Societal Responses to the State of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) in Kano Metropolis- Nigeria

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the faculty of
the Center for International Studies of Ohio University

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This thesis titled
Societal Responses to the State of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano Metropolis- Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

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Societal Responses to the State of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) in Kano Metropolis- Nigeria (131 pp.)

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This study uses qualitative methodology to examine the contributions of Non-Governmental Organizations in response to the conditions of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) in Kano metropolis. The study investigates what these organizations do, what methods, techniques, and strategies they employ to identify the causes of OVC’s conditions for intervention. The study acknowledges colonization, globalization, poverty, illiteracy, and individualism as contributing factors to OVC’s conditions. However, essentially, the study identifies gross misunderstanding between paternal and maternal relatives of children to be the main factor responsible for the OVC’s conditions. This social disorganization puts the children in difficult conditions including exposure to health, educational, moral, emotional, psychological, and social problems. The thesis concludes that through “collective efficacy” the studied organizations are a perfect means for solving-problem. The associations operate on existing family structures, cement relationships, provide social networking among the contending relatives, and most importantly positively impacting the lives of the OVC.

Approved: _____________________________________________________________

Steve Howard

Professor of African Studies
Dedicated to all who sincerely respond to the needs of Orphans and Vulnerable Children
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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Inequality is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon. Grusky and Szelenyi (2007) believe that inequality is multi-dimensional to the extent that conventional studies can hardly exhaust its many forms. The negative impacts of inequality are numerous on many segments of the society but have great impact on women and children. In addition, policies associated with economic restructuring use existing patriarchal assumptions about women’s labor and endurance abilities, and therefore reproduce inequalities. In Nigeria, children who need special protection on account of being in vulnerable situations such as orphanhood and homelessness are observably increasing due to growing levels of poverty and the poor socio-economic situation of the country. The Core Welfare Indicator Questionnaire (CWIQ) Survey (2006) indicated that 0.4% of children under the age of 18 were orphans who have lost both parents. In addition, about 3.4% lost their fathers while 1.3% lost their mothers.

Interrelated social, cultural, political and economic forces which have in recent times over-stretched the coping capacities of families, communities, and governments fuel the above disturbing trend. The family, being the primary socialization agent and a safety net for the care and support of the underprivileged including orphans and vulnerable children, no longer performs its functions. This is a clear indication of social disorganization in the society. This has a number of implications on the children, the communities and the society. A vulnerable child has less access to nutrition, health care, and education. In addition, report of the Rapid Assessment Analysis Action Planning
(RAAAP, 2004) indicates that a vulnerable child is less likely to enroll in school, and more likely drop out of school to engage in risky sexual behavior, and engage in substance abuse. Often such child is exposed to abuse, exploitation and social exclusion.

Child Rights Protection\(^1\) issues cover a wide range of areas bordering on obligations of, all levels and tiers of government, parents, families, communities, civil society groups and other stakeholders, to orphans and vulnerable children in the society. Ladan (2006) observes that obligations to observe, respect, promote and protect the survival, development, protection and participation of OVC’s rights are grossly lacking when viewed against the various manifestations of child abandonment, exposure to moral danger, maltreatment, abuse and all forms of exploitation in Nigeria. The result is OVC are vulnerable to victimization and child-trafficking, ritual killings, drug abuse, sexual/labor and economic exploitations and recruitment as agents of destruction in times of civil disturbance. In such situations, they also are deprived of their rights to life, human dignity, qualitative and quantitative education, health and access to health care services, growing up within a family with care, love and affection, and to a safe or secure environment free from neglect, violence, exploitation and all forms of abuse.

