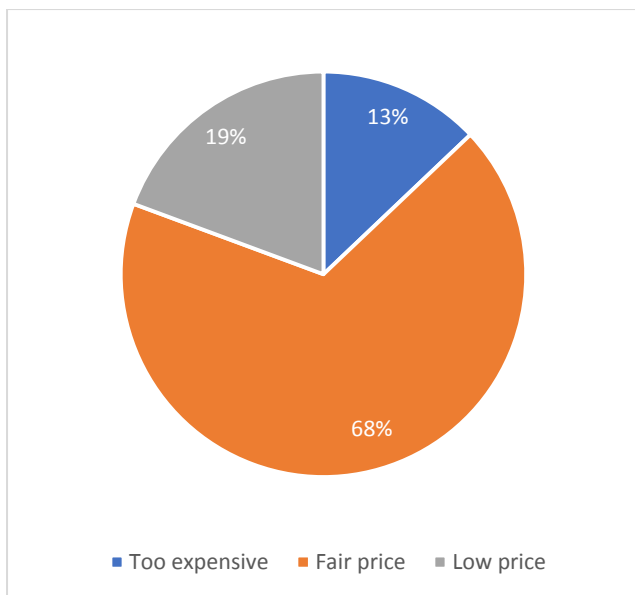


Figure 12: How do you perceive the price of the street food that you buy?

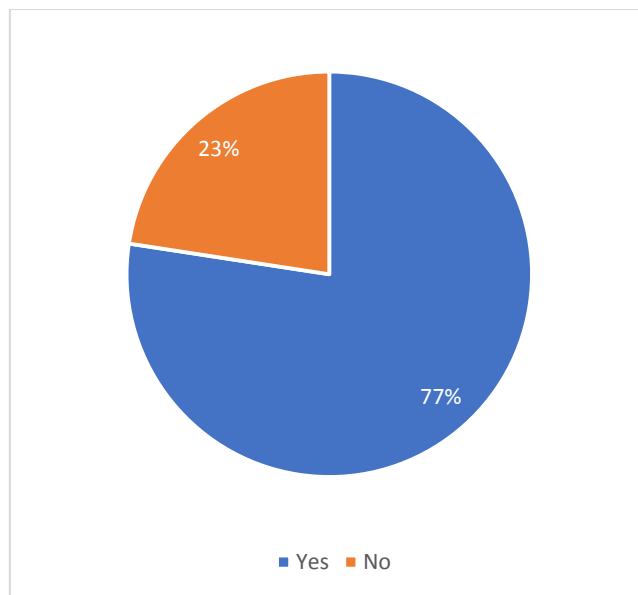


Figure 14: If you had more income, would you still eat street food?

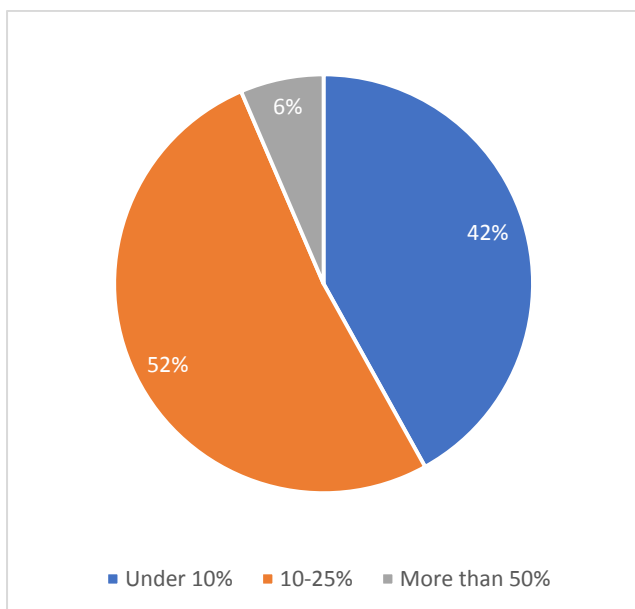


Figure 13: How much of your daily wage is spend on street food?

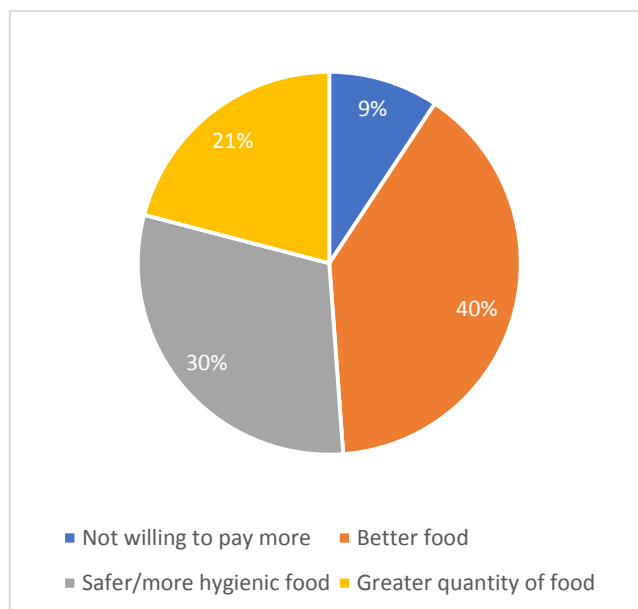


Figure 15: Which qualities would you be willing to pay more for?

2. The Roles of Women and Men in Street Food Markets

Gendered Division of Labor and Products Sold

There are clear divisions in the roles and responsibilities between men and women in the urban street food markets in Maiduguri. These divisions are found in both the supply chain and the types of foods sold. While women are typically sellers of cooked food products that do not include meat, men occupy positions further up the supply chain. These include traders, transporters, and the retailers from whom vendors buy the raw ingredients. As retailers, men also wield power in the role of credit provider, by allowing women to buy foods on credit using the ubiquitous “balance” system.

There are also deeply-entrenched gendered divisions of labor in the types of street food that men and women sell. The preparations sold by women are typically bean- or grain-based, and do not contain meat. They include both prepared plates that are eaten on site such as rice and beans, as well as take-away foods that can be bought and carried in discrete units, such as Akara, bean cakes.

The two primary businesses run by men involved in street food vending are *Mai Shayi* and *Mai Nama*. A *Mai Shayi*, or tea seller, typically prepares a snack of tea and bread and a fried egg for his customers. They may also prepare cooked noodles called *indomie*. A *Mai Nama* sells a roasted meat kebab called *suya*. In addition to these primary lines of business, some sellers also reported selling sauces with their meat,

porridge, breadfruit, roasted chicken, fried yam, and fried fish.

Fully documenting the recipes, preparation methods and time requirements of these meals was beyond the scope of this research. Nevertheless, it was observed that recipes prepared by women are more time- and labor-intensive than those prepared by men, often involving more ingredients and more measuring and mixing of ingredients. With the exception of fried yam, which is cooked and sold by both male and female vendors, there is almost no overlap in the foods prepared by each group. Observation and key informants revealed that the gendered division of roles is deeply ingrained in society, strictly observed, and never violated. When probed further, one informant suggested that if a man was seen preparing the “female foods,” his heterosexuality would be called into question.

Although these roles are often taken for granted, some men acknowledged these social norms. Male vendors explained that there were “social restrictions and religion regulations” around what women can sell. Other men revealed a belief that women would be physically unable to perform the male-dominated activities like selling *suya*, *indomie*, tea, and bread. One said, “Women cannot do this business because it is too difficult and tedious for them.” Another explained, “This business can only be handled by men because it requires a lot of time and energy, so women would not be able to do it.” The men did not acknowledge the significant time, energy, and labor that women already expend on their household tasks or on street food vending.

Below is a table summarizing the most commonly found street foods in Maiduguri, separated according to foods prepared by men and woman.

SELECTED FOODS COMMONLY PREPARED BY WOMEN	
Name of Food Item	Description of Food Item
Akara (kosai)	Fried bean cake
Masa	Rice based pancake
Danwake	Bean and cassava boiled dumplings, with spices, egg, cabbage
Moi moi	Ground beans steamed with spices, with egg
Awara	Soybean cake
Garu Garu	Rice and beans
Jollof Rice	Rice with spices and vegetables
Semovita	Wheat dumpling
Fara	Grasshopper, cooked and spiced
Kunu	Liquid porridge from groundnut, millet, maize, wheat, or tiger nuts
Fura da nono	Yogurt prepared with sorghum or millet and sugar
Tuwo	Fufu dumpling prepared from maize or riceflour
Kuli kuli	Groundnut cake snacks
Chin chin	Fried flour cake
Cooked Fish	Note: Women would only sell cooked, not raw fish
Fried Yam	Yam coated with egg and fried
SELECTED FOODS COMMONLY PREPARED BY MEN	
Name of Food Item	Description of Food Item
Mai Shayi	Tea and bread with fried egg
Indomie	Cooked noodles
Suya (Mai Nama)	Carved cooked meat kebab
Fried yam	Yam coated with egg and fried
Danyen Nama	Raw Meat
Fish, raw and fried	Note: Only men would sell raw fish, women may sell cooked
Cooked Chicken	Roasted

Table 2: Selected Street Foods Sold by Women and Men in Maiduguri



Photo: An entrepreneur in Maiduguri prepares danwake, boiled dumplings from bean flour. Christy Kalejaiye.



Photo: A male vendor, or Mai Shayi, prepares tea and bread with egg in a covered stall. Christy Kalejaiye.

Motivations for Street Food Market Entry

Formal and informal street food vendors have been part of the landscape of urban Maiduguri since long before the current crisis. Women and men are commonly seen at busy intersections and traffic circles, outside factories, army barracks, schools, and anywhere else that sees a high volume of traffic, especially during commuting hours. There are a variety of reasons and motivations why displaced people and host community members may start street food business, and several noticeable patterns emerged in the responses from the women and men in this study.

Most women in this study started selling street food because they had few other coping options in the face of extreme hardship. Many women expressed that they were otherwise idle, had no other income source, and needed money to meet basic household needs, especially for the children. As one woman explained, “We came here as IDPs and life became unbearable – then I decided to start cooking.”

Many displaced people started their street food business when their traditional livelihoods or those of their husbands (often in agriculture) were disrupted due to displacement and violence. Finding themselves in a populated urban area and in some cases confined to an IDP camp, and with few other profitable skills, many women resorted to selling prepared food. Another theme that emerged around the start of the business for women was loss of income from the husband, either due to divorce, disability, or death. This startup motivation was common among both host community and IDP women whose husbands had been killed by Boko Haram insurgency. Thus, street food vending emerged as an important coping strategy for this highly vulnerable group.

Women expressed why they selected food vending over other income generating activities. They explained that they selected food because it was

something that they already knew how to do, they had cooking equipment at their household, and they knew there was an established market. Barriers to entry are relatively low, although startup capital was consistently cited as a challenge.

One of the most important recurring themes was that food is a unique business opportunity because in addition to being sold for income, it can be fed to the children. Leftovers are also often given as alms to street children, thus fulfilling an important religious role in Muslim society.²⁴ In other words, street food vending allows women to merge their reproductive (household) and productive (income-generating) tasks in a way that cannot be done with other livelihood activities, reducing their total work burden while increasing household food security.

Men in this study expressed different motivations for starting as street food vendors. Whereas for women the activity emerges as a coping strategy to be undertaken when extreme need demands it, for men the livelihood is more permanent and vocational. Many men explained that they got into street food selling because they “inherited the business” or because it was “the business that I grew up in.” This also reflected a kind of apprenticeship where men explained that “since I was small I learned it from my father” and “I started by selling for my master [before selling on my own].”

Men tend to learn the trade from a relative who is already in the business, and many took over from their fathers. Some economic migrants (those who did not identify as displaced but were not originally from Maiduguri) reported that they worked for other sellers as employees before starting their own businesses. Other individuals started selling food after losing their other job in the insurgency. Like women, men perceive street food as a popular and in-demand product.

²⁴ Zakat is the practice of giving a portion of one’s wealth to charity. It is one of the Pillars, or mandatory acts, of Islam.

Length of Time Operating Business

Status as an IDP appears to be an important factor in determining how long a vendor has been selling street food, especially among women. Many of the women vendors interviewed for this research only began selling prepared street food since they were displaced and moved to the Maiduguri urban area. Of those for whom data was collected, 73 percent reported being displaced for between 3 and 4 years (with a mean of 3.14 years), which is consistent with the historical patterns of violent events that have led to displacement in region.

Correspondingly, many women said that they started selling food during this period. Figure 16 compares the length of time that IDP and non-IDP

female vendors have been operating. Eighty-four percent of female IDPs have been selling for less than 5 years, and 22 percent have been selling less than one year. By contrast, there were zero non-displaced women who have been selling for less than a year, and only 37 percent of this group have been selling less than 5 years. Non-displaced women appear to be more established in their operations than IDP's, indicating that IDP's may be more vulnerable as new entrants to the marketplace. The pattern does however vary by community. In one IDP camp visited (Garba Buzu Quarters, where many of the women were from Mafa LGA), many women reported that street food vending was a common livelihood before displacement, and has been readopted in Maiduguri.

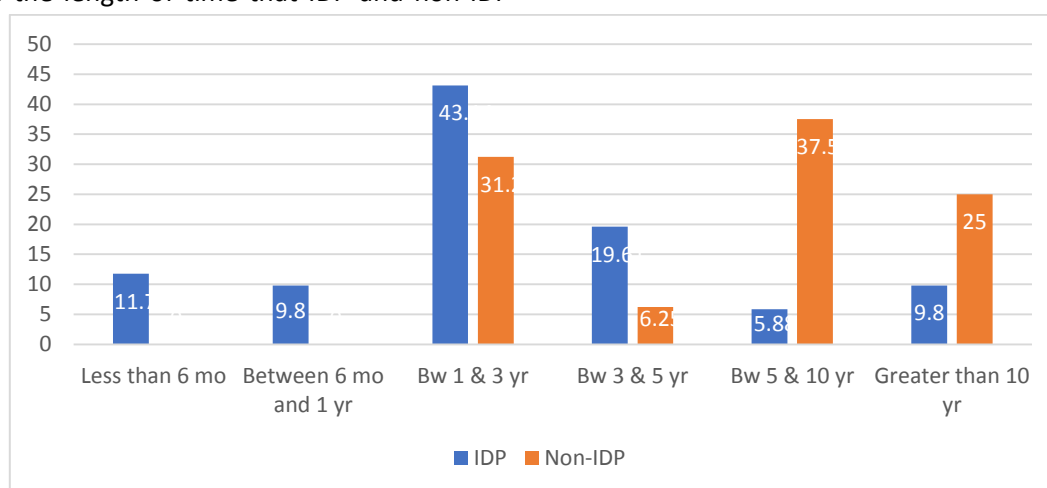


Figure 16: How long have you been operating as a street food vendor? (Women)

Male street food vendors are more established, as evidenced by the fact that they have been operating their businesses on average longer than women. Forty-four percent of male street food vendors in the study have been selling for 10 years or longer, compared to just 13 percent of women (Figure 17). This provides more support for the hypothesis that

street food vending is more permanent or “vocational” for men than for women, who only resort to vending as a last choice in times of extreme hardship. Although there is likely some survivorship bias, this finding suggests that men have been operating longer and women have engaged in SFB as a result of the emergency.

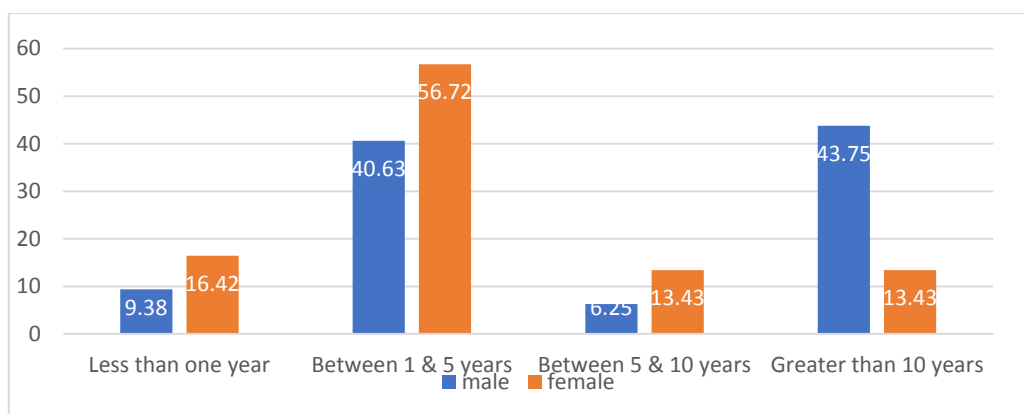


Figure 17: Length of Time Operating as a Street Food Vendor (All respondents)

Involvement in other Income-Generating Activities

Both male and female street food vendors in this study utilized vending as their only income-generating activity (Figure 18). There may be several

reasons for this including the time-consuming nature of the activity which does not allow much time for other activities and the relative lack of other marketable skills by women.

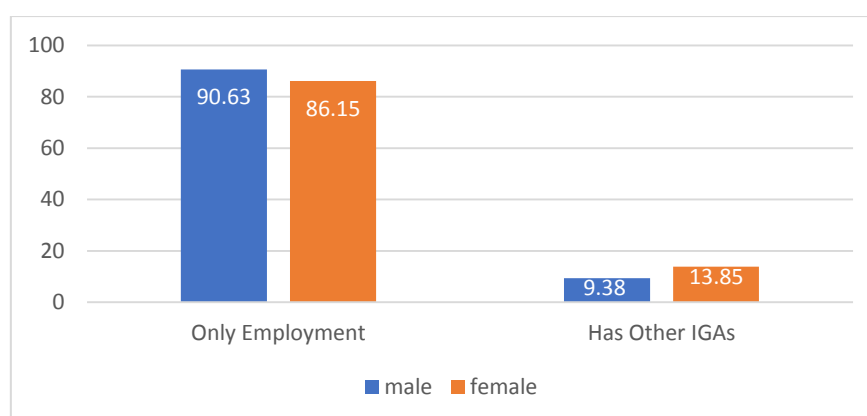


Figure 18: Is selling street food your only employment or do you have other IGAs?