Kano is the most densely populated state of the nation with over 14 million people out of the 150 million Nigerians. In this town, children that need special protection on account of being in vulnerable conditions and situations such as orphanhood and homeless are observably increasing. To ensure that the orphans and vulnerable children

The Child Rights Act in Nigeria has not pass into bill due to certain lacunae in the Act. This has to do with the debate on universalism and cultural relativism conception of human rights.
(OVC) grow up under proper care and support is not a sole responsibility of the government alone but also of their relatives and the general public. In other words, the society has a vital role to play in improving the conditions of the OVC, and by extension in drastically reducing the tendencies for the risks the children are exposed to, as well as on the communities and society. Therefore, this study is concerned with collective societal efforts to improve the lives of orphans and vulnerable children in Kano metropolis. It specifically examines the activities of community-based associations, identifying some of the strategies and methods they adopt in intervention, as well as the major challenges facing the associations.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

In Nigeria, the number of orphans was estimated at 7 million in 2003 of whom 1.8 million are orphaned by HIV/AIDS (Children on the Brink, 2004), and many more children live in households with a chronically ill parent or caregiver, elderly caregivers, orphans, and others are homeless. In addition, the National Situation Assessment and Analysis on OVC in Nigeria (2008) indicates that there is an estimate of 14 million OVC\(^2\) in the country. One out of every ten Nigerian children is an orphan. Of these, one in three is a maternal orphan and two in three are paternal orphans. Similarly, the UNICEF Report (2007) indicates that up to 10.7 of the estimated 69 million Nigerian children may be categorized as vulnerable. This disturbing trend is fueled by interrelated social, cultural, political and economic forces which have in recent times over-stretched the coping capacities of families, communities and governments. The care of OVC is not solely the

\(^2\) This estimate covers a wide range of children, including those whose caregivers are poor, which makes many children fall under the category.
responsibility of the government, but also of their relatives, the communities in which they live, as well as the society at large. These community members have an obligation to render all the necessary support needed in order to help the children live a better life because failure to do so will have negative consequences as well as spill-over effects that impact not only on the children but the community and society at large.

In the past, the response to the orphans’ crisis had been driven by communities which provide a safety net for care and support of orphans and vulnerable children, caregivers and their families through the networks. However, recent events challenge these patterns, which led to incapacity of traditional family patterns due to the force of contemporary realities. Generally as a global phenomenon, Weisner and Braley (2007) observe that African family groups are becoming internally deinstitutionalized, carrying out fewer traditional functions, and becoming smaller and more unstable and that the cultural value of familism weakens. They further contend that the African family is in crisis and has changed dramatically not necessarily for the better. In addition, Oluwatoyin (1998) laments, in Nigeria, things have definitely changed from the traditional peasant-style of family grouping to new forms of family groupings, relationships and power-relations both within and outside the home. This means that there is a gap between the ideal and the obtained, subsequently leading to a dysfunction in the extended family, which is one of the subsystems that make the larger whole (society). Social disorganization therefore occurs.

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3 The conceptual definition of an orphan in Kano metropolis and as hereby used in this research depends not on government definition but the NGOs’. There are criteria they set for that depending on the association, notably the needs of the caregivers, as well as the principle of existing social values which have moral backing.
Due to disruption in family values, orphans and vulnerable children may become involved with deviant peer groups that can seriously endanger successful transition into mainstream adulthood. Educationally, OVC suffer from high rates of school failure, high school dropout, and incarceration. They also have limited educational opportunities, as well as minimal or poor experience with civic engagement and social institutions. Again, many neglected children experience racism, prejudice, and cultural intolerance that alienate some adolescents and make them withdraw or rebel against mainstream society and conventional social institutions. In the same vein, Maikano (2000) revealed that OVC in Kano metropolis make up the highest percent of juvenile delinquents and when they mature they ‘graduate’ into criminality, engaging in looting, drug addiction, theft, political violence, and often involved in murder and armed robbery, among many other social vices. The above data gives a description of the characteristics of delinquency as a result of social disorganization4. Buttressing the above position, the Minister of State for Education5 took a swipe to the educational backwardness in the north, estimating the number of child beggars in the region at more than 10 million, and the study area constitutes the majority of the above estimate.