About 14 percent of those interviewed do engage in some other form of income generating activity, which was roughly consistent with the frequency found in focus group discussions. Other activities done by women include cap-knitting, selling firewood, and charcoal, and washing and re-selling used garments. One women expressed that in addition to selling prepared food herself, she owns a grain grinding machine, which also represents a position further up the value chain. Some men who are involved in selling suya (roasted meat), also earn income through selling raw meat or butchering.

In IDP camps, several women who do cap-knitting for extra income explained their motivations. Although the activity is very time-consuming (it can take one

week or more to finish one cap), it is easily done during idle time, such as when waiting for customers or queuing for distributions. These women explained that secondary income-generating activities are necessary to help them make enough money to repay their debt for buying ingredients when food sales are low. Thus, while food vending is their primary income-generating activity it may not itself be sufficient to sustain them, in which case they undertake an additional, less profitable activity as a supplement.

Savings Groups (Adashe) and Trade Associations

Due to the small profit margins and economic hardship faced by many street food vendors, most study participants reported that they did not practice any kind of savings. One elderly women explained how she saves the money to pay the school fees for her grandchildren using a clay piggy bank. Similar stories however, were rare.

Yet in nearly all communities, a recurring theme among women was the importance before the insurgency of traditional savings groups, an arrangement known locally as *Adashe*. In these contributory savings schemes, women would voluntarily deposit some portion of their weekly or monthly earnings to a group pot. Members of the group would then draw from the pot on a rotating basis, or in times of particular need. These arrangements play an important social and economic role for poor and marginalized women, allowing them to articulate communal goals and values, share risks, engage in disciplined savings, and apply positive social pressures within the peer group.

Although a few women reported that they still do participate in *Adashe*, many explained that this

important mechanism has been severely disrupted by the insurgency. The success of these groups is built on trust, which is built slowly but was lost quickly during the insurgency and displacement in region, as the women explained.

In the central urban Gwange III community, women noted that while *Adashe* was popular before the crisis, there are now economic and social barriers to participating. The fluctuations in input prices make it very difficult to plan and save. But more importantly, one can only participate in *Adashe* with women that she trusts, and many women with whom trust had already been built were driven from the area by the heavy violence in 2014. As a result, the savings groups in this community have stopped and have not been restarted.

While men reported a similarly low rate of participation in savings groups, they reported a higher participation in trade organizations or producer groups (Figure 19 and Figure 20). These organizations include the Butchers' Association and the Mai Shayi (Tea Sellers') Association, and reflect the higher degree of formality and organization present among male vendors.

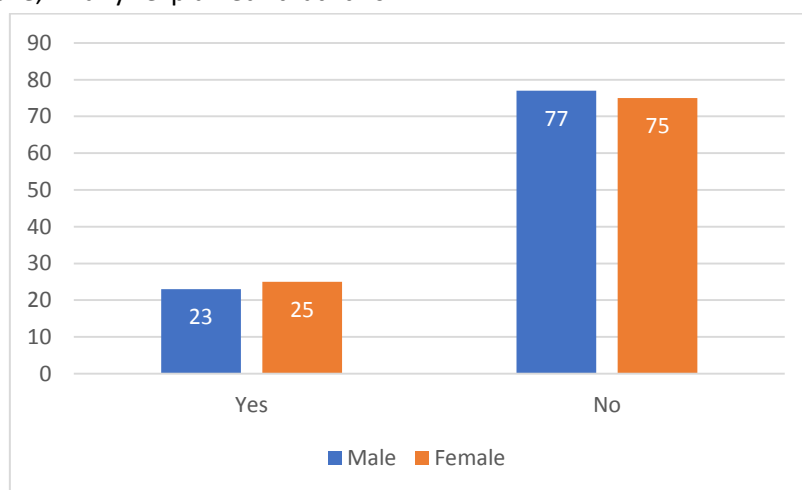


Figure 19: Are you a member of a savings group (adashe or similar)?

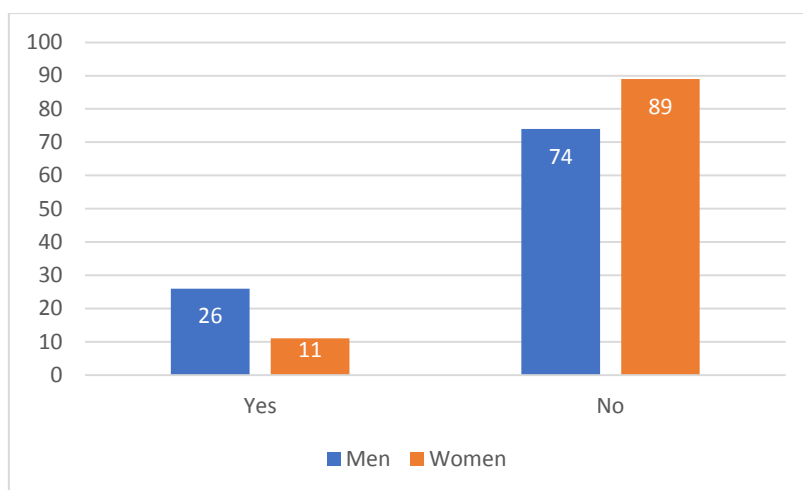


Figure 20: Are you a member of a producer's group or other trade organization?

Central Role of Youth in Street Food Businesses

Young people play a central role in the economic viability of street food businesses run by both men and women (Figure 21). Many women remarked that they benefit from the contribution of their daughters from age 10 to both the reproductive household

tasks and productive activities as their business. Girls do many unremunerated tasks to support their mothers' businesses, including washing beans, grinding, sweeping, and washing dishes. Girls are also consistently hawking cooked food in markets, which may expose them to security risks included gender-based violence. Girls will also take care of household chores in the morning and the evenings.

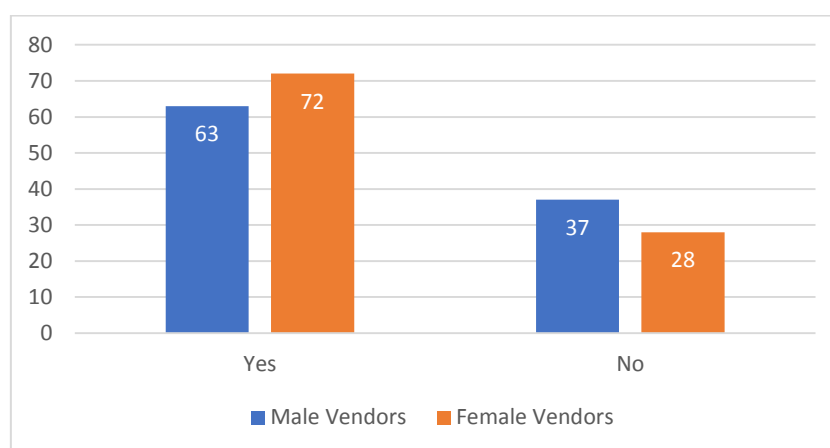


Figure 21: Do youth (under age 18) participate in your business? (Percent of Respondents)

The contribution of male children is smaller than that of their female counterparts, especially with household tasks. Nevertheless, boys were noted to contribute to the street food business in important ways including cleaning beans, sweeping the cooking and selling area, buying ingredients, warming up water, organizing the fire, and cleaning dishes. In virtually all locations sampled, boys and girls have an important role as hawkers or mobile sellers of the food prepared by their mothers. Unlike girls, boys were sometimes found to get paid to hawk for others

outside of their families as well. In street food businesses run by men, boys will commonly assist their fathers or older brothers. One male vendor remarked that "Young people help me in preparing the suya." No instances of girls assisting their fathers was found in this study.

The highly gendered divisions of labor in the market mean that older boys are rarely seen assisting their mother with the street food business. One woman did remark that her son, who is now married and

living with his wife, would still come in the morning to start the fire for her and position the large pot for boiling water. Young women sellers who do not have children of their own may have increased mobility, managing to sell in sites distant from their home, taking a keke napep to reach a larger market.

Boys from outside the family are more likely than girls to be “hired” and formally paid for their assistance. Many women remarked that they commonly pay small amounts (50 Naira) to street children, the *almajiri*, to sell the leftovers at the end of the day at a discounted price in busy areas or around schools. This is an important function, because the boys have a mobility that the women do not, and if a vendor does not sell all her inventory, she will often not have enough revenue to pay back her credit balance. One woman summed up the importance, saying, “Young people are the backbone of the business because they help sell our product, so we do not have leftovers.”

Although the participation of youth in street food business is critical to their economic viability, it raises increased protection risks for those involved. Women acknowledged that girls who go out along to hawk the food are subject to harassment, may be

coerced into transactional sex work, and may miss school. However, for older children with low levels of basic education and who are no longer in school, participation in business activities may provide an opportunity for to stay engaged in a productive activity and learn a trade (especially for boys, where the trade is considered vocational). Time restrictions did not allow in this research to follow the new research questions prompted by these findings, notably what differential impact the existence of street food business in a household has for children, in consideration of the gendered divisions of labor.

Children are also important to the economy of street food as consumers in all locations surveyed, either themselves or from their mother’s buying food for them. Many women vendors give their leftovers at the end of the day to their children at home or to street children. Many survey respondents also identified youth as one of their primary customer groups. The importance of this group was underscored by the fact that many vendors choose to sell near schoolgrounds and remarked that on weekends and who school are closed, their business sees a significant reduction in sales.



Photo: A vendor grills plantains and yams to serve with rice and beans. Greg Sclama

3. Challenges to Women's Economic Inclusion in Street Food Markets

Challenges with Accessing Market Locations

When vendors were asked whether they liked their location or would prefer to sell somewhere else, responses were split along gender lines. While 75

percent of men said that they liked their current location, only 54 percent of women expressed satisfaction with their place of sale (Figure 22). This is consistent with the finding that men have a greater "claim" to their space through formalized agreements and fees, and that their more established business require more significant investments.

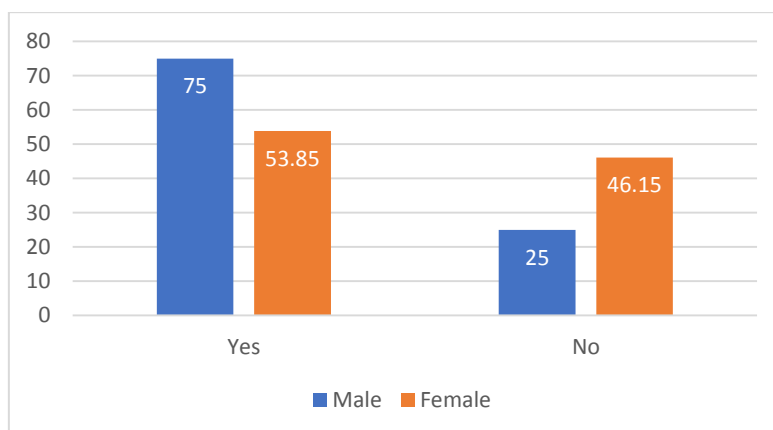


Figure 22: Are you satisfied with the location where you sell?

Several challenges were identified relating to location of sale. The challenge most commonly identified by women was that during the rainy season, they lack a shelter, cover, or umbrella. Some women reported that their area floods during heavy storms. Several women who sell in busy markets identified other problems such as unwanted crowds that gather near her stall and make her feel unsafe. One respondent remarked that, "Sometimes the Monday Market management chases us away from the location where we sell."

Challenges Surrounding Buying Ingredients on Credit

The most common economic strategy for dealing with hardship in street food business is the buying of ingredients on credit. Often referred to as buying on "balance," the practice involves picking up the ingredients from the provider first, and paying the next day after the cooked food is sold. If the debt is repaid in full, the vendor is permitted to borrow more ingredients. This practice does not require the borrower to put down any collateral, and few reported any price differences between buying with

cash and credit. The retailers who provide the ingredients on credit were always found to be men, likely due to the strength of traditional gender roles.

Although borrowing ingredients on credit is practiced by both women and men, it was much more common among women and emerged in nearly all discussions about the financial and social challenges that they face. Although this practice is essential to the survival of small, cash-strapped businesses, it also poses major risks for the borrower. Many women reported that profit margins are often so thin that they struggle to repay unless all they sell all their cooked food. If they cannot repay, the future of their business is in jeopardy.

One woman explained, "It is not easy to deal with providers, because if we default even for one day, we cannot get what we want from them." Others agreed, stating that "if business is not strong" or if "the period of repayment is too short," then "you cannot repay for the ingredients you borrow, and you cannot take more." Thus, this arrangement is

both a lifeline for the business and a constant cause of anxiety about the ability to repay. Several respondents said they prioritize repaying before they can use any extra cash for their household, otherwise their business and future earning power is at risk.

Men also buy ingredients on credit when capital is scarce, although the practice appears to be less common than among women. Men typically prefer to pay cash, and some meat sellers reported that raw meat is more expensive when purchased on credit. Like women, the men in focus groups also expressed that if they default on their credit, they are afforded very little leeway from their creditors. One man said that when he was even 1,000 Naira short, the vendor refused to sell to him again.

Unlike men, however women who cannot make the repayment for their borrowed ingredients face the specter of a unique form of gender-based violence: social humiliation due to their relatively lower position of power in society. Women explained it takes a long time to establish a trust and a good relationship with the vendor, especially as the insurgency has eroded the social fabric in the city in recent years. Women explained that “people are not trustworthy, and nobody will give you credit,” and that “finding a trustworthy seller and establishing a good relationship takes time.” Others lamented that borrowing on credit requires undignified “begging and convincing the seller.”

The failure of a woman to repay her “balance” can be perceived as a violation of this fragile relationship, and can be humiliating for these already vulnerable and disempowered individuals. The women in one large IDP camp explained that, “We all pay with cash because [if you borrow] you do not know what would happen if the capital is lost. The man will come and disgrace you in front of other people.” Others agreed

that if one cannot make her repayment, the vendor “will insult you, and you feel bad because they look down on you.”

Selling to customers on credit is also a common practice especially for women vendors. This creates another significant challenge for them, contributing to business vulnerability and adding a constant level of stress in social relationships. Some female vendors reported feeling compelled to continue to sell to those (mainly women) customers, even if they are unable to pay. These vendors know that those purchases would be the only food that some children can have in a day, although it creates anxiety for them about whether the buyer will repay.

Education and Training

Street food vendors in Maiduguri generally have low levels of formal education. There are cultural and economic components to the low educational outcomes. Girls in this region typically before they can complete their education. Uneducated women may become economically disadvantaged, and may resort to selling street food in times of economic distress (see description of startup motivators above). Traditional conservative social and religious norms in this region often prevent girls from going to school, emphasizing instead their reproductive labor tasks within the household.

Eighty-five percent of the respondents in this study had less than a secondary education, with 39 percent having received no education at all, and 22 percent completing only primary (Figure 23). Others, approximately 29 percent of all women, stopped their education after attending a traditional Islamic School. These religious programs focus on increasing knowledge and memorization of the Holy Quran, but provide few skills that can be transferred to business, such as basic literacy and numeracy.

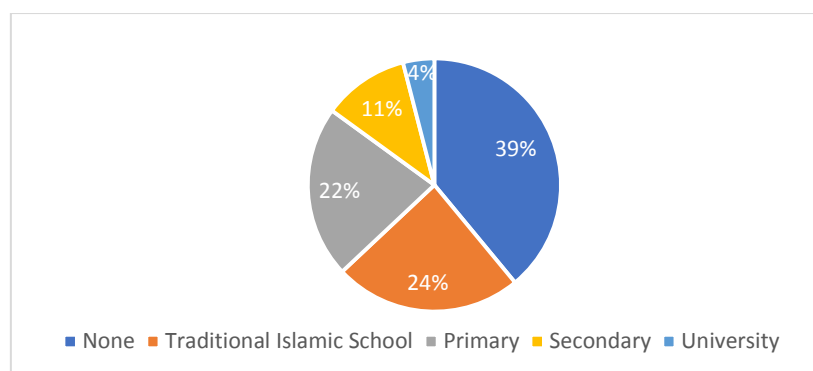


Figure 23: Highest Level of Education Completed

Informal training and education related to the business was also very low among study participants. Very few women have had any formal training related to their business, and almost none have had training in accounting, money handling, or business skills. Most vendors learned accounting on-the-job, usually self-taught and in a few cases from a friend, neighbor, or family member. While 13 percent of participants reported receiving some training, it was almost always related to hygiene, and was given to residents of IDP camps (hygiene knowledge is discussed below).

Most women reported learning recipes and cooking skills informally at home while growing up, usually from their mothers. Some displaced women who did not sell street food before explained that they learned from other women in the camp, or that they “taught themselves by watching people.” Men also learn from family such as a father or brother. But unlike women, some men also said that they learned on-the-job from a former boss or master for whom they worked.

Access to Clean Water

Access to clean water was universal among participants in this study. Most survey respondents (55 percent) get clean water from a tap, usually a solar-powered borehole, while others purchase water from a delivery truck. Despite the general availability of clean water, many cited periodic challenges. The most common challenge for both IDP camps and host communities was lack of power for the borehole pumps. In some cases, this is because there is not enough sun for the solar system to

function, while in others it was due to significant damage to infrastructure. Observation during the visit to Farm Center (one of the largest IDP camps) found that the solar pump had been broken in a windstorm and several weeks had passed without its repair.