Evans and Murray (2008) argued that vulnerable children deserve to be treated with dignity and respect as stipulated in the Article 19 of the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights6 (ACHPR). The Article says: “All peoples (OVC inclusive) shall be equal; they shall enjoy the same respect and shall have the same rights….” The above is

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4 See Sutherland’s (1938) *A theory of Differential Association*
5 Hajia Aishatu Jibril Dukku. See the Leadership Newspaper, Tuesday 24 November, 2009.
6 As mentioned earlier, this study is not a rights-based: human rights or children’s rights. It is community-specific and therefore addresses only community issues, specifically Kano metropolis and only mentions rights in passive.
enshrined in Nigeria’s constitution but unfortunately, many of these children are left unattended and live in filthy conditions, exposed to many problems concerning health, education, moral, psychological development, and others, with varying degrees of harm to both the children and society. Similarly, Jasen (2000) argues that deteriorating environmental conditions have had profound impact on infants and children. He further asserts that “All children are exposed, from the prenatal phase, to a barrage of environmental threats to their health and survival. It costs millions of children their lives, and impedes the growth and progress of countless others” (p.209). This means, if all children are exposed to environmental threats, then OVC are more exposed because among many other disadvantages, they lack care and support. Despite the efforts that the government does at various levels, legislation inclusive, the problems persist partly because government responses fail to recognize existing family values.

Many studies have been conducted on children: their rights, privileges, development, and future. Others examine the causes, conditions, and prospects of orphans and vulnerable children in Nigeria (for example Curran 1984; Sa’ad 2001; Ujah et al 2008; Shettima 2009; Aluaigba 2009; Badamasiuy 2009; the Rapid Assessment Analysis Action Planning (RAAAP 2004, etc.) Similarly, a number of research has been conducted on the progress and prospects of Nigerian cooperatives, self-help organizations, and non-governmental organizations (for example Ijere 1977; Poplin 1979; Oni and Bello 1987; Murry 1996; Ibrahim 2001; Jafun 2001; Haladu 2003; Hashim 2008; and so on.) Nevertheless, little or no attention has been paid in Nigeria to the dynamic relationships that led to the conditions of the OVC. Specifically and more importantly,
collective societal response as intervention strategy for solidifying and cementing relationships has been neglected or silenced. This study seeks to fill the existing gaps as identified above.

1.3 Research Questions

In order to have a nuanced understanding of the OVC’s situation, and the causes, magnitude, and evaluate societal responses to the children’s conditions, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informants Interviews (KIIs) were carried out. The discussions and interviews for this research focused on efforts the society members are making in responding to, and addressing problems facing OVC in Kano metropolis with special interest on NGOs. In view of this, the following research questions were asked to serve as guide for the study:

1) What is the state of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano Metropolis?
2) What role does the community or society play in improving on the lives of the OVC?
3) What are the methods and strategies of intervention, including information dissemination adopted by the communities through the activities of the NGOs?
4) What are the relationships between the caregivers and the children cared-for?
5) What are the major challenges facing the organizations/Sources of funds to the NGOs?

1.4. Purpose and Research Objectives

This study seeks to examine the conditions of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano Metropolis with a view to understand its dynamics, magnitude, and challenges. It is therefore the aim of the research to explore societal response to the problem, identifying the collective role of community members in improving the living
conditions of the OVC in their areas. The specific objectives of this study include the attempt to:

1) identify and discuss the conditions of (and challenges facing) Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano metropolis;

2) examine societal response to OVC situation specifically through the activities of Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs);

3) identify the strategies that the associations adopt in identifying the OVC’s needs, as well as intervening;

4) explore the methods and strategies the associations adopt in mobilizing resources to run their activities;

5) examine the relationships between the caregivers and the children cared-for; and

6) explore the major challenges facing the grass roots associations in achieving their desired objectives.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study includes among other relevant issues, the examination of the conditions of, and challenges facing Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano metropolis identifying some of the major structural issues leading to their conditions. It also evaluates collective community efforts towards improving on the lives of OVC through the activities of NGOs. The study concerns with activities of the studied NGOs limited to services meant for underprivileged children. Similarly, the definition and conceptualization of orphanhood and vulnerability as used in this study is strictly based on what the discussants define and not from legal perspective of Child’s Rights. The
particular children that are considered *Almajirai*\(^7\) do not form part of the study, although they may also be considered to be OVC. The unit of analysis for the study is eight (8) selected NGOs with programs on marginalized members of the society notably orphans and vulnerable children. Some resource persons including professors, government officials, and heads of institutional caregivers also constitute part of the study sample.