Other challenges to obtaining clean water include irregular supply, the delivery tank not arriving on time, water sellers not coming around, long queues that take several hours, and contamination from a dirty storage container or jerry can. One woman expressed that she dislikes the smell of bleach in treated water.

Health and Hygiene

Approximately 23 percent of survey respondents said that they have received some training related to sanitation and hygiene. The proportion of women having received this training was higher than men (Figure 24), and the majority of these were located in IDP camps, particularly Bakasi Camp, Farm Center, and Garba Buzu Quarters. It was not ascertained whether these were lessons on general hygiene or were specifically targeted to women who run food selling businesses, although the former is more likely based on discussions with other organizations. The organizations that provided the health trainings include Oxfam, Red Cross, Action Against Hunger, UNICEF, camp health workers, and community leaders. One woman said that she learned about hygiene during antenatal hospital visits, while another participated in a youth empowerment programme in her local church.

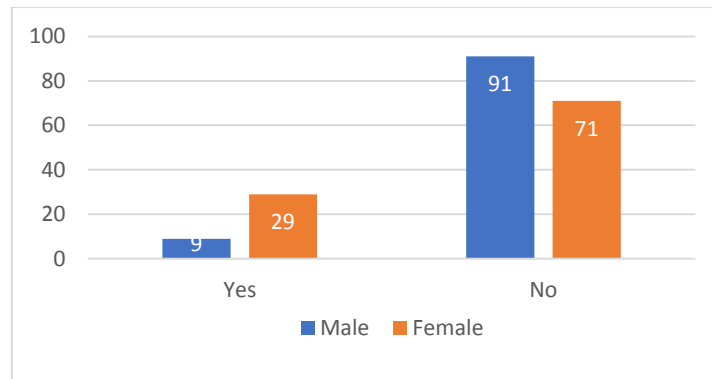


Figure 24: Have you ever received training in food safety and/or hygiene?

Observation found that sanitary and hygiene conditions at points of sale are basic and often below an acceptable standard, likely due to resource constraints and low levels of education among vendors. Nevertheless, vendors typically had a strong understanding of the importance of hygiene and cleanliness for both health reasons and to attract customers. Handwashing was the most commonly-reported hygiene measure, practiced by over 80 percent of research participants. The other most common practices were washing of raw foods and washing of food preparation utensils. Many vendors also explained that they sweep their area to keep it tidy, and several said that they use salt to wash their vegetables. One man reported that he was given a liquid to spray on raw meat to prevent flies from landing, but did not explain from whom.

For food storage, women often use an insulated cooler with a lid to keep foods hot after cooking. Many vendors use a simple plastic bucket with a lid

to store and carry food, often by young people when hawking the products. Only three respondents in the study reported using refrigeration to store their foods, and they were all men. One man said that he puts his meat on ice blocks to preserve it. Many Mai Shaya tea and bread sellers also explained that they do not need to store their food because they cook each meal to-order.

Customers expressed that hygiene of the vendor largely into factors into their decision about who to patronize. Mai Shaya vendors who sell commercially packaged bread remarked that customers will not buy the bread if it is past the expiration date. “Sanitary conditions” was the second most commonly-reported factor by clients when choosing a vendor, behind only “Good Food” (Figure 25). A small percentage, only 13 percent of customers surveyed, have ever become ill after consuming street food (Figure 26), and those that did tended not to patronize the same vendor again.

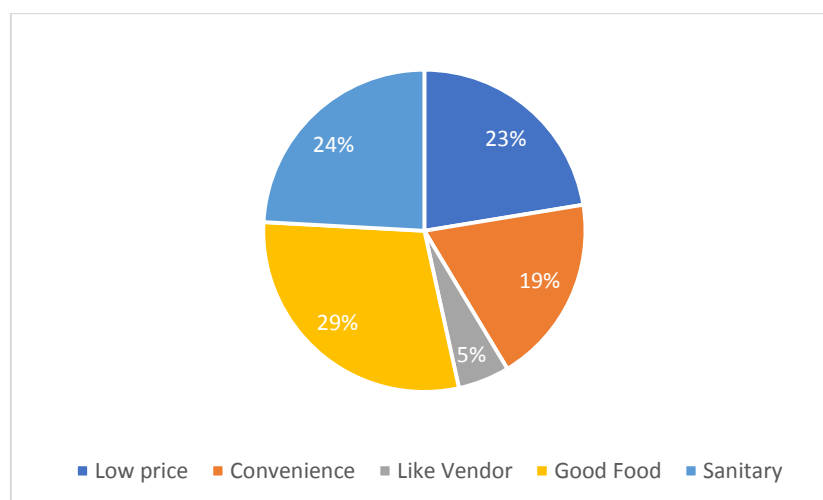


Figure 25: Customers’ Most Preferred Qualities in a Street Food Vendor

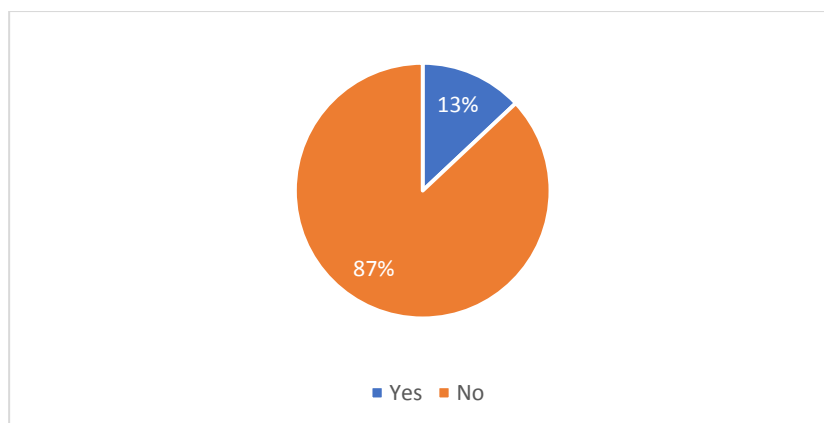


Figure 26: Customers Who Reported Ever Falling Ill After Eating Street Food

Cooking Fuel Sources

Both male and female street food vendors in Maiduguri use firewood as their primary fuel source for cooking. Nevertheless, there are apparent gender differences in access and use of fuel. Eighty-five percent of women reported using only wood, while 6 percent reported using both wood and

charcoal, and 9 percent charcoal only. By contrast, only 72 percent of men reported using wood for cooking, and no men reported using charcoal. The remaining men, especially the indomie (noodle) sellers, use kerosene, a fuel source that was not reported by any women in the study (Figure 27 and Figure 28).

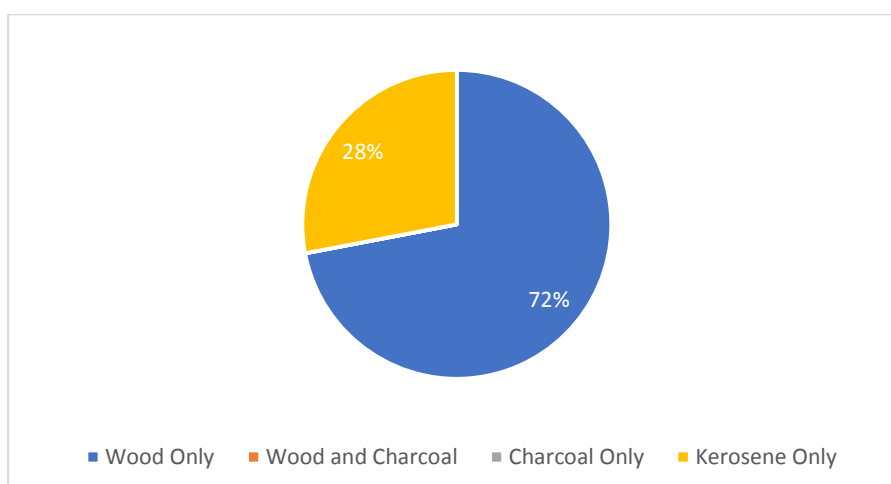


Figure 27: Fuel Source (Men)

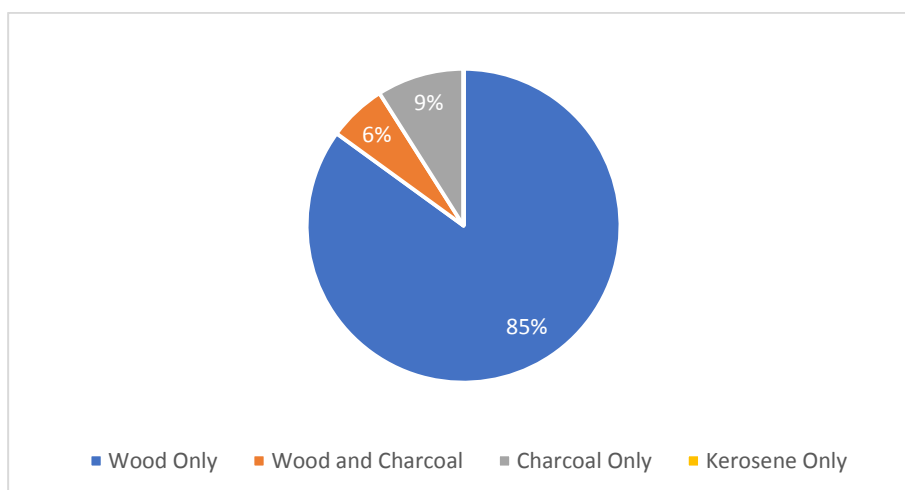


Figure 28: Fuel Source (Women)

Use of kerosene represents a relative advantage for men. The reliance on wood creates a vulnerability for women who expressed several challenges in obtaining the fuel. These challenges include: the difficulty of finding dry wood during the rainy season, having to wait for villagers to bring wood to the city, walking a long distance to the market to carry it back, high prices, and paying transport fare to go to the market to buy the wood. This is particularly challenging for widows, who are poorer in labor than other households and are therefore dependent on sellers to bring firewood. The shortage of firewood has affected prices, which according to several groups of women has double in recent times, from 50 to 100 Naira for 3 sticks. Gathering firewood was commonly identified as time-consuming, but was not identified as a particular protection risk among the study participants. Some vendors are also bothered by the smoke produced, which poses a health hazard after frequent exposure.

Seasonal and Temporal Market Characteristics

There are important temporal and seasonal aspects to the market food street food in Maiduguri. Customer sales and challenges faced may vary throughout the day, week, month, and year. Many vendors noted that daily sales are highest during periods of transition such as in the mornings and evenings after work. This is particularly true for women who sell near institutions such as school grounds and army barracks, and it depends on the kind of food being sold. For example, akara is commonly eaten at breakfast and is easily carried, so it is very popular in the mornings. Other vendors that sell near laborers such as mechanics, see high sales during the lunch break. Throughout the week, sales are typically highest on weekdays while workers, schoolchildren, and laborers are at their busiest, and on Fridays (the Islamic holy day), when people purchase food to give out as alms.

Many vendors remarked that the busiest time of the month is at the end of the month when workers received their paychecks. This pattern also suggests

the importance of street food as a food source for workers and laborers who have little savings between paychecks. One male vendor operating in a host community remarked that sales are highest when IDPs get their cash-based transfers, indicating that in some cases assistance is being used to procure street food.

The yearly rains, which arrive roughly June-September, have a significant negative impact on many vendors. In addition to deterring customers, the rains force many vendors to close up if their area floods or if they do not have a roof, cover, or umbrella. A rain cover was in fact one of the most-commonly mentioned solutions proposed when women were asked how they would like to improve their business. The rains also make it more difficult to find good fuel, as many vendors remarked that there is a scarcity of charcoal and wood and that wood is often wet and expensive during the rainy season. The rains may also affect the availability of ingredients, as one fish seller said that fish are scarce during the rainy season, which may be because certain roads become impassible. Nevertheless, several male and female vendors who sell heavier meals (oily or legumes-based) reported having greater sales during rainy season and when the cool season when the harmattan winds come.

Resilience to Shocks and Changes in Market Conditions

Street food vendors in Maiduguri have a low ability to adapt to changes in market conditions and to cope with external shocks. The violent insurgency perpetrated by Boko Haram and the resulting crisis has been the biggest shock facing street food vendors. The crisis has depleted coping mechanisms, eroded resilience, and left this group extremely vulnerable. This has been compounded by the economic crisis facing the country in part due to the decrease in national oil revenues, thus driving up the prices of food and other basic commodities.

Impact of the Insurgency

Many vendors started their business to cope with extreme hardship resulting from the violence and displacement. As they have very small or non-existent cash reserves, variation in the price of inputs and unpredictable customer demand were consistently cited by women as some of the biggest challenges faced. As one woman from the Shagari Low Cost host community said, "Most of us were doing better before the onset of the insurgency, but now our business has fallen far below."

Women living in both host communities and IDP camps explained that the insurgency has affected their businesses in other important ways. One impact is on sale location. Some women had to move their sale sites, and noted that they now have fewer customers and sales. Another explained that she used to sell in a shop, but had to close because markets were being targeted. She now sells in front of house and has lower sales. Market insecurity was a recurring theme, although women noted that since the height of the insurgency, attacks in the city have become less of a concern. Some women who sell in the evenings reported that the imposed curfews negatively affect their sales. Insecurity along roads leading to the city affects transport safety and drives up the prices of animals and firewood coming in from surrounding villages.

Other women lost their husbands or children to violence, or they were injured and left unable to work. In addition to the trauma and devastation that these losses cause, they also create an economic burden through wages and labor lost, as women rely heavily on family members for help in their business.

In the Farm Center IDP camp, women noted that the influx of new IDPs has caused competition because new entrants are selling in the same line of business, so her sales have declined. Another woman blamed the children of IDP families, because they hawk the

cooked food by their mothers. Generally, women reported that the influx of IDPs has not created a new market for their products, because there is "no money" among the IDPs. In a few instances, however, vendors said that their sales have increased because IDPs are a large part of their customer base.

Male sellers in the host community reported mixed trends in sales over the past few years, as some have sales increase and others decrease. Despite the lack of a clearly identifiable pattern, one commonly cited problem among men is that prices of commodities fluctuate, especially livestock for the meat sellers.

Ability to Meet Changes in Market Demand

Male vendors self-reported a greater ability to meet increases in market demand than did female vendors (Figure 29). A higher proportion of men than women responded they could increase their production to meet an increased demand "very easily" or "with some difficulty," while only women said they would face "great difficulty" increasing production.

The main constraint preventing women from easily scaling their business operations is lack of capital to buy more ingredients. The razor-thin profit margins and the reliance on buying on credit mean that few women are able to buy the inputs to cook more without outside financial assistance. Figure 30 displays the frequency of responses when women were asked what resources they would need to scale up their operation. The most common responses were "credit" or "more ingredients." All the responses in the "other" category related to financial capital, while one also said she would need a better location. Approximately a quarter of respondents perceived that they would need more labor or equipment to expand their operations. No vendors said that they would need permission from authority, which is consistent with the low level of formality in these highly unregulated marketplaces.

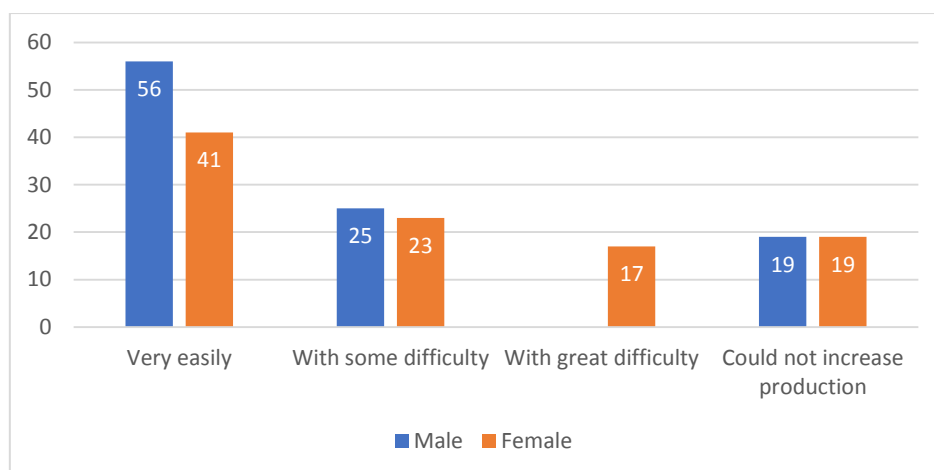


Figure 29: If demand increased, how easily would you be able to increase your production?

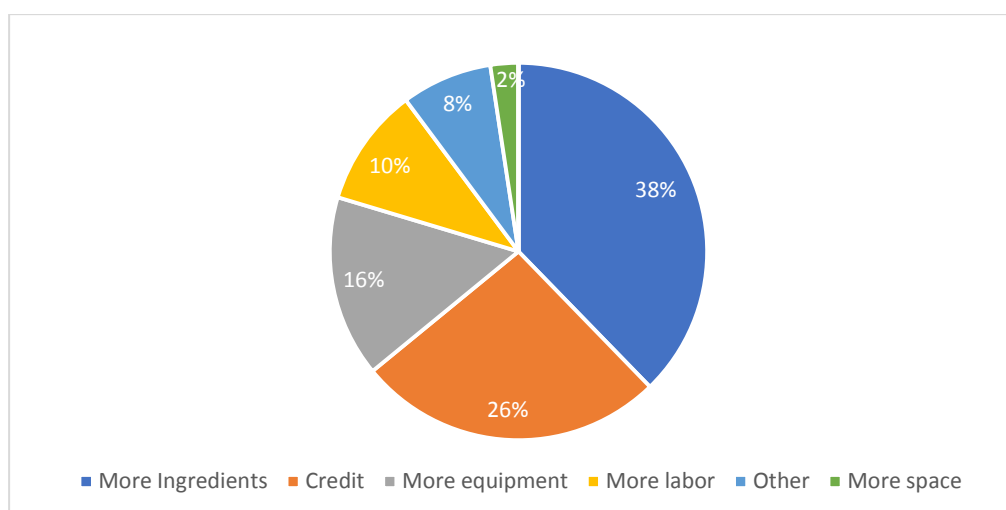


Figure 30: What resources would you need to increase production if demand increased?