1.6 Operationalization of Selected Concepts

For the purpose of this research, the following are definitions of some terms used throughout the entire dissertation.

*State*: Refers to the condition in which the Orphans and vulnerable children are, in terms of appearance, nutritional, psychological, health, social, etc. It is used to describe the state of being of the subjects under study.

*Response*: This term is used to illustrate the attitudes including actions and inactions of the community towards the orphans and vulnerable children. It encompasses the methods or strategies that the people adopt to identify, reform, interfere, or intervene to alleviate consequences of orphanhood and vulnerability.

*Patriarchy*: The kind of male-dominated family that subordinates women. It encompasses many forms of discrimination, disregard, insult, control, exploitation, oppression, and violence within the family, and at times at work place in the society.

*Extended family*: Relatives who are not part of the nuclear family, including grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and in-laws.

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\(^7\) See Muhammad, I.T.’s (2008) *Matsalar Almajirai da Nakassu* The Problems of *Almajirai* and Physically-challenged
Community-Based Organizations (CBOs): These are non-profit associations established with the major objective of improving the lives of the needy, marginalized, and underprivileged ones. They are organizations that have array of numerous activities, based on the purposes of establishment, available resources, and so on. CBOs usually register at the local and state government levels. Throughout this study, the concept of CBO used is interchangeably with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Grassroots Associations.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs): These are private organizations that act towards some common, humanitarian purpose. They are work towards improving the quality of life for humans usually in their communities and beyond. They duly register with the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC), a government regulatory body for the activities of corporations. Some of the NGOs rely on foreign aid to run their organizations.

Intervention: An emerging program focusing on reducing or eliminating a social problem. It is the particular provision that NGOs introduce to interfere with force to solve some of the problems orphans face due to ineffectiveness of the existing family or government structures.

Strategy: A plan or series of maneuvers for obtaining a specific goal or results. It is the plan or scheme that the CBOs devised or used to gain an advantage or attain the goal of identifying and assisting OVC in the study area.
Method: A procedure, technique, or way of achieving desired goals, especially with definite plan. It implies a manner or mode of procedure, logically and systematically followed by associations to attain desired objective.

Technique: This is a manner and ability with which members of the society follow to accomplish certain goals of impacting the lives of underprivileged children. It is a method of performance by which associations employ to skillfully achieve their set objectives.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains two parts: a review of related literature and theoretical frame of reference for the study. Under the literature review, there are certain themes presented which include the definition, indicators, and characteristics of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC); causes of the conditions of OVC; state efforts to address the problems, traditional African childcare system; philosophical discourses on orphanhood in the studied area; as well as some models of intervention from some African countries. Efforts were made to trace the history of NGOs in Kano. The second section of the chapter deals with the theoretical frame of reference for the research.

2.1.1 Orphans and vulnerable children: Definition, Indicators and Characteristics

The Nigeria Country Report (2004) defines an orphan as a child under the age of 18 years whose mother (maternal orphan), father (paternal orphan) or both (double orphan) are dead. A child is defined as vulnerable when that child is most at risk of facing increased negative outcomes compared to the average child in the defined society. Negative outcomes include malnutrition, higher morbidity and mortality, low school attendance and completion rate and increased risk of abuse and psychosocial consequences.

According to the National Plan of Action on Orphans and vulnerable children in Nigeria (2007) categories of children who could be vulnerable may not be exhaustive but for working purposes on a general note, a child is defined as a boy or girl below 18 years
of age. An orphan on the other hand is a child (below the age of 18) who has lost one or both parents, irrespective of the cause of death. Those who have lost both parents are commonly referred to as “doubly orphaned.” The definition of vulnerability varies from society to society; therefore definitions are community specific. Nevertheless, the Federal Ministry of Social Development (2007) provides some key indicators determining children’s vulnerability including children that are:

- from poverty stricken homes;
- with inadequate access to educational, health and other social support;
- live in a household with terminally or chronically ill parent(s) or caregiver(s);
- live outside of family care, i.e. live with extended family, in an institution or on the streets;
- infected with HIV

In line with the above, the National Action Plan of Nigeria enumerates specifically the list of children perceived as extremely vulnerable in communities to include:

- Children with physical and mental disabilities
- Neglected children
- Child beggars, destitute children and scavengers
- Children from broken homes
- Internally displaced children
- Children who have dropped out of school
- Abandoned children

The above lists present characteristics of children considered vulnerable in the society, and who need some care and support. But the lists could be too broad and cover a wide range of categories. More so, government agencies for certain model of intervention define them. Specifically, this research concerns with children that the respondents define
as vulnerable. A major criterion in defining and conceptualizing orphanhood and child vulnerability as used in this study is that members of the studied associations, being part of the communities in which the children live are those who define who fits in the categories and therefore who need care and support. The National Guidelines and Standards of Practice on OVC (2007) defines care and support to include material and non-material support to meet basic physical, cognitive and psychological needs of OVC, their caregivers and communities within a long term and in a sustainable manner. clothing, shelter, emotional support, hygienic environment, recreation, as well as life building skills are some of the basic needs of OVC.

It is important to note that there is difference between a category of street beggars called the Almajirai and the OVC, though the former can be categorized as part of the latter. The term Almajiri (singular) and Almajirai (plural) is coined from an Arabic concept of Almuhajir meaning “the immigrant” especially in search for knowledge or worship. By implication therefore, it signifies one that leaves his home to another place in search of knowledge. These categories of children mostly have their parents alive and are voluntarily handed over by their parents to a Malam, Islam scholar, who takes them to some other town for the purpose of learning the Qur’an. OVC, in contrast, are those children whose parent(s) are dead, separated, or divorced, and are therefore living with relatives or on their own. In some instances, you find both parents of the children alive but due to some circumstances, the parents, relatives, or caregivers neglect the children.

8 See Section 4.3.1 Methods, Procedures, and Strategies for NGOs’ Intervention
10 See Gala (2004) Islamic Scholarship in Hausa land from 16th- 18th Century
2.1.2 Social System and the Challenges of Social Structure in Kano

Family is the social institution that introduces us to the society. It is the great socializer, and is considered the basic building block of society. Families are universal components of all existing human societies. One common characteristic of the Kano family structure is the extended family system. The extended family system is an interdependent, multidimensional network of relationships that binds various relatives together for mutual support in a system of privileges, obligations, and shared identity. By implication, the extended family is a source of collective identity and tension management. It creates a support network by offering services to one another, particularly the needy members such as widows, orphans, disabled, ailing, and dying. In every community in Hausa societies, particularly in Kano, there were well-defined child care support systems for orphans. Every member of the extended relatives plays a part in the upbringing of children. In addition, every child is expected to respect an elder, relative or non-relative. As such, every member of the community is to contribute in the socialization of children in the community. The contributions formed the basis of community development.

Murry (1986) conceives community development as the utilization under one single program of approaches and techniques, which rely upon local communities as units of actions that attempt to combine outside assistance with organized local self-determination and effort which correspond to local initiative and leadership as the primary instrument of change. Community development has been an effective means of policy-implementation between the Government and the people for the purpose of
promoting social and economic development. The attainment of this goal is usually done through the execution of a people’s felt-needs via self-help services rendered in their communities. But with time, the colonialists came and disrupted the existing traditional method of mobilization and replaced the existing ones with some other agencies.