Coping Strategies

Low resilience to market shocks is further evident by the lack of effective coping strategies exhibited by vendors. When women discussed how they deal with the challenges they face in their business, most strategies are limited to buying and selling on credit. As previously noted, these strategies create serious liabilities, especially when customers do not repay. Some women take up an additional side-business,

such as cap-making, while others feel that they are out of options. “I struggle,” resigned one woman when asked what she can do to overcome the barriers she faces. Others displayed hope despite the hardship. “I am praying things will change for better,” explained one woman. Another remarked, “I keep managing and hoping to leave the camp.”



Photo: Grasshopper, a popular street food in Northern Nigeria, is prepared by women. Christy Kalejaiye.



Photo: A vendor smiles as she mixes sorghum and sugar into yoghurt for Fura da Nono. Greg Sclama.

4. Aspects of Women's Empowerment from Participation in Street Food Businesses

Empowerment in the Marketplace

Women and men occupy distinct roles in street food markets in Northeast Nigeria, based on social norms and traditions. Though they are rarely questioned, women and men recognize these roles and the different challenges that they present. "It would be very different to run this business if I were a man," confirmed one woman.

Both women and men overall recognize that conducting a business for women is more challenging than for men. Several principle differences in the experiences of the two groups, which were consistently highlighted by respondents, included freedom of movement, decision-making power, time use, and access to financial services. The freedom of movement was symbolical even more than physical, which allows men "to go everywhere." This includes both where better market conditions or more customers might exist, as well as the ability to embark in different type of businesses, and not be limited to street food.

Freedom of Movement

Women across different communities used terms like "restricted" to describe the movement of women, who need permission of their husbands, and terms like "free" to describe the mobility of men. This freedom presents a relative advantage in markets, while the restrictions may limit access to inputs. One female vendor said if she were a man, "I would travel farther to get fresh vegetables to sell in camp." For some this disadvantage is related to the location of sale: "Some women are not even allowed to sell outside their house by their husband, but if you are a man no one will stop you." Another woman explained that a man can "go everywhere, to open a shop and sell," whereas for women, "some places are out of reach."

In other cases, women see this as increased freedom to enter other markets or business areas. "A man can travel anywhere to do business," explained one woman. Another felt that she would be able to leave the region to seek a better life, explaining, "[If I were] a man, I could travel from Maiduguri to Lagos without any problem, but being a woman is another thing."

Women recognize the social foundations that underlie their limited mobility. "We cannot move freely because of religious and cultural barriers," one explained. "We are not like men. What a man can do a woman in our setting cannot do because of cultural and religious norms. The women face more challenges than men."

One IDP camp resident summarized the feeling that men can leave a difficult situation while women are stuck, when she exclaimed to the amusement of her peers: "If we were men, you would not see us here!"

Decisions-Making Power

The restriction of physical movements, connected to the female gender-attributed care responsibilities, is also connected to the power structure, time use, and decision-making within the household. Women explained: "The barrier is that most women find it very difficult to start their business without the permission of their spouses. This makes a burden on the head of the family member to sustain the family." Religious norms are seen contributing to these roles, as it was acknowledged that, "it is absolutely the power of a man to decide what his wife will do."

It emerges as a common pattern that all married women had received permission from their husbands to start a business, mostly as a coping strategy to face the unfortunate disruptions of their husbands' livelihoods. Loss of jobs or of productive assets due to insurgency and/or displacement have compromised many men's capacity of generating an income, and have created a higher tolerance for allowing women's agency within accepted socio-economic functions. However once women start

their businesses, men have little involvement as women exhibit a high degree of autonomy when it comes to daily business operations. Most women decide themselves what products to offer. Only 6 percent of respondents said that they require permission from their husbands to borrow ingredients on credit, while nearly all respondents said that they set the price themselves, without the input of their spouse.

Gendered Time-Use and Access to Financial Services

Another principle difference in the experiences of men and women relates to time-use. Men are seen to have “less responsibilities than women with regards to taking care of the family.” Women perceive that if they were men, they would, “have enough of my time to run my business and oversee it.” Women must care for the children, but due to traditional gender roles they feel, “we cannot leave them [the children] with men.” One woman explained that she would have a “greater opportunity” if she were a man, because she could, “decide what to save and what to spend on the family, and could improve the livelihood, since I would have enough time.”

Although few men in this study reported that they use formal financial services, women in fact perceive that as an opportunity that men can at least consider. “Men have the chance of accessing loans and other means of financing their business,” one woman explained, but for women, this is not even an option. For others, the position of social disempowerment makes it “difficult to establish trust with men” in business. This may be a barrier when starting out, as one woman explained that she felt uncomfortable mingling with men at the beginning. Another vendor recalled how male clients may “disrespect and abuse” her by refusing to pay for food purchased on credit, as explained earlier.

Men’s Perceptions

Men also recognize the different gender roles, but see the challenges differently. Some men explained that men face greater hardships than women

because they have the traditional role as breadwinners, and because they “lost more” in the insurgency. Some men felt that even if a woman is working, she will still draw on her husband’s income. Some men felt that women have no problems because they get to “sit at home and wait for the husband to provide for them, they do nothing but take care of the children.” Men summarized their acceptance of the traditional gender roles saying, “We all respect and take care of our wives with all that we have, the way it is supposed to be.”

Gender and Competition

Men and women see themselves in a different competitive light in the market. Women tend to explicitly represent themselves as a community of female vendors operating in solidarity. All women’s groups with few exceptions consistently answered that there is little or no competition among them, as they all prepare and propose overall similar meals and even amidst conditions of hardship help each other to sell the frequent leftovers or share information on best spot to sell their products. On the contrary, male vendors remarked that they compete among each other, both those selling tea and those proposing meat-based meals, and that they all try to attract the attention of customers to their personal business.

Protection, Security, and Health Risks

Security Risks

Participation in street food markets raises gender-specific protection, safety, and health risks for both adult sellers and the youth who assist them. While ninety-eight percent of vendors reported that they feel safe at the location where they sell food, discussions revealed other safety and protection concerns. While some risks affect all groups, others are specific to those in host communities or IDP camps, or to youth.

Most vendors remarked that while no longer a threat, during the height of the insurgency, bomb attacks in markets or while transporting goods was a constant concern. As the threat has waned, other

protection issues have come to the forefront. In busy markets such as the Monday Market, one woman expressed concerns about large groups that gather in her area, while others remarked that their main concern is unruly customers who refuse to pay for the food they bought on credit. In a few cases vendors have had their cooking equipment stolen. In some markets, women explained that the Bulama (community head) asks young men to watch over the stores as security, although they did not comment if this work is paid or if it is an effective deterrent.

One woman remarked that the vendor from whom she purchased yam on credit attempted to extort her debt by demanding sexual favors. To avoid the aggressor, the woman decided to switch lines of business and sell *akara* instead of yam. In IDP camps, women face a unique set of challenges related to their limited mobility. Vendors described that when returning to the camp later than allowed, they face harassment from security guards who may in turn demand bribes.

Risks Faced by Youths

Youth face specific and acute protection risks from their participation in street food businesses. Young girls who carry food as mobile vendors or “hawkers” are often sexually harassed or sexually assaulted while they are out selling food. Nevertheless, the practice continues because male customers are seen to be more likely to buy from young women.

In large crowded markets, girls selling street food may be exploited by men who offer them money for transactional sex. Women explained that they warn their daughters against the risks, and teach them to stay away from aggressive men or those that appear drunk or intoxicated. One mother, weary that her teenage daughter may be tempted by the offers from unscrupulous men, sends her younger son to go along with his older sister. She believes that the boy’s presence will influence the behavior of his older sister, because the boy will report what he sees honestly back to his mother.

If a woman sends her daughter to hawk and she does not return on time, mothers reported becoming extremely worried that her girls may have fallen victim to an attack or harassment. In the Gwange III community, mothers said that they “cannot have peace of mind” until their daughters are found. These women will then put on a face-concealing veil and go in pairs to track down the girl.

In IDP camps, many women expressed that they cannot leave their daughters at home for fear of their safety. Thus, they must sell their street food next to the home rather than travel to a better market, which negatively affects the sales. One camp resident who was herself a victim of domestic violence, explained that if she leaves her daughter alone, boys in the camp will come by the house and show the girl pornographic materials. Therefore, the woman only leaves her daughter if she can find a neighbor to watch her; if she cannot, she must sacrifice her sales for the day by staying home.

Sexual and gender-based violence was found to be common and highly under-reported in IDP camps. There is a strong stigma surrounding victims of rape and gender-based violence. Parents may often try to hide the fact that their daughter was victimized out of fear that she will be unable to find a husband or will attract a lower bride-price. While services for victims are still very limited, several organizations such as Danish Refugee Council, International Committee of the Red Cross, and UNICEF now provide safe spaces and referral services for those affected.

Some mothers expressed that they were less worried about harassment when their sons were out hawking than when their daughters were. One woman described, however that both of her sons were abducted by Boko Haram militants and as a result, she has no choice but to send her daughters. Others also described risks faced by boys, who are more likely to be harassed for bribes, or by petty criminals who reportedly knock over their goods and search them for money.

Other Health and Safety Issues

Numerous other health and safety concerns arise from the physically demanding task of selling street food. Because they are outdoors, vendors are subjected to long hours of sun exposure and extreme heat, as well as the elements during the rainy season. This is even more acute for those without a cover or umbrella. Many women reported that the smoke from the wood fire affects their breathing, while some have been burned by the hot oil used for frying. Some women also developed back pain from the labor involved with bending over to cook and carrying heavy equipment. Other women vendors have pre-existing health conditions, such as sickle-cell anemia and kidney problems. These illnesses compound the difficulty of performing the physical tasks required for selling street food make it more difficult to payback their credit balances when they need to buy medicine and pay for specialized health care.

Social life participation: groups, mobile, public speaking

Involvement in street food businesses has had a positive social impact for some women. While

traditional gender roles remain relatively inflexible and social trust has been undermined by the crisis, some women reported building positive relationships, participating in community groups, and utilizing mobile phones for communication.

Over 90 percent of women reported that their business has allowed them to develop positive relationships with other women (Figure 31). As described earlier, competition among women is typically collaborative, rather than antagonistic. While participation in *adashe* (savings groups) has declined and there is a low rate of participation in trade groups, women also use other informal mechanisms of community organization. These include a maternal support groups as well as contributory schemes when a community member has a birth or death in the family. One women described participating in a group called “Mother to Mother,” where women discuss how to care for children, although she did not mention what organization or project had facilitated the group. Others recalled weekly gatherings around the time of Friday prayers to discuss childcare and health practices.

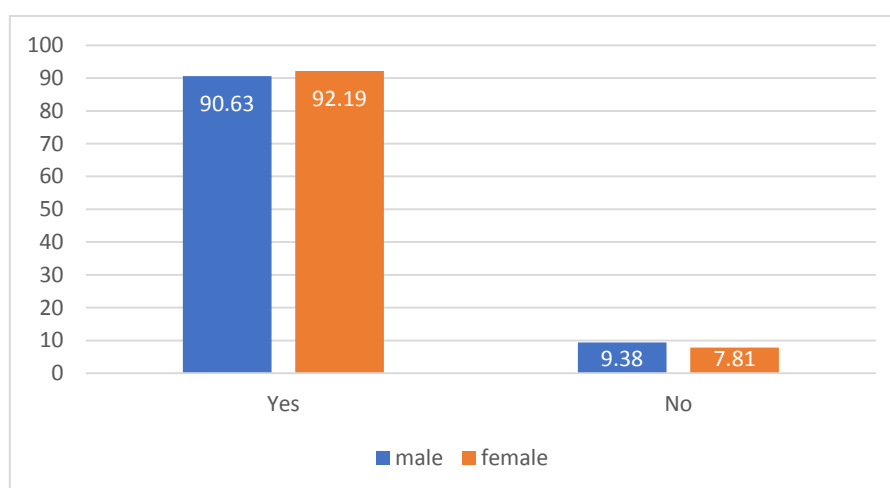


Figure 31: Has your business allowed you to form any positive relationships?

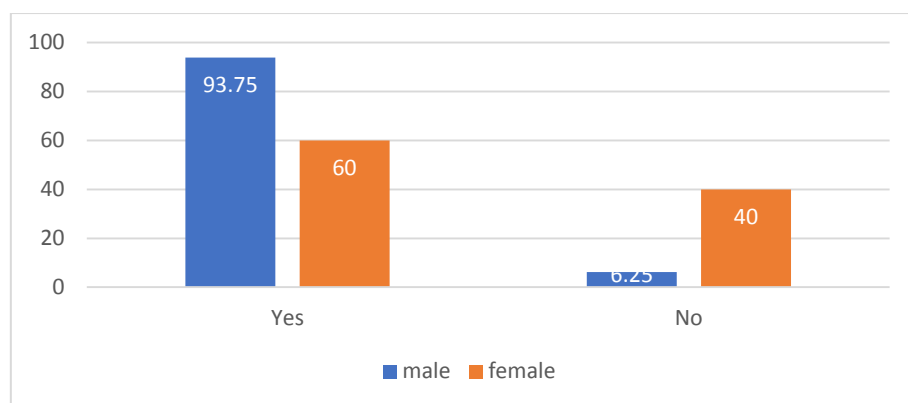


Figure 32: Do you feel comfortable speaking up in public with regards to marketplace issues?

Mobile phones were found in this study to be tools of empowerment, both within the business and for social purposes. Access to a mobile phone was higher for men (84 percent of respondents), than for women (59 percent of respondents) (Figure 33). Of those with access to a mobile, all men said it belonged to themselves, while 86 percent of women owned their phone. Of the remaining women, the phone belonged either to their spouse or their son or daughter. A large proportion of both men and women in individual interviews reported using their phones to conduct business activities, usually calling their suppliers to check on ingredient stocks and receiving calls from customers placing orders (Figure 34). Interestingly in the focus group discussions, few women reported using their phones for business and

explained they used them only for personal reasons. This may suggest that while use of phones for business purpose is accepted, it is far from universal.

Those who do not use their phone for their business commented that their business is too small to necessitate a phone or that they did not know how to use it to place outgoing calls. No participants in this study were found to be using mobile money applications. Use of social networks was low, although *What's App* and *Facebook* were each mentioned in each in one circumstance, not in connection to business. One male vendor reported that he uses his mobile to access outside information, as he listens to BBC Hausa radio.

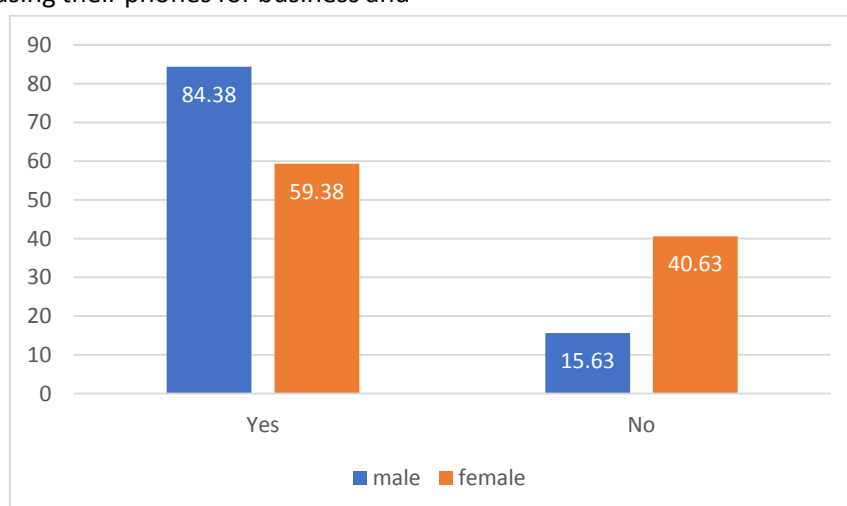


Figure 33: Do you have access to a mobile phone?

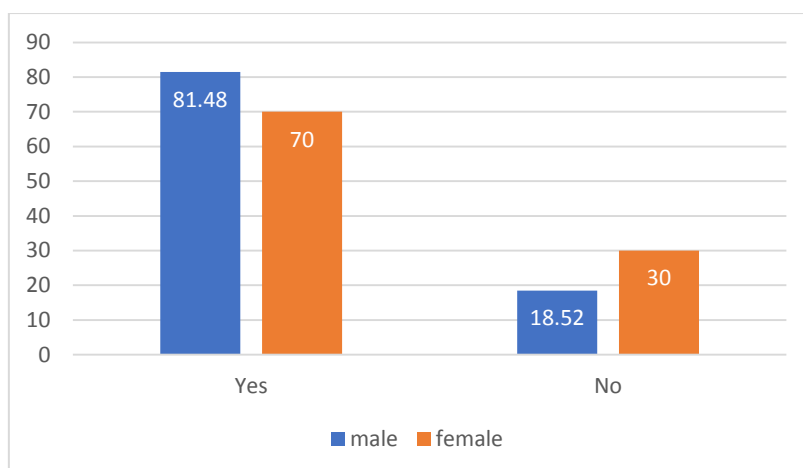


Figure 34: Do you use the phone for your business?