Garba (2007) contends that prior to colonization Nigeria and most African countries had comprehensive traditional social welfare provisions for children, the elderly, the poor, the sick, and the needy. But with the coming of the Europeans and the introduction of an alien social welfare policy modeled after the Britain which was incompatible with the country, situations got worse, and they continued to deteriorate after independence. Sanda (1987) describes the colonial government’s welfare efforts to be selective and discriminatory, and frequently were reactions to problems which the changes in society had brought about. By implication therefore, there exists a wide gap between what had been practiced at the family and community levels under the traditional system, which is no longer the case, and what the state provides, which is modern orphanages. In other words, the colonial welfare system introduced some systems that replaced the indigenous efforts of the extended family during the pre-colonial era. Even though, many scholars blame colonization for disrupting the African and especially the Kano family values, Derefaka (2004) associates Nigeria’s youth crisis factors such as globalization. He asserts that Nigeria and most African countries are experiencing the manifestations of globalization. Similarly, Mensah and Oppong-Koranteng (2008) believe that globalization is often tied to the emerging world order, couched by neoliberalism, which is not beneficial to Africa and its people. The next section reviews
some of the recent efforts by the government to address the problems associated with orphans and vulnerable children.

2.1.3 General Background History of Government Responses to OVC

The federal government of Nigeria is a signatory to two important internationally Declarations on the rights of children. These are the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Children (CRC)\textsuperscript{11} and the African Charter on Rights and Welfare of Children (ACRWC)\textsuperscript{12}. The two Declarations emphatically require signatory States Parties (Nigeria, therefore, inclusive) to take steps to ensure the recognition and enforcement of the rights of children. In conformity with the above declarations to the rights of the child, the federal government of Nigeria became committed to the issue by establishing an OVC unit in the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs charged with the responsibility of coordinating the national response to the OVC phenomenon. Among other efforts, the federal government and relevant stakeholders organized a national conference which reviewed the OVC situation in Nigeria and made recommendations on ways to tackle the issue in February 2004. Nigeria was one of 17 countries in sub-Saharan Africa that conducted a Rapid Assessment Analysis Action Planning (RAAAP) exercise with the support of UNICEF, USAID and UNAIDS in 2004. In addition, the government embarked on a 5-year National Plan of Action (from 2006-2010) on OVC to provide framework for accelerating the responses to OVC, and build on previous and existing experiences to reach more children with basic services on sustainable basis. The process

\textsuperscript{11} See http://www.cirp.org/library/ethics/UN-convention/
\textsuperscript{12} See http://www.africa-union.org/child/home.htm
of developing the National Plan of Action commenced with the completion of the RAAAP process to collect valuable information to provide the basis for action.

At state level, the Kano state government introduced a program *Adaidaita Sahu*\(^{13}\) Societal re-orientation, charged with the responsibility of reviving members of the public towards doing the right acts and abstaining from the wrong ones. Societal Reorientation represents, conceptually, a systematic and conscious effort through which desirable qualities such as discipline, honesty, piety, hard work, sacrifice and selflessness, among others, can be re-instilled in the society. The slogan of the program *Adaidaita Sahu* is perhaps the most recognizable phrase to the Hausa-speaking Muslims, symbolizing order, discipline and sense of community, particularly during congregation. The program was intended to be all-encompassing, covering all members of the society. Distinct groups were categorized for which specific values and strategies have been designed: civil servants; educational institutions; urban and rural communities; women; youth; and the business community. As part of their programs, both print and electronic media are means for reaching people to appreciate the virtue of fostering orphans and to be steadfast in giving close supervision to their children and wards showing the dangers associated with failure to do so.

In addition to the above, the Kano state government under the leadership of Malam Ibrahim Shekarau, who was a classroom teacher before he was elected governor, came up with a “Pilot Feeding Program for Qur’anic Schools” in the year 2003 to take care of the students as well as their teachers in 3 selected local governments (Ajingi,