Self-Perception of “empowerment” resulting from business participation

Participation in a street food business may positively affect the way that women see themselves and how they perceive their own empowerment. Ninety-four percent of women in individual interviews expressed that their business has allowed them to feel empowered, according to their own internal definitions of the word (Figure 35). This proportion was even higher than for men. These positive changes were often described in terms of being able to provide for the household, reducing reliance on the husband, or having some autonomy in decision-making, usually with regards to business decisions.

From the respondent answers a consensus seems to emerge on the fundamental importance of their

business for achieving food/meal security of their family, being able to send their children school, and taking care of health problems. One vendor said, “I am very happy to see my children eating three meals.” Others feel empowered explaining, “Now we can buy what we want to buy,” and they are proud because they can make a financial contribution to the home. “Since I started this business,” one women shared, “my children don't beg anymore.” Other cited health benefits explaining that “my blood pressure has come down.” These are all impacts that respondents presented in close connection with an improved sense of self-worth and perception of one’s personal capacity and power to sustain herself and her family, even in full absence of a husband’s income.

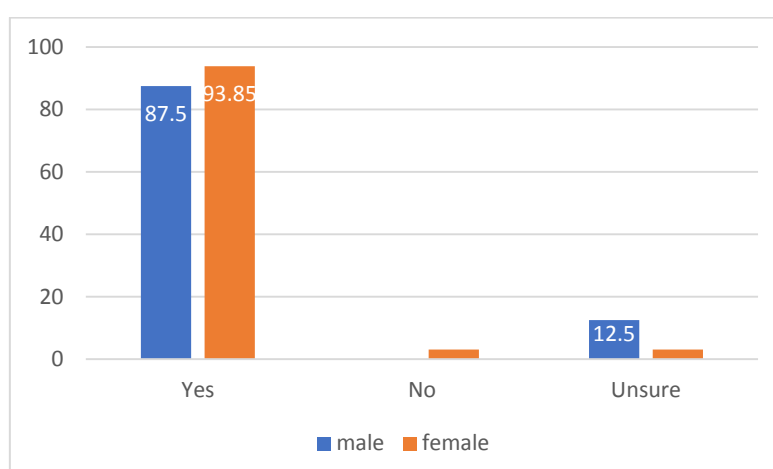


Figure 35: Do you feel empowered by your business activities?

One woman explained the positive feelings that she experienced saying, “I felt good watching my children going to school because I am able to pay for their school fees with the business that I am running.” Another expressed her feelings that she is able to make a contribution to the household and reduce the pressure on her husband to provide: “All thanks to God since we start this business we can do things on our own without being a burden to our husband and also support the family in whatever way can provide help.”

The business also resulted in feelings of empowerment through increased decision making. Although women cannot autonomously decide to start a business as they often need permission, once they have it the business itself seems to offer, even to a married woman, a domain to exercise undivided power of decision making. While the husband has absolute power when it comes to decision making in the family, the women can decide what to prepare and when and where to sell. Women expressed these feelings, saying “I felt very content, and I have some influence over my business.” Other said, “I will be financially capable and self-reliant” and “I will be making decisions within my business.”

The satisfaction of being able to meet the family’s basic needs through her own agency, the change in self-perception (reinforced by the perceived social appreciation of their work), and the experience of a space for decision making, are general indicators of an improved level of empowerment attained by women who engaged in street food businesses.

Opportunities and aspirations in the marketplace

Despite their position of social disadvantage and the many challenges faced resulting from displacement and insurgency, female street food vendors expressed their aspirations and perceived opportunities to improve their livelihoods. The top opportunity, continuously cited by women across many communities, was having enough capital to support their cash flow need of their business. For many, increased capital would be used to purchase ingredients in advance so that they no longer need

to bear the risks of buying on credit. For others, they aspire to improve their livelihoods by investing in equipment and infrastructure, or by diversifying or changing their line of business.

Many street food vendors aspire to improve their business by investing in equipment or infrastructure. The commonly expressed need was for a cover, shade, or umbrella to shelter the vendor from the sun and rain. Some see the need for a wheel barrow to transport equipment to a better location. Others expressed that they would like to have tables and chairs to allow their customers to sit and attracts more customers, while some aspire to open a full restaurant or formal shop.

For some vendors, the top opportunities to improve their business is in marketing, improving the product, or changing products. One women expressed that she would like more people to know about what she sells, while others wish that they could improve their food by making it “more tasty.” “If empowered financially,” one woman explained, “I will diversify my business.” Opportunities to diversify the business included introducing new products like groundnuts and banana juice and moving up the value chain by purchasing a grinding machine. Others felt that if they had the opportunity, they would change their line of business and leave street food vending entirely.

Empowerment and Gender Relations in The Household

Time use and balance of reproductive activities

Women who operate a street food business face the additional challenge of balancing their productive, or livelihood activities, with their reproductive, or caregiver activities. This may put women are at a disadvantage in the marketplace because they have less time and flexibility to operate their business, or it may mean that their activities at home, as well as their health, suffer from lack of attention.

Figure 36 below displays the frequency of responses given when men and women were asked how many hours they spend on their business. The pattern

suggests that men tend to work on their income-generating business more hours per day than do women. Over three-quarters of men reported working more than 8 hours or per day on their street food business. By contrast 60 percent women work less than 5 hours, and 85 percent work 8 hours or

fewer. This finding reflects the additional time requirements on women for household and care-giving work, and may also reflect the less formalized and permanent nature of women's businesses, that may for example only operate during certain periods of the day.

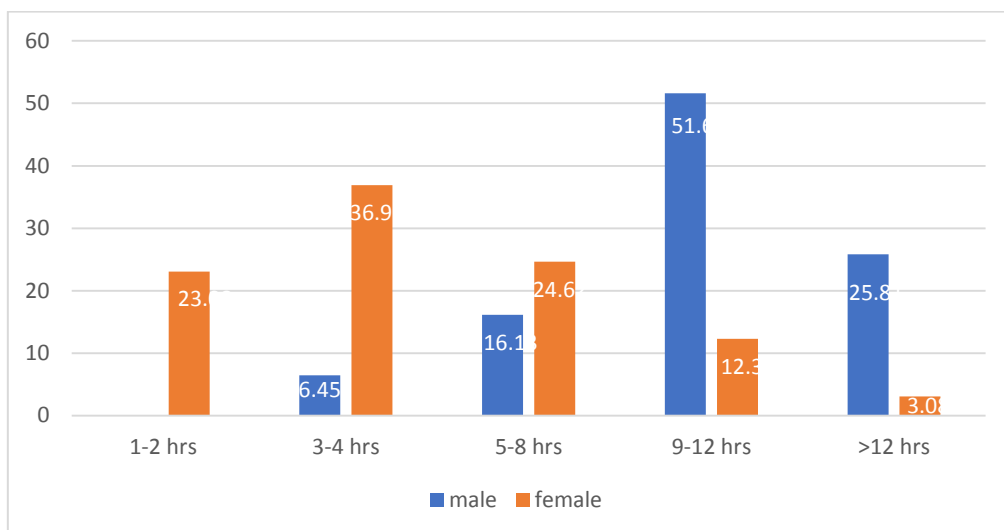


Figure 36: How many hours a day do you work on your business?

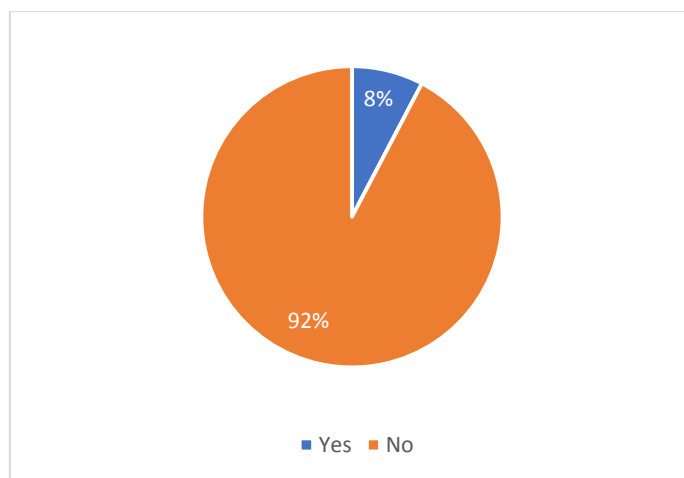


Figure 37: Do your responsibilities at home and your business ever interfere with each other?

An interesting finding of this research was while women reported many challenges balancing household and work tasks, when asked directly most claimed that their work and home responsibilities did not in fact interfere with each other (Figure 37). This may be due to the strength of traditional gender roles, where women see themselves primarily as caregivers. Having undertaken the business out of necessity to support the family, the women may view the productive and reproductive domains as in

harmony, rather than in conflict. This further reinforces the notion that street food businesses are viewed by women as a mechanism of coping in support of her role as caregiver, rather than an external endeavor undertaken for personal empowerment. It may also reflect an unwillingness by women to appear to be posing a challenge to traditional social order and gender roles.

Nevertheless, women noted many challenges and strategies undertaken to balance productive and

reproductive tasks. These challenges include lack of time to finish household chores and lack of time to rest, which can lead to problems with her husband. "The work is too much," explained one woman. There is also an impact on market activities. As one woman explained, "It is usually disturbing because you should be thinking of the children left behind at home, so [selling street food] interferes with the household activities sometimes." Other women worry about coming home late, one explaining that when she does, "my family will be kept in hunger which sometimes makes it difficult for me to concentrate on the business." Women also reported disruption to their market activities when they have an unexpected crisis, such as a child illness which requires her to miss work to take the child to the clinic.

Women employ a range of strategies to balance their household and market responsibilities. Many report waking up early, sometimes at 4 AM, to complete the housework and to feed the children before school. Some mothers with older children have them assist, and work that cannot be completed must be "left for another day." Many children will go to school, but some mothers will commonly sell near the home so as not to leave children unattended and thus vulnerable (location of sale and protection issues have been discussed previously).

One woman says she sells at her house so that her children are "always within my eye's reach," while another explained, "I only go out to sell when my neighbors are home so they can help me keep an eye on my children." This was a common theme, as many women reported relying on family, friends, and neighbors to look after children who are not in school, but are too young to assist with the business. Older children, as discussed earlier often help mothers at the point of sale or by hawking food in the street.

Male vendors also reported that their business responsibilities interfere with their home life. Often this related to them coming back home late at night when their wives may be "angry" because the men

have no time to "sit at home with [their] wives." Men explained that, "We plead with our spouse to calm down or else we get into trouble with them." When arriving home late, the men find that their children are already asleep and so the men feel they have "no time to teach [their] children." Nevertheless, many men agreed that the time balance is acceptable because the wives take care of the home and they provide income to feed the family.

Meal Security and Food Security

Meal Security

Women in Maiduguri consistently explained their decision to start a street food business was a response to the imperative of "feeding their children." Women, whether IDPs or host community members and whether married and widowed, shared this key motivator as a common trait. As one woman explained, "I woke up one day and found nothing to eat and my children are crying for hunger. Then I decided to open a small business for selling *moi moi*." Selling of food is unique in that it provides a dual pathway to meet the need of feeding the children, as it allows women to generate an income for feeding their family, but also to produce food itself. As one woman explained, "There is no need to cook again." Another woman shared, "I can also feed my children from the business and they go to school looking happy."

Therefore, engaging in this business is clearly for all the women an end and a means to that end at the same time. Women consistently refer to feeding their children the meals that they prepare, especially the ones freshly prepared for breakfast (normally *akara* and *masa*), but also the leftovers at the end of the day. Women also reported leaving meals for other times of the day in packages ready for children left to the care of the neighbors while they are working. The model of business incorporates the basic need that motivated them: the ingredients bought for the business, are not only used to prepare meals to be sold, but also to cook for and feed their own children. This represents a merging of women's productive and reproductive roles.

As revealed by women's own language, this presents both a perspective of meal security and a paradoxical condition of sustainability: on days where sales are poor and there is little profit, the family is nonetheless fed. The nutritional value and dietary diversity of these meals however may be poor, as most of the women's preparations are based on cereals and pulses. Buying food from other women was mentioned in one focus group discussion as solution for diversifying meals considering women's time constraints. As one women explained, "Sometimes we buy from others as we get tired of eating the same food every day." Another woman said, "I will give [my children] 10 naira for their breakfast at school."

The importance of the dual role of street food to both generate income and to feed the children was uniquely identified by women in their decision to operate. The perspectives of men are very different, and for them, the main criteria of viability are the existence of capital, adequate location, and enough clients to allow generation of profits.

Food Security

The importance of street food for household food security in Maiduguri can also be viewed through the four main components of food security, as defined by the Food and Agriculture Organization: availability, access, utilization, and stability.²⁵

Food is widely available in markets urban Maiduguri (although some foods may seasonally be hard to find), but the main barrier for many poor households is access. Many families lack the income to purchase adequate food, and as many women described, they are purchasing ingredients on credit. Therefore, the ability to borrow ingredient both supports the business and enables direct access to household food. Many residents in IDP camps have extremely limited access to food and are highly dependent on food aid to meet household needs.

Stability over time, especially seasonality, is also an important factor for the food security of street food vendors and their families. Women and men often cited fluctuations in food prices as one of their biggest challenges. In addition, there are seasonal impacts that depress the livelihood, particularly during the rainy season when firewood is scarce and expensive, and many women operate without a cover from the elements.

Utilization brings out the importance of non-food inputs such as clean water, sanitation, and health care to food security. Although street food vendors in this study had access to clean water, periodical disruptions were common. Women displayed a generally low level of health education, and hygiene conditions at points of sale were very basic. Many women mention that child sickness, especially diarrhea is a problem, and this is also found to be worse in the IDP camps, some of which have also had epidemics of cholera in recent months. Chronic diarrhea leads to long term intestinal problems (environmental enteropathy), limiting the body's ability to utilize nutrients. Utilization may also be considered in terms of gendered identities regarding the patterns of street food consumption. Unmarried men turn to street food because they do not have the ability to cook for themselves, thus transforming the inaccessible nutrients in raw foods into a form that can be utilized by their bodies.

Household Gender Roles, Decision making, and Autonomy

Participation in a street food business allows women a degree of financial independence, especially when her husband is now longer producing an income because of displacement, disability, or death. Many women expressed the feeling that, "We are no longer a burden to our husbands," and they felt great joy at being about to see their children eat healthy meals and attend school. Nevertheless, women who run a business and income rarely see great changes

²⁵ Food and Agriculture Organization. An Introduction to the Basic Concepts of Food Security. 2007. www.foodsec.org/docs/concepts_guide.pdf

to their autonomy or decision-making power in the household, considering the strict traditional gender roles in society. As one woman cautioned, "Even if you are richer than your husband, you can never disobey him, so all decision-making has to be by both of us."

A woman conducting a business does not automatically gain decision making power in her relationship with spouse within the household, with very few exceptions. The only women who claimed to be able to take decision were widows, or those with a sick or absent husband. Otherwise, overall women in focus groups were eager to remark how their business, even if economically positive, did not change their relationship with their husband, who continues to stand as a key authority with higher power in their lives even when they are not economically dependent on him any longer. Widows and separated women have a partially different experience. Beside their condition of vulnerability, they experience a dimension of autonomy in decision-making that other married women do not have. One women expressed this saying, "As we have no husbands, the decisions at home are in our hands only."

Men's Changing Attitudes Towards Their Wives' Businesses

Many women recalled that while their husbands were initially skeptical of them starting their own business, they have become more supportive once they realized the benefit that it accrues to them and the family. A man's initial reluctance to support his wife's livelihood may be based on social norms. As one participant explained, "Socially I was deprived by my husband initially. He didn't want me to go out and meet young people, but later he realized that we cannot continue like that." Men may also see it as a threat to their dominant role as the household earner. "Initially my husband felt like I was overpowering him [by earning money]," explained one woman. "But then he realized that the business is helping us a lot, especially by providing food for the family." Another described the trend saying, "My

husband didn't like it when I started the business, but now that am helping him care for the family, he is okay."

This is especially the case when there is a higher level of need, such as when the husband if out of work. Women contribute economically to, or entirely support their household, experience overall the approval of their husbands and extended family. Many expressed a common perception that, "My husband treats me with respect because I'm not a burden to him again." Widows who are responsible for the full burden of providing for the household explained, "We have no husband but the family appreciates our business, because no one can take care of our children." Despite the trends towards support and collaboration, a few women noted that since they have begun earning, their husband has actually refused to work or has put even more responsibilities on her shoulders.

The change in attitudes seems to be in part because the husband can eat from what his wife earns and can take her money when it suits him. Many women mentioned that in addition to feeding the children, men eat from the street food as well as from the food purchased with the increased income. Some women also mentioned that men may take money from their wives' earnings, and this can cause antagonism in the household. "Sometimes the men will collect the money that we make from our sales and go and spend it," lamented one women living in an IDP camp. "Some of our men are useless, they will take money and take it to prostitutes in this camp." Another woman living in a large camp said that her husband is supportive only insofar as he can take out money at will. Her children saw their father take the money, and they innocently reported it back to their mother. When she brought it up to her husband, he got angry at hearing her complain and threatened to take away her permission to sell.