\(^{13}\) The program was launched on Saturday September 11, 2004 at the Sani Abacha Stadium, Kofar Mata. The cooperation of the Secretary to the Director, and that of the PRO of the directorate are acknowledged.
Makoda and Warawa) out of the 44 in the state. The “Pilot Feeding Program\textsuperscript{14},” was adopted to ensure the extension and implementation of the project to the eight LGAs that made up the metropolis as well as beyond. From the lessons learnt during the first phase of the project, some strategies were used to expand the program. Some of the strategies include soliciting the cooperation of, and working with the various NGOs, Consultation forums \textit{Zaurukan Sulhu}\textsuperscript{15}, households and groups responsible for the feeding in their communities. Through these forums, a lot of orphans and vulnerable children’s lives were touched. More so, meetings with stakeholders, trade groups, seminars, workshops, public lectures were organized regularly. An important stride was the establishment of the \textit{Tsangaya} Trust Fund\textsuperscript{16}. \textit{Tsangaya} is a Hausa term for centers for Qur’anic and Islamic education. The establishment of the \textit{Tsangaya} Trust Fund is to serve as a source of fund to improve the welfare of children seen going round begging, some of who are OVC. The system was participatory and made people responsible for managing the affairs.

At the local government levels, there is the community and social development departments in each of the 44 local governments of the state. There are basically 5 units: the community development- which is responsible for registering, assisting, and monitoring the activities of self-help associations; the social welfare responsible for family cases, child welfare, orphans, needy, mentally and physically challenged; the youth, culture, and sports responsible for promoting all aspects to do with the youth, sports, and culture; the trade and co-operatives responsible for overseeing the affairs of

\textsuperscript{14} The program was under the supervision of Dr. Ibrahim Galadanchi, the special adviser to the governor on education and information technology.
\textsuperscript{15} This is a strategy for reviving the disruptive family values, particularly on gerontology. It is community-oriented as community members establish it in all the wards of the local governments.
\textsuperscript{16} A Board of Trustees made up of people appointed on the basis of integrity and dedication runs it.
cottage industries—developing them and creating new ones to make people self-reliant; and lastly, the women development responsible for women’s vocational acquisition both traditional and modern. The local governments respond to the needs of the needy, in our case OVC mostly through families as against individuals or collectively as groups. Families in need parade themselves at the local government secretariat to lodge complains. In some instances, they follow protocols through their councilors, being their representatives. There are numerous methods of intervention depending on the needs. Most frequent of the interventions are in food, payment of school fees, shelter, and vocational skills.17

Despite the above efforts by the governments at all levels, going through the streets of Kano, the situation does not only appear static but worsening by the day. Generally, the failure of the government to address the problem could be attributed to many factors including alien social welfare policy modeled after advanced countries, which are not compatible with the people’s culture. In addition, the top-down approach to the issue discourages the public from participating and cooperating with some of the strategies. I therefore argue that government efforts alone cannot solve the problem without some positive collective responses from the general public. This can be geared through the activities of Non-governmental Organizations that are part of the communities in which the children live. The next section deals with some conceptual discourses on shouldering the responsibilities of OVC.

17 I wish to credit Abdullahi Aliyu Bichi, the Acting H.O.D. Social Welfare Department- Nassarawa Local Government. Also, I am deeply grateful to Ibrahim M. Ali for his help to coordinate many interviews with government officials. Also Abdullahi Wanbai ‘Diso for coordinating FGD.
2.1.4 Conceptual Issues, Ideas, and Philosophical Positions on the Care of OVC in Kano

There have been heated debates as to who is responsible for the needs of children, especially orphans. This section presents some of those discourses, including philosophical, conceptual, and religious positions. Fraser (1986) presents two philosophical stands on the subject matter. First, Aristotle theorized that children lacked the intellectual and emotional capacity for self government. This intellectual emotional capacity could be developed, but that must be fostered through a wise and mature adult whom the child respects: father, mother, or both. Plato, although he agreed, noted that the raising of young children was a fundamental concern of the public and of society as a whole. From these two philosophical positions we can understand that the responsibility of child fostering begins with the parents and subsequently with members of the community or any agency charged with the responsibility.

Similarly, Nisbet (2002) contends that a community progresses when it has a fusion of feeling and thought, of tradition and commitment, of membership and volition. It may be found in, or be given symbolic expression by locality, religion, nation, race, occupation, or crusade. This is the situation in Kano—a town that is characterized by some of the above mentioned features such as a common religion and tradition.