Support of Men for Women's Street Food Businesses

While some men simply tolerate their wife's participation in street food business, other men actively support them to succeed. One women

described the emotional support she received, saying, "When I am feeling disappointed because of poor sales and want to give up, my husband encourages me to continue. When I was sick he asked our children to help me sell." Another reported that her husband actually contributes to business activities, allowing her to rest: "When I am sleeping and costumers come to buy fried soybeans, he will not wake me up. He will make the sale and keep the money for me." In very few cases women refer to experiencing a collaborative process of decision making with their husband, often in a situation where their business is mainly for the family. In one case, a male street food vendor recognized that he shares decision-making power with his spouse, ever since an experience that changed his consideration of her: "I decide together with my wife. This is because there was a time when I lost my capital, and she was the one who raised some money and gave it to me to continue the business. The money she gave me was 20,000 Naira."

Persistence of Traditional Gender Roles in the Household

A general trend was that women carefully expressed themselves a way that will not challenge the traditional order dictating gender roles in the household. This was the cases even in IDP camps where men's livelihoods were completely eroded and their position as the main breadwinner was compromised, and women were relatively empowered as the ones who earn money to support the family. Women described, "No changes at all in how we see [the men]; the husbands still remain the head of the house." In the majority of interactions with the researchers, women were eager to underline (and sometimes validate) that the traditional order allowing the husband decision making power on his wife is still well in place.

With regards to how they perceive their husbands to treat them, women commented that, "The business has not changed the way our husbands treat us. The husband still remains the head of the house. If we misbehave, they may end up stopping us from doing

our business." Other reiterated this note of fear that the husband has the power to take away a woman's freedom or even identity as a mother: "I want to remain with my children. If my behavior changed as a result of my business activities, it would create problems for me and my husband." This is deeply rooted in the social and religious traditions. "Our religion does not allow looking down on your husband," stated one woman directly.

One factor playing a role in women's support for the male-dominated hierarchy may be a deep sense of duty and desire to return quickly to the way of life they had before the current crisis. "If my husband does not provide enough, then I must assist him," noted one participant. Another explained, "We don't allow [a change in the way we consider our husbands] to happen because we always respect our husbands. Back then before the insurgency they did take care of us so now that they don't have anything we don't have right to change our behaviors." The sense of duty and loyalty was underscored by another: "The business did not change our behavior; your husband is your husband, he is like a father to you."

Challenges to Traditional Gender Roles

Despite the persistence and strength of traditional gender roles, in a few cases women reported that their street food business has allowed them to challenge or even invert the traditional order. One woman living a host community in the urban center exclaimed to the great amusement of her peers, "Now that I earn money, I am in control! My husband has to accommodate me, and he would not dare to take another wife!" This woman reported more power and decision making in the household, and that her husband is now more likely to agree with her suggestions and trust her judgement. In the Bakasi IDP camp, one women's focus group discussion noted that a complete inversion of the traditional gender roles has taken place: "Now the women have become the men because we work. The men are at home like women, sleeping, doing nothing."

5. Review of Gender in WFP Operations and Recommendations for Programmatic Solutions

Community Perceptions of Humanitarian Assistance

Humanitarian assistance by WFP, its partners, and other aid agencies has been a crucial lifeline for many households in crisis in Maiduguri. Respondent status as a recipient of aid was not collected from street food vendors in this study, in order to avoid

potential bias of results and to avoid raising expectations of receiving aid. Nevertheless, inquiry was made into community perceptions of how aid, particularly the targeting of women for entitlements, affects gender and social relations.

Both male and female street food vendors perceive that the active targeting of women to receive aid entitlements improves their decision-making power within the household (Figure 38). A large proportion of respondents also believe that actively targeting women results in positive improvements to relations between men and women in the household (Figure 39).

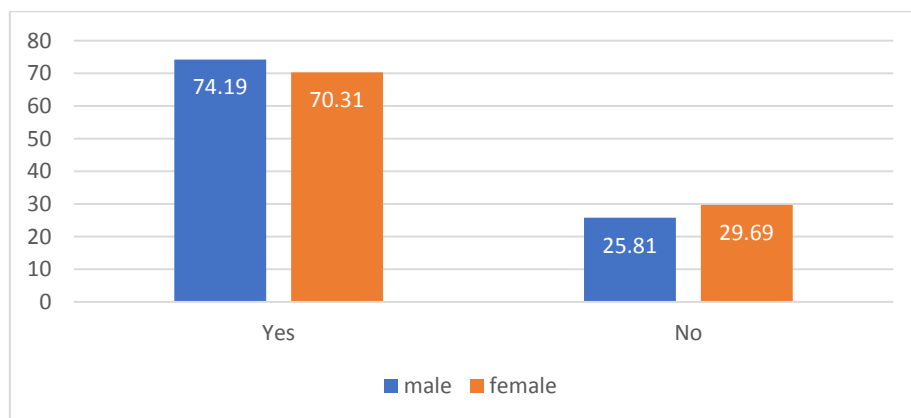


Figure 38: Does the active targeting of women improve their decision-making power within the household?

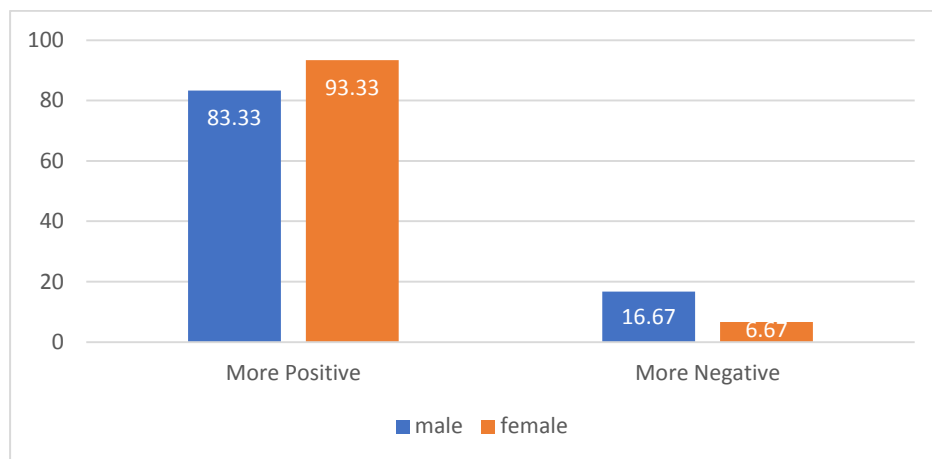


Figure 39: Does the active targeting of women result in more positive or more negative relations between men and women?

Nevertheless, throughout interviews, community interactions, and observations, a common thread emerged that men are jealous of women, or otherwise do not understand why women are targeted to receive aid. When directly asked whether targeting women provokes jealousy, frustration, or

violence from men, nearly 40 percent of men said that it did, compared to below 20 percent of women (Figure 40). This number may also be subject to some response bias leading to under-reporting. “What about the men?” was a common chorus heard during community visits and discussions with male vendors

and clients. Men often feel skipped over and feel that their authority as the head of household is diminished when women receive aid, which can “divide the household.” One male street food seller summarized this succinctly when he said, “The men think that WFP will empower the women and men will be left behind.” The consequences of this can be severe, as an anecdote was heard about a jealous husband who divorced his wife after deciding that she was not spending their family’s aid money fairly on him and the children.

An important pattern found in this research was that while men exhibit jealousy when their wives received aid, men were typically supportive of their wives’ increased earnings through operation of a street food business, as discussed previously. This has important implications for assistance programming, as livelihood support to women may result in some degree of empowerment for the women as well as improved gender relations within the household. It also reinforces the importance of transparency and of sensitization programs for both women and men on how and why aid is targeted.

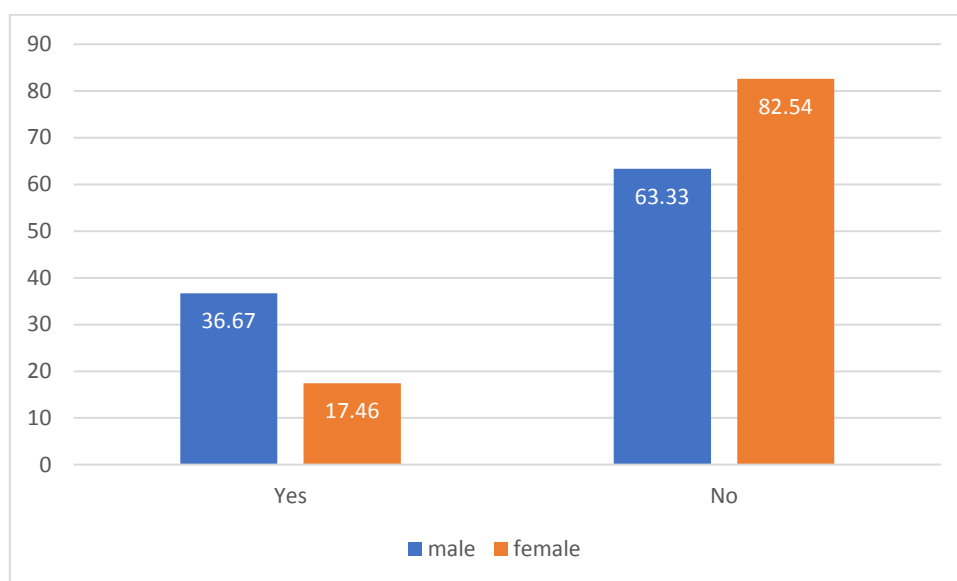


Figure 40: Does the active targeting of women provoke jealousy or frustration from men, or result in domestic violence?

Another thread that emerged in this study was that non-recipients of assistance, especially within host communities, feel that they are being unfairly passed-over by aid organizations such as WFP. Key informants confirmed that tensions between IDPs and host communities, especially between those receiving and those not receiving aid, was a growing problem in Maiduguri.

A desperation to receive aid and a fear of being passed-over was observed among many communities during visits. In some communities, residents were very aggressive and competitive when the research team arrived because they mistakenly believed that they would be registered to receive aid if they participated.

In this regard, they also revealed divisions within the community, as there was a great deal of in-fighting and accusations that the community leader was playing favorites, only choosing people from his own LGA or family. One respondent during the client survey said, “All I want to say is that whenever these kind of assistance come, they should be given to the needy ones, not the government, because they only give it to their people, while the needy ones do not have any.” The notion that powerful leaders divert and monopolize resources arose several times during the research, with this the implication that humanitarian organizations should not assume that existing, male-dominated power structures are fair or inclusive when determining distribution channels.

Gender Considerations in WFP Nigeria Responses and Assessments

Although there are currently no programs focused on improving the livelihoods and well-being of women specifically involved in street food businesses, the WFP Nigeria Country Office increasingly considers gender in its assessments and programming. These capacities will be strengthened through the Nigeria Country Office Gender Action Plan, which is in early draft.

Gender in Assessments and Programming

WFP Nigeria is continually integrating gender considerations into its assessments and programming to support people affected by crisis in the country. A Gender and Protection team currently reviews the assessment tools and works closely with the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) and Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping (VAM) units to mainstream gender in tools such as the Emergency Food Security Assessment (EFSA) and Post-Distribution Monitoring (PDM). Efforts are made to go beyond simply collecting gender-disaggregated data, to including indicators about women's participation, decision-making, and empowerment.

Rapid Assessments are conducted to quickly identify urgent food security needs within time and resource constraints. The Rapid Assessment tool used by the Nigeria Country Office, such as for the recent Konduga Rapid Assessment, collects information on household assets, food consumption (including Food Consumption Score and Household Dietary Diversity Score), Coping Strategies Index, livelihoods and income sources, humanitarian assistance, and mother and child nutrition (Including MUAC).²⁶ Because of its design for rapid data collection, the Rapid Assessment does not have an explicit protection and gender component. Some indicators related to gender can be inferred from the data collected; these include sex of household head, education, access to clean water, risks caused by

gathering firewood, mobile networks, and preferences for aid and assistance modalities.

The Emergency Food Security Assessment (EFSA) is far more in-depth, and is used to “to assess the impact of shock on the food security of households and communities within the affected area... to inform the decision-making process.”²⁷ The EFSA measures the impact of the crisis on food security and livelihoods, the severity of the crisis, the level of malnutrition, coping mechanisms, and estimates how many people are food insecure and where they are. Although the standard WFP EFSA tool does not have a significant gender component, the Nigeria Country Office is adding gendered components recently.

Most reported data in the Nigeria EFSA are gender-disaggregated, and the tool has a significant protection component that measures safety and security issues affect men, women, girls, and boys. Data is gathered on important areas including distance to water source, firewood, assets, and education, although the extent to which some of these are reported is unclear. Attempts are made to gather information on men's and women's preferences for assistance and food aid modalities. Information on time use for reproductive tasks, domestic roles of men and women, and economic opportunities appear to be absent from the tool.

Gender is also increasingly considered in programming of WFP Nigeria, for example during planning and executing General Food Distributions (GFD), Cash-based Transfers (CBT), and Nutrition programs. Gender is required to be considered in proposals from partners and including in the budgets of the proposals. Recognizing that men and women have different views towards distributions and CBT, WFP carries out sensitization to help them understand decisions make regarding assistance.

In the planning phase, it is ensured that women comprise at least 50 percent of food management

²⁶ World Food Programme. “Konduga Joint Rapid Assessment.” September 2017.

²⁷ World Food Programme. *Emergency Food Security Assessment Handbook, Second Edition*. Rome. 2009.

committees and that they are actively participating in them. Women participate in community committees and targeting committees to determine the lists of vulnerable households, and vulnerability criteria include indicators such as female-headed households.

Attempts are made to assess women's preferences and ensure their safety during distributions, for example asking women if they felt safe or threatened. The perceptions of the community toward women being targeted for assistance, and the possible negative consequences such as deepening divisions, was discussed previously. Protection risks during distributions, which are not unique to Nigeria were found to include abuse, bribes, survival sex for CBT cards and food, long waiting times, and purchasing expired foods. Regarding CBT cards, they are accepted by vendors, but women do not run the kinds of businesses that accept them. Beneficiaries are provided with a complaint line and suggestion box to ensure their voices are heard. Effort is made by the Procurement division to source commodities from female run business. Currently 2 of 15 large providers are headed by women, although these enterprises are in Lagos in the south of the country, not the Northeast.

Post-distribution monitoring (PDI) is a core WFP activity to ensure accountability, quality and effectiveness of aid. While WFP PDI tools only include gender in a broad sense, there is effort at the country level to revise tools to collect more specific gender-sensitive information. Nevertheless, there has been some pushback reported from government partners who feel that gender and protection should not be prioritized and can be addressed later.

Nigeria Gender Action Plan

The capacity of the country office to address current gender gaps in assessments and programming will be strengthened with the development and adoption of

the Nigeria Gender Action Plan, which is currently underway. In May 2015, the WFP executive board approved the WFP Gender Policy (2015-2020), with the goal to “enable WFP to integrate gender equality and women’s empowerment into all of its works and activities, to ensure that the different food security and nutrition needs of women, men, girls and boys are addressed.”²⁸ The Regional Bureau in Dakar (RBD) developed a regional gender implementation strategy which serves as a guide for WFP Nigeria. The Nigeria Country Office is now in the early stages of developing and drafting a country Gender Action Plan to align with the WFP regional and global goals and objectives.²⁹

The early draft Gender Action Plan outlines a number of Key Actions that align the Nigeria’s Country Strategic Plan with regional and global gender strategies. Several of the Strategic Outcomes have direct relevance for women operating street food businesses. These include Strategic Outcome II (livelihood strengthening through provision of food and technical assistance) and Strategic Outcome III (enhanced nutritional access through access to nutritious food). Several key gender actions in the Gender Action Plan also have direct relevance to street food vendors, and it is intended that this study will contribute in these areas. They include: delivery modalities of food assistance and livelihoods is based on preferences and equal accessibility for women and men; ensuring views and preferred assistance options of women, men, girls, and boys are taken into account; and collecting and sharing human interest stories of gender integration/mainstreaming into the humanitarian and livelihood response activities. Potential programmatic solutions to how WFP Nigeria can adapt its operations to leverage the potential of street food for contributing to food and nutrition security in this emergency context are elaborated in the next section.

²⁸ World Food Programme. “WFP Gender Policy 2015-2020.” Rome. July 2015.

²⁹ World Food Programme. “WFP Nigeria Draft Gender Action Plan.” 2017.

Potential Programmatic Solutions to Address the Identified Challenges Faced by Women and Men in Street Food Markets

The following recommendations are consistent with the Nigeria Country Strategic Plan and Gender Action Plan and consider the position of women's empowerment as a guiding principle necessary for reaching gender equality.³⁰ These recommendations, based on this market and gender analysis, are proposed to be integrated across different WFP operational units and include recommendations in three areas: Programming, Assessment, and Partnerships.

Recommendations for Programming

- **Formation and Support of Women's Groups**

One of the greatest opportunities for intervention to support women's economic empowerment is the organization and formation of street food vendors into women's groups. This draws on the experience of Purchase for Progress (P4P), facilitating the aggregation and training of professional groups that can develop voluntary savings and loan associations (VSLAs), and can reach collective agreements with traders. Formation of VSLAs can draw on past experience with *adashe*, helping to reestablish trust and social capital among women. Formal producer groups can purchase inputs collectively at a reduced price, and can develop mechanisms for storage of inventory, eliminating the vulnerability that many women reported from fluctuations in input prices and constantly feeling unable to meet their credit balance obligations.

The formation of women's groups also opens many opportunities for training and skill development in business skills, including training on health and hygiene food practices, producing of nutritious food, and training on the use of ICT, especially mobile phones, to augment the business practices. There is a strong opportunity also to facilitate the revamping

of traditional recipes to improve their nutritional value while ensuring social acceptability. Producer groups may also help to reduce protection risks for girls, because after groups are formalized, girls may be transferred to roles where they are less exposed to protection threats.

The outcomes of this intervention would be reinforced social capital, reinforced household resilience through savings, improvement along the value chain by emergence of collective actors, and the contribution to empowerment by fostering participation and leadership.

- **Provision of Capital, Inputs, and Infrastructure**

Provision of capital consistently emerged as one of the greatest needs cited by women in this study. As women often struggle to raise capital while meeting their household needs and obligations, provision of support for infrastructure such as tables, covers and cooking stoves can have a significant impact on their businesses. Covers, roofs, and umbrellas were often mentioned as essential improvements to ensure that women can continue to sell during the rainy season and in the hot sun. Tables and chairs or benches would allow vendors to make their customers comfortable eating on site and increase their customer base, while wheelbarrows allow women to access better markets further from their homes.

As women are highly dependent on firewood and often cite the price fluctuations as a challenge, provision of either gas cooking stoves or fuel-efficient wood stoves, as well as training on how to best use them, represents a major intervention opportunity. There is also an opportunity to raise interest and facilitate agreements on credit between female vendors and sellers of high efficiency cooking stoves. The outcomes of these interventions would include reduced protection and health risks, as

³⁰ "Women empowerment is considered as integral to the achievement of gender equality". National Gender Policy, 2008.

women would have less exposure to wood smoke and would spend less time gathering firewood. It would also reduce the impact of wood price fluctuations on women's businesses, and reduce wood consumption for environmental protection purposes.

- **Cash-based Transfer and Voucher Assistance**

CBT and voucher assistance modalities can be used to support women's empowerment in street food markets. Seeing as street food is an important source for many poor and vulnerable people, especially children in host communities and camps, one recommendation is to adapt a voucher system to be used by target beneficiaries with street food vendors. This scheme would provide direct support to the food security of beneficiaries, while indirectly supporting the local street food economy and women sellers. This may be especially effective if sellers are formalized into women's producer groups as above.

Another option is to involve traders through a limited period of support for street-food business to use vouchers to purchase ingredients. This could be combine or stand independent for the formation of women's groups. This intervention supports the local economy, cushions vendors against price fluctuations, and supports the value chain by increasing women's capital to purchase ingredients.

- **Support for Street Food Vendors in School Feeding Programmes**

This study found that street food, especially those produced by women, are an incredibly important source of food security and nutrition for school-aged children. There exists an opportunity to launch a proposal for informal groups of women vendors who are interested in formalizing their business into an association and managing a school feeding scheme. Women should be selected on the basis of their existing capacity and will to engage in transformation, and should participate in a training programme focused on hygiene, health, and

nutrition. An intervention with these elements will serve to empower women vendors, improve food and nutrition security and nutrition security for school-aged children, and improve school attendance.

- **Address and Reduce Protection Risks Especially Gender-Based Violence**

This study revealed significant protection risks, especially for young girls, through participation in street food businesses. There is therefore an opportunity for WFP to facilitate participatory processes involving local and national authorities to further identify threats and solutions with the input of girls and mothers. Outreach and sensitization to families with girls involved in street food business can assist in recognizing and remunerating girls' work, and switching them to roles where protection risks are lower. The output would be to lower insecurity, protection risks, and GBV.

- **Support for Men and Boys Along the Value Chain**

Parallel support for men and boys along the street food business value chain can help to address the recurrent feelings, and subsequent negative consequences, of men being overlooked by interventions. This study found that male street food businesses tend to be vocational, with men often apprenticing from a young age and staying in business for a period of many years. Educational and livelihoods opportunities were identified as a major community need, including by the Bulama of Shehuri North, a central urban community, where traditional agricultural livelihoods have been disrupted for many years. Therefore, vocational training programs that leverage traditional arrangements can be supported to provide young men with improved livelihoods.

Recommendations for Assessments and Monitoring and Evaluation Tools

Several opportunities exist to adapt monitoring and assessment tools to leverage the potential of street food businesses in Maiduguri. One such opportunity

is to monitor the prices of ingredients for street food businesses, as this has a major impact on the livelihood and food security of women vendors. After implementation of a voucher scheme for women to purchase ingredients, partner traders should be tracked removed from partner list if they are found to be increasing prices beyond a threshold.

After SFB are targeted for intervention, several monitoring approaches should be used by WFP. The quality and variety of street food sold should be measured and compared between beneficiary SFB and non-beneficiaries, especially after health and nutrition trainings. WFP should organize regular consultations with beneficiaries as well as with surrounding community, to assess any potential negative consequences of the programme, especially with attention to GBV. Finally, household consumption of beneficiary SFB should be tracked so as to see how extra income is spent and the effect on household resources.

Finally, WFP should track gender implications through the presence of assessment modules dedicated to assessing gender dynamics and decision-making patterns in different HHs (male headed, female headed, youth headed), both among beneficiaries of different schemes and among non-beneficiaries. In addition, VAM market monitoring should be organized to have a once-yearly update of the present study of street food markets in Nigeria, maintaining a mixed methods and participatory approach.

Recommendations for Development of Partnerships and Policies

A number of partnerships should be developed to support the work of WFP to leverage street food to improve food security. Partnerships across the relief and recovery spectrum, for example with UNDP, will allow WFP to identify new opportunities to provide

long-term livelihood support to women street food vendors. Another opportunity is to assess the existence of farmers in peri-urban areas of Maiduguri and introduce farmers' school, facilitate farmers' associations, connect them with groups of women vendors to strengthen the supply chains for inputs. Partners for this initiative could include FAO, IFAD, and Ministry of Agriculture.

Regarding protection, partnerships can be made to organize Safe Spaces for girls and boys, and provide sensitization and education on GBV threats and how to report them. Potential partners include UNICEF, the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, local municipalities, and NGOs involved in peacebuilding and in gender equality initiatives.

Regarding fuel efficient stoves, WFP can garner the interest of relevant health and environmental public institutions such as Ministry of Health, WHO, and UNICEF, to identify best practices and replicate outcomes. Health institutions should be included in monitoring effect on health at the household and community levels in connection with changes in cooking technology. WFP should also prioritize partnerships that increase health access for women, and address other health issues related to street food vending that were identified in this research, such as high blood pressure, heat exhaustion, and back pain, and other disabilities.

Conclusion

The findings of this study reveal that street food markets in Maiduguri are highly gendered and women face gender-specific challenges to economic inclusion and empowerment. In addition, the study has found that street food is important for food security and nutrition in the urban setting, both as a source of nutrition and as a livelihood activity. Understanding the specific roles of women, men, and youth in the marketplace and the challenges that they face is essential to WFP for planning effective humanitarian interventions in this context.

Women and men have different motivations for entering street food markets, and occupy distinct roles in the market, both along the value chain and according to the types of foods that they sell. Unlike men, who may be operate further up the value chain as retailers, women in this context only operate as vendors of final food products.

Women identified that their principal motivation for starting a street food business was to feed their children and to alleviate some of the economic burden resulting from the current crisis, often after the loss of their husband's income. Men tend to articulate their business as more vocational, often having learned the trade from a family member or mentor, operating for longer periods, and expressing their ambitions in terms of profit and capital.

Women rarely question traditional gender roles in which they are primarily responsible for the household, and commonly express their business activities in terms that relate to the role as caregivers. Nevertheless, this study found that participation in street food markets leads to numerous opportunities for empowerment. Women expressed that generating income has allowed them to feel satisfaction that they can provide for their children and that they are no longer dependent on their husbands' income. Within the household, this study found that despite their initial skepticism, men

are often supportive of their wives' businesses once they realize the benefit that it brings to the family. In addition, the activity of selling street food has a vital role for food security as children are often fed from the same food that mothers prepare for selling.

Nevertheless, women face unique challenges to economic inclusion and empowerment in this context. For both economic and cultural reasons, women have low levels of mobility and often sell food close to their homes. Women street food vendors lack access to formal financial markets, and are highly dependent on borrowing ingredients on credit, which leaves them vulnerable if they fail to repay. In addition, youth have a central role in street food markets, especially as "hawkers" or mobile sellers, which leaves them vulnerable to numerous protection risks.

This study has provided a deeper understanding of these challenges, which is essential for allowing WFP to identify opportunities for programmatic interventions. In addition to inclusion of gender in market assessment and monitoring tools, several programmatic areas can be leveraged to support street food business to improve livelihoods and food security. These include formation of women's groups, which can be targeted for training on business practices, health, and nutrition. Groups can also be linked with improved access to financing, and can be leveraged to cook for school feeding programmes.

In addition, WFP can identify partnerships to target provision of capital and infrastructure, integrate street food into CBT and voucher assistance programmes, and address protection and gender-based violence risks specific to street food vendors. With a deeper understanding of the gendered roles and challenges faced by women, men, and youth in these markets, WFP can better respond to the food security and livelihoods needs of vulnerable people in Maiduguri and other urban humanitarian settings.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Country Case Study Protocol

GENDER & MARKETS STUDY: EMPOWERING WOMEN IN WEST AFRICA

(August 2016)

COUNTRY CASE STUDY PROTOCOL



1. Background/ Literature Review

- a) Read, compile and review secondary literature, gender assessments of WFP and partners, and any secondary databases containing relevant gender-sensitive information on the country;
- b) Identify and meet with key partners in the country to discuss study objectives, obtain additional secondary data and information, and potentially identify areas for collaboration in conducting study (i.e. IFAD, WorldVision, FAO, FEWSNET, national universities, etc.);
- c) Assess to what extent the main research questions can already be addressed by using secondary data and information;
- d) Identify data information gaps to focus study design.

2. Design

- a) Work with RBD, CO and partner agencies to identify whether the case study should be singlecase or multiple-case and embedded or holistic designs, and show the logical links between these and the research questions;
- b) Describe the objective of study (e.g. building on the general objective to obtain information on gender and food markets in West Africa, by taking into consideration CO programme concerns);
- c) Identify any propositions or sub-questions derived from each research question and the measures to be used to investigate the propositions.

4. Case Study Procedures and Roles

- a) In addition to case study researcher, specify roles of other WFP staff (should additional CO capacity be provided) or additional support staff.

5. Data Collection

- a) Identify the data to be collected;
- b) Define a data collection plan (specifying scope, duration, collection tools, survey/interview questions, etc.);
- c) Define how the data will be stored.

6. Analysis

- a) Identify the criteria for interpreting case study findings (Analysis Plan);
- b) Identify which data elements are used to address which research question/sub question/proposition and how the data elements will be combined to answer the question;
- c) Consider the range of possible outcomes and identify alternative explanations of the outcomes, and identify any information that is needed to distinguish between these.

7. Reporting

- a) Provide a final report summarizing all findings and analysis;
- b) Include all data collection materials (i.e surveys, interview questions) in Annex;
- c) Include datasets in Annex;
- d) Include list of partners and nature of partnership in Annex;
- e) Include additional materials in subsequent annexes.

Appendix 2: Interview Protocols and Data Collection Tools

Gender and Markets Initiative: Case Study of Street Food Vendors in Maiduguri, Nigeria

Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Target Audience: Women Involved in Street Food Business

A: Day and Date:
B: Name of Interviewer:
C: Number Interview of Day:
D: Location (Community, Camp Name, Ward, LGA):

INTRODUCTION:

Hello, my name is _____. We are conducting a study for the *United Nations*. This study looks at the roles of men and women in markets in Maiduguri. We are especially interested in **women who sell street food** and the **challenges** that they face in their business. The results of this study will be used by WFP and other agencies to improve interventions that assist women and increase family food security.

We are only researchers, **not UN employees**, and we have **no control over who receives assistance** or aid. Your answers will have **no impact** on your eligibility to receive aid from WFP or other organizations in the future. Your answers will only be used to improve our future programs, so please answer honestly. There are no “right” or “wrong” responses: we are only interested to hear what you have to say.

Your participation in this study is **strictly voluntary**. You may **choose** not to participate, you may choose not to respond to certain questions, and you may choose the end the interview at any time. Even if you choose not to participate, it will not compromise your eligibility to receive aid in the future. Your responses will always remain **anonymous** and **confidential**. Your name will be removed from the survey and there will be no way to connect your name with your responses.

This interview should take about 45 minutes of your time. Would you like to participate?

Yes _____ No _____

S1: Demographics and Personal Information

S1Q1	Gender?	1 = Male 2=Female	
S1Q2	Age [Years]	(Write in)	
S1Q3	Highest Level of Education Attained?	1= none 2=Primary 3=Secondary 4=University 5=other (specify)	
S1Q4	Marital Status?	1 = single 2=married 3=divorced/separated 5=widowed 6=other (specify)	
S1Q5	If married, specify matrimonial regime:	1 = monogamy 2= polygamy	
S1Q6	Size of household (total number of adults & children):	(Write in)	
S1Q7	Number of Children:	(Write in)	
S1Q8	LGA of Origin [Specify]		
S1Q9	Have you been displaced?	1= Yes 2=No	
S1Q10	If displaced, are you living in a camp or a host community?	1= IDP camp 2= Host community	
S1Q11	Length of Time Displaced [months]	(Write in)	
S1Q12	What is your primary livelihood or income generating activity?		

S2: Product, market, value chain, clients, energy use, food hygiene, environmental footprint.

S2Q1	What is your role in the street food business? (Examples: All duties, sales, cooking, intermediary, etc.). Be descriptive.	[Write in]	
S2Q2	How long have you been operating as a street food vendor?	1=Less than 6 months 2=Between 6 months & 1 year 3=Between 1 & 3 years 4=Between 3 & 5 years 5=Between 5 & 10 years 6=Greater than 10 years	
S2Q3	How did you decide to start selling street food?	[Write in]	
S2Q4	How do you decide what recipes to make?	[Write in]	
S2Q5	Where did you learn these recipes?	[Write in]	
S2Q6	Have you ever received training related to your street food business (business training, cooking, hygiene, etc)? If yes, Describe.	1=Yes (describe). 2=No	
S2Q7	What meals or products do you sell? List all.	1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____	
S2Q8	Which meals are most popular?	[Write numbers 1-3 from last question.]	
S2Q9	Who decides what you sell?	1= Myself 2= My spouse 3= Market authority 4= Customer Demand 5= Other	
S2Q10	Describe your primary customer groups. (Ex: Male or female? Youth or Adult? Do you know their occupation? (Keke driver, laborer, skilled worker, hawker, etc.)	[Write in]	
S2Q11	Do you prepare your meals alone?	1=Yes, alone. 2=No, with others.	
S2Q12	If no, who else contributes?	[Write in.]	
S2Q13	Where do you obtain the ingredients for cooking?	(Write in)	
S2Q14	Who decides what ingredients you use when cooking	1=Self 2=Spouse 3=Market boss 4=Other (specify)	

S2Q15	Do you face challenges in obtaining the ingredients for cooking? If Yes, describe.	1=Yes (Describe) 2=No	
S2Q16	Which of the following measures do you use when preparing food? (Check all that apply)	___1=Hand washing ___2=Washing raw foods ___3=Washing of food preparation utensils ___4=Refrigeration of ingredients ___5=Hot storage of prepared foods ___6=Other (specify)	
S2Q17	What food storage and preservation methods do you use? (check all that apply)	___1=Refrigeration ___2=Hot storage ___3=Vacuum storage ___4=Fermenting ___5=Salting ___6=Canning/jarring ___7=Other (specify)	
S2Q18	Have you ever received training in food safety and hygiene? If yes, where?	1=Yes (specify) 2=No	
S2Q19	Do you have access to clean water?	1=Yes. 2=No.	
S2Q20	If yes, what is the source of clean water?	1=Tap/faucet. 2=Purchased 3=Fetches from source (specify) 4=Boiled 5=Other (specify)	
S2Q21	What are your challenges for obtaining clean water?	(Describe)	
S2Q22	What source of fuel do you use for cooking?	1=Wood 2=Electricity 3=Kerosene 4=Charcoal 5=Other (specify)	
S2Q23	What are your challenges for obtaining cooking fuel?	(Describe)	
VALUE CHAIN			
S2Q24	Is your supply sufficient to meet your needs for selling food, or do you have trouble procuring ingredients? Which ingredients do you have trouble supplying?	1=Supply is sufficient. 2=Trouble procuring ingredients. (<i>Specify which ingredients</i>).	
S2Q25	Do you always sell all your food or are you often left with extras?	1. Always sell all. 2. Usually sell all. 3. Often have extras.	
S2Q26	When you are left with extras, what do you do with them?	Write in:	
S2Q27	If demand increased, how easily would you be able to increase your production?	1=Very easily 2=With some difficulty. 3=With great difficulty. 4=Could not increase production.	
S2Q28	What resources would you need to increase production if demand increased? (Check all that apply)	___1. More labour ___2. More ingredients ___3. More equipment ___4. More space	

		___5. Credit from authority figure (specify)	___6. Permission ___7. Other	
S2Q29	Do you ever sell to your customers on credit?	1=Yes 2=No		
S2Q30	If yes, how often do they repay their credit?	1=Always 2=Sometimes 3=Rarely		
S2Q31	Who decides what price to sell your food for?	1=Self 2=Spouse 3=Market price 4=Other (specify)		
S2Q32	Who decides where you will sell your products?	1=Self 2=Spouse 3=Market demand 4=Market authority 5=Other (specify)		
S2Q33	Are there certain times of year when you face disruptions or difficulties with your business? (Example, rainy season, etc). <i>Specify the months.</i>	[Write in]		

S3: Economic Inclusion and Barriers to Market Access

S3Q1	Have you ever utilized credit (borrowing) to finance your business?	1=Yes 2=No		
S3Q2	Did you need to provide collateral for borrowing credit? If so, what?	1=Yes [specify] 2=No		
S3Q3	Who decides whether or not you will take out credit to finance your business?	1=Self 2=Spouse 3=Other (specify)		
S3Q4	What are the challenges or barriers in obtaining credit? (Describe)	[Write in]		
S3Q5	Do you have access to other financial services such as savings and insurance? If yes, which services? If no, list the barriers to access?	1=Yes (specify which) 2=No (list barriers)		
S3Q6	How do you gain access to your site for selling food? Is it a <i>formal</i> or <i>informal</i> arrangement?	[Write in; specify formal or informal]		
S3Q7	Who controls the market (government, private agency, others.)	[Write in]		
S3Q8	Do men and women have equal rights related to the food selling markets?	1= Yes 2=No		
S3Q9	Do you pay a fee for use of the site? How much?	1= Yes [how much?] 2=No		
S3Q10	What challenges do you face with accessing the location?	[Write in]		
S3Q11	Do you like your location or would you prefer a different location?	1= Like my location 2=Prefer different location		
S3Q12	How long does it take you to travel to sell your street food?	[Specify time]		
S3Q13	What is your means of transportation?	[Write in]		

S3Q14	Is your means of transportation sufficient or insufficient?	1=Sufficient 2=Insufficient	
S3Q15	What other difficulties or barriers do you face with your business (socially or economically)?	[Write in]	
S3Q16	What do you do to address or overcome these barriers?	[Write in]	
S3Q17	What difficulties do women face that men do not face in this market?	[Write in]	

S4: Social and Household Relations, Time use, Empowerment, and Personal Change

S4Q1	Who in the household decides what you do with your income?	1=Self decides 3=Decide together (specify)	2=Spouse 4=Other	
S4Q2	Who decides how much to spend on child care in the household?	1=Self decides 3=Decide together (specify)	2=Spouse 4=Other	
S4Q3	How much of your household budget is spent on food?	1=Less than 25% 3=50-75%	2=25-50% 4=Greater than 75%	
S4Q4	Who decides how much will be spent on food?	1=Self decides 3=Decide together	2=Spouse 4=Other (specify)	
S4Q5	How much of your household budget is spent on child care (<i>not including food, only (medicine, school fees, clothing etc.)</i>)?	1= Less than 25% 3=50-75%	2=25-50% 4=Greater than 75%	
S4Q6	Does your income from street food vending adequately support your household needs?	1=Yes	2=No	
S4Q7	How many hours a day do you spend working on your business or income-generating activity?	1= 1-3 Hours. 3= 5-8 Hours. 5= Greater than 12 hours.	2= 3-5 Hours. 4= 8-12 Hours.	
S4Q8	Is food selling your only employment or do you have other income-generating activities/jobs?	1=Only employment. 2=Has other income-generating activities		
S4Q9	What do you do with your children while you work?	1=Have no children 2=They come to work with me but do not help 3=They help me at work 4=Family member looks after them 5=They go to school 6=Other (specify)		

S4Q10	Do your responsibilities at home and your business ever interfere with each other? If so, explain how.	1=Yes. (Explain) 2=No.	
S4Q11	Do you have access to a mobile phone?	1=Yes 2=No	
S4Q12	If yes, who does the phone belong to?	1=Spouse 3=Friend/Family	2=Son/Daughter 4=Other (specify)
S4Q13	Do you use the phone for your business? If yes, for which purpose? If no, why not?	1=Yes (specify purpose) 2=No (specify why not) 3=Not have phone.	
Social Relations			
S4Q14	Has your market activity allowed you to make any positive relationships, for example with other women?	1= Yes 2=No	
S4Q15	Do you feel comfortable speaking up in public (associations or local groups) with regards to marketplace issues?	1= Yes 2=No	
S4Q16	Are you a member of a savings group ("merry-go-round" or similar group)?	1= Yes 2=No	
S4Q17	Are you a member of a producer's group, women's support group, or other community organization? If yes, specify and explain.	1= Yes [Describe] 2=No	
S4Q18	What other formal or informal mechanisms are used by women to support each other?	[Write in]	
S4Q19	Do youth (under age 18) participate in your business?	1= Yes 2=No	
S4Q20	If so, what is their role?	[Write in]	
Safety and Protection in SFB			
S4Q21	Do you feel safe at the location where you sell food? If no, why not?	1= Yes 2=No [Describe]	
S4Q22	Do you face any other dangers related to your business (for example gathering firewood, harassment from authorities, staying out past dark, etc.)	1= Yes [Describe] 2=No	
S4Q23	Are these challenges specific to women, or does everyone face these challenges?	1=Specific to Women 2=Everyone faces them	
S4Q24	Is security a concern when transporting commodities for your business?	1= Yes 2=No	

S5: Opportunities and Self-Perceptions

S5Q1	What kinds of opportunities do you see to improve your street food business?	(Describe)
S5Q2	What will be the biggest challenges for your business in the future?	(Describe)

S5Q3	Do you feel empowered by your business activities?	1= Yes. 2=No. 3=Unsure.	
S5Q4	WFP and other organizations often target women as beneficiaries, participants, and food entitlement holders. Does the active targeting of women improve their decision-making power inside the household?	1= Yes 2=No	
S5Q5	Does the active targeting of women result in more positive or more negative relations between men and women?	1=More positive gender relations 2=More negative gender relations	
S5Q6	Does the active targeting of women provoke jealousy or frustration from men or result in domestic violence?	1= Yes 2=No.	
S5Q7	What kinds of support would you find most helpful to improve your street food business?	(Describe)	

S6: OTHER INFORMATION (Ask the respondent if there is any other information that they would like to share)

S7: OBSERVATIONS OF THE RESEARCHER (write in your observations or impressions of the interview)

Street Food Business – Vendor Focus Group Discussion Topic Outline

Record the **date** and **location** of the focus group discussion in your notebook. Record how many women are present, and be sure to mark notes about the demographics and make-up of the group, and any other environmental factors that might be important.

Introduce the focus group explaining the reason for the visit. Explain that data will only be used for the research, which is intended to improve women's business opportunities. The participants' responses will have no impact on their ability to receive aid. Their responses will be kept anonymous and their names will never be disclosed. Explain what we will do with the information, and that there is no guarantee that things will change. However, their feedback will be shared with the relevant authorities if possible.

Explain that Participation is completely voluntary and participants can leave at any point. The discussion might touch upon sensitive topics such as security and violence or gender norms. Participants are free to respond and there are no requirements to respond to any question if it causes discomfort. Remind the group that there are no "right" or "wrong" answers.

Explain that discussion will be recorded, and we will take notes during the discussion to help us remember what was said. **Obtain consent** to record before starting, and record the request of consent as well as the answer. **Don't forget to start recording!!**

Central Themes of the Focus Group Discussions

- A. How do you **open** a street food business and what **challenges** do you face?
- B. How do you **operate** your street food business and what **challenges** do you face?
- C. How does your business affect your **life at home** and your time to take **care of children**? What does your **husband**/family think about your business?
- D. What is the role of **young people** in your business? Do they participate?
- E. What are the **opportunities** to improve your business and increase your **income** and **empowerment**?

Remember to Focus on:

- ***Decision-making power*** ("who decides to do that? You or your husband")
- ***The challenges and barriers*** that they face, and how they over-come those challenges
- ***The role of gender*** ("do men and women face the same challenges or different?")

Areas for Discussion and topics for probing

Characteristics of a street food business and value chain

- What is sold? Do your products differ from what other vendors sell?
- Where did you learn to cook? Where did you learn your recipe and is it different from others?
- Do you sell some special meal that no one else sell?
- Where do you buy your ingredients and from whom? Do you face challenges finding ingredients?
- Do you need to pay cash or can you have a credit to be reimbursed? Are ingredients more expensive when you buy them with credit? Is it easy or not to deal with providers? Why?

Sales and clients

- What is the plate that people like most? And which is the one that people like less?

- Do different group of people like different plates? For example?
- When are your sales the highest and the lowest? (During the day, week, month, year)
- Who are the people who like to come to you most? Are they mostly men or women? Why?
- Did your sales change since the arrival/expansion of the IDPs camps? How did they change? (Probe)

Market and Institutional environment

- Is competition remaining the same or is it growing? Who are your competitors?
- What are the fees you have to pay to sell?
- Did you learn accounting for your business by yourself or did someone train you?
- Are you concerned for security? If yes, how? What could be done to reduce the risk?
- Would it be different to run this business if you were a man? Why?
- Is the business providing you what you need for yourself and your family? If no what else do you do? What can you do now that you could not do before starting the business (and/or adding the other source of income)?

Communication Social relations and personal change

- Do you use a mobile phone? What for, and who does it belong to?
- Have you ever used mobile money transfer? If yes for what? What do you think of it?
- Do you use social networks? Which? For what?
- What do your husbands and families think about your business? Has this changed over time?
- Where did you get the money to start your business?
- How does your business affect your ability to take care of your responsibilities at home? What do you do about child care? Do you children eat the same food that you sell?
- Has your work influenced the way you look at and behave with your husband? Has your husband changed the way he treats you?
- Do you feel supported in what you do? If yes by who?
- Are you a member of any women's self-help or savings groups?
- What has been the most difficult problem to solve when you started? And what is the biggest difficult you have to face right now? What changed? What remained the same?
- Would your experience and the difficulties be different if you were a man? Why?
- Did the business change the way you feel about yourself? How? Would you like to give us some example?

Street Food Business Client Survey

WFP Maiduguri Street Food Business - Client Survey

A	Researcher Name	
B	Location of Interview	
C-Lat.	GPS Location	
C-Long.	GPS Location	
D	Date of the Interview	
E	Number interview of the day	

Hello, my name is _____. We are conducting a study for the United Nations, and I would like to ask you a few questions about your preferences for eating street food in Maiduguri. Please note that there will be no assistance given if you choose to participate in this study. Your answers will only be used to inform future programs. We will not ask your name. Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary. You may choose not to participate, you may choose not to respond to certain questions, and you may choose the end the interview at any time. Your responses will always remain anonymous and confidential. This interview should take about 15 minutes of your time. Do you agree to participate? _____

Q0	Gender of Respondent	1 Male 2 Female
Q1	How old are you?	
Q2	What is your livelihood, job, or profession	
Q3	What is your highest level of education attained?	1 None 2 Primary 3 Islamic School 4 Seconday 5 University 6 other (specify)
Q3A	Specify other education	
Q4	Marital Status	1 single 2 married 3 divorced 4 widowed 5 other
Q4A	Other (specify)	
Q4B	Specify matrimonial regime	1 Monogamy 2 Polygamy 3 Unmarried
Q5	Total Size of Household	
Q6	Number of Children	
Q7	LGA of Origin	
Q8	Have you been displaced?	1 Yes 2 No
Q8A	Length of Time Displaced	
Q9	Do you live in an IDP camp or Host Community	1 IDP Camp 2 Host Community
Q10	How often do you eat street food from any vendor?	1 Almost never 2 1-2 times per week 3 3-5 times per week 4 6-7 times per week 5 For every meal
Q11	How often do you eat street food from THIS vendor?	1 Almost never 2 1-2 times per week 3 3-5 times per week 4 6-7 times per week

		5	For every meal
Q12	Who prepares your meals at home?	1 2 3 4	Self Spouse Other family member Other (specify)
Q12A	Specify who prepares meal:		
Q13	When you buy street food, do you eat it on-site or do you take it away?	1 2 3	Eat on site Take away to eat later Do both equally
Q14	When you buy street food, do you share it with others?	1 2	Yes No
Q14A	Whom do you share the food with?		
Q15	Do your children eat street food?	1 2 3	Yes No Does not have children
Q16A	When your children eat street food, do they buy it themselves or do you take it home to them?	1 2	They buy it themselves. I take it home to them.
Q17	When you choose a street food vendor, what are the qualities that you prefer?	1 2 3 4 5 6	Low price Convenient to my schedule or route I know or like the vendor Good food Sanitary conditions Other - specify
Q18	Specify the other qualities that you prefer.		
Q19	Are you an IDP?	1 2	Yes No
Q19A	Are there any foods from your home LGA that you cannot find here in Maiduguri?	1 2	Yes No
Q19B	What are the foods that you cannot find?		
Q20	How do you perceive the price of the street food that you buy?	1 2 3 4	The price is too expensive. The price is fine. The price is very low. Other
Q20A	Specify other perceptions about the price of food.		
Q21	If you had more income, would you still eat street food?	1 2	Yes, I would still eat street food. No, I would eat other food.
Q21A	What other food would you prefer to eat?		
Q22	Would you be willing to pay MORE for the following attributes:	1 2 3 4 5	I would not be willing to pay any more for street food. I would pay more for BETTER food. I would pay more for SAFER/more hygienic food. I would pay more for a greater QUANTITY of food. Other (specify)
Q22A	Specify other qualities you would pay more for.		
Q23	Think about your daily wage or earnings. How much of it do you spend on street food?	1 2 3 4	0-10% 10-25% 25-50% More than 50%
Q24	Have you ever fallen ill as a result of eating street food?	1 2	Yes No
Q24A	After you were ill, did you ever return to that same vendor again?	1 2	Yes No
Q24B	Why?		
Q25	Which are your favorite street food meals?		

Q26	Are there any meals that you wish you could find but are unable to find?	1	Yes
		2	No
Q26B	Which meals are you unable to find?		
Q27	How do you find the meals? :	1	Delicious
		2	Nutritious
		3	Healthy
		4	Safe and Sanitary
		5	Other (specify)
Q27A	Specify.		
Q28	Do men and women eat the same kinds of street food?	1	Yes, they eat the same foods
		2	No, they eat different foods
Q28A	Explain the differences between street foods that men and women eat.		
Q29	Have you, your spouse, or anyone in your household ever received food assistance or cash assistance from the World Food Programme, another UN Agency, or an NGO?	1	Yes
		2	No
Q30	Is there anything else that you would like to share about street food?		
OBS	Observations of the Researcher		

Appendix 3: List of Partners and Persons Consulted

ORGANIZATION	RESPONDENT
Samaritan Care and Support Initiative (SACSUI)	Director
Youth Federation for World Peace (YFWP)	Director and Staff
International Medical Corps (IMC)	Project Manager
Damnaish Human Capacity Building Initiative (DHCBI)	Programme Officer
Maiduguri Communities	Bulamas, Lawan, and other local community leaders
Danish Refugee Council (DRC)	Emergency Coordinator, Protection Officer
University of Maiduguri	Assistant Lecturer in Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Federal and State Emergency Management Agencies (FEMA & SEMA)	Officers in IDP Camps
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	Information Management Officer
Action Against Hunger (ACF)	Programme Manager
Independent Gender Specialist	Technical Adviser on conflict, gender, and social inclusion in Northeast Nigeria
UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)	Programme Officer
Community Development and Reproductive Health Initiative (CODERHI)	Executive Director
UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)	Cluster Meeting Attendance, Presentations, and Discussions
UN World Food Programme (WFP) Internal Consultations	VAM Officers, Gender Focal Person, Protection Officer

Appendix 4: Calendar of In-Country Research Activities Completed

DAY	DATE	ACTIVITIES COMPLETED
Fri	Sept 8	Consultant arrival in Nigeria. Contact country partners and finalize inception report for approval.
Mon	Sept 11	Visit to WFP Abuja office. UNHAS flight Abuja to Maiduguri.
Tues	Sept 12	Finalize and approve project budget. Security briefing. Contact country partners to schedule site visits.
Wed	Sept 13	Discussions with WFP team. Contact country partners and schedule visits.
Thurs	Sept 14	Meetings with community key informants. Planning Researcher Training.
Fri	Sept 15	Researcher Training at Youth Federation for World Peace.
Sat	Sept 16	Researcher Training and Preparation for Data Collection
Mon	Sept 18	Visit to Shagari Lowcost A host community. 2 FGDs + 10 interviews.
Tues	Sept 19	Visit to Garba Buzu Quarters IDP Camp. 2 FGDs + 12 interviews.
Wed	Sept 20	Data entry, transcriptions and translations at the Samaritan Care Office.
Thurs	Sept 21	Visit to Gwange III host community. 2 FGDs. Researcher training and debrief.
Fri	Sept 22	Visit to Shehuri North host community. 2 FGDs + 12 interviews.
Sat	Sept 23	Data entry, transcriptions and translations at the WFP office.
Mon	Sept 25	Visit to Bakasi IDP Camp. 2 FGDs + 12 interviews.
Tues	Sept 26	Visit to Teacher Village IDP Camp. 2 FGDs. Visit to UNOCHA Sector Coordination Meeting to meet with key informants.
Wed	Sept 27	Data entry, transcriptions and translations at Youth Federation Office
Thurs	Sept 28	Visit to Farm Center IDP Camp. 2 FGDs and 15 Interviews.
Fri	Sept 29	Visit Moduganari Bypass and Bank of the North for 27 SFB Client interviews.
Sat	Sept 30	Hosted male SFB vendors at Samaritan Care Office. 2 FGD and 12 Interviews.
Sun	Oct 1	Researcher data collection around Maiduguri urban center, 34 interviews.
Mon	Oct 2	National Holiday. Data cleaning and analysis. Prepare presentation.
Tues	Oct 3	Debriefing presentation and feedback with WFP Country Office Maiduguri.
Wed	Oct 4	Consultant UNHAS flight from Maiduguri to Abuja. Revisions to presentation.
Thurs	Oct 5	Debriefing presentation and feedback with WFP Country Office Abuja. Consultant close-out.
Fri	Oct 6	Consultant depart Nigeria.

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