Mills and Richard (2000) construct an assumption of understanding childhood as: children as innocent; children as apprentice; children as persons in their own; children as members of a distinct group; children as vulnerable; and children as animals. This shows that children have the potential, as well as the tendencies, to grow up as conformist or deviant members of their own societies depending on the opportunities, situation, and
circumstances. The society contributes to making them what they become, but the outcome of what they become has immense impact on the society in which they live. From this narrative, one can understand that children are seldom, and are mostly shaped or influenced by the immediate environments in which they grow. In other words, it is a societal responsibility to make the necessary provisions for the children to grow as productive members of the society. Family is the primary socialization agent.

Mivanyi (2006) describes the Nigerian family structure as patrilineal in kinship, tracing descent through the father and grandfather. The extended family is composed of the grandparents, the sons/fathers, daughters/mothers and, cousins, aunts/uncles, nieces/nephews and in-law relationships (affinal). The oldest male on the father’s side is usually the head of the family. During those years, historically, strong ties existed among the family clusters and communities, because they were economically and socially interdependent. However, those strong ties no longer hold as they were and family functions in the study area are really becoming more structural (theoretical) than practical, unintentionally. This is in part depending on who among the members of the family is ‘more privileged’ to carry out what function, economically and socially. In some families the father’s power is minimally felt, while the mother’s increases.

From the foregoing conceptual issues, we can understand that the responsibility or ‘burden’ of ensuring that orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) grow up under proper care and support is not a sole responsibility of the government alone but also of their relatives and the general public. In other words, the society has a vital role to play in
improving the conditions of the OVC, and by extension in drastically reducing the tendencies for the risks the children and societies are exposed to.

2.1.5 Orphanhood, Vulnerability, and Care as related to Islamic Values/Conception

One of the ways of discussing philosophical explanation is relating it to Islamic view point. Since the Kano people are predominantly Muslims, this section explores some Islamic values or conception of fostering. Badamasiuy (2009) highlights some of the Islamic provisions of the rights of treating the children with equity and benevolence. It is the right of the children that they be love, cared for and treated equal regardless of sex. She asserts that Islamic law is sensitive to and conscious of the child’s dependency on the parents; the parents’ role in performing its personality and far-reaching effects of socialization. More so, in the operation of parents and child relationship under the Islamic law, it is quite clear that from infancy to adulthood, it is the unparalleled tender, love and care of parents that brings the child from the state of absolute weakness and helplessness to perfect strength and independence. In many verses of the Qur’an, it is indicated that children are a trust and sole responsibility of their parents. But in the absence of the parents- when orphaned, the relatives or community take over. Both relations and the communities are expected to embark on showing care and concern through providing services that will cater for the needs of the orphans, the weak, the aged, the widows, and all those that require assistance.

The above clearly shows that Islam encourages fostering and taking good care of the marginalized members of the society like OVC. It is worthy to note that in Kano

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19 See for example 7:189-190; 8:28; 13:38; 16:72; 17:64; 24:31; and 25:58.
metropolis, the conceptualization for societal response to OVC is based on Islamic scholarship and interpretation along with the existing cultural values. Having presented some conceptual discourses on OVC, the next section reviews some literature on the causes of the OVC’s conditions in the studied area.

2.1.6 Factors Responsible for OVC’s Conditions

A cause of social phenomenon according to Schutt (2006) is “an explanation for some characteristics, attitudes, or behavior of groups, individuals, or other entities or for events.” (p.172). In an attempt of explaining the major causes of orphanhood and children’s vulnerability in the study area, a number of social, economic, political factors are considered responsible for the orphanhood and vulnerability of the children. Garba (2007) blames colonization for disrupting the comprehensive traditional social welfare provisions for children, the elderly, the poor, the sick, and the needy. Colonization brought about disruption in the family structure, and significant alterations were made in all the social, economic, political, educational systems, thereby making life very difficult. Disruption of traditional values and the idea of communal living and spirit of brotherhood was replaced with money-economy and excessive individualism. Mivanyi (2006) argues that in Nigerian families, “Individualism, in all facets of family life, is strengthening among family members” (p.426). Birmingham (1995) buttresses this position, identifying some of the negative conditions brought by the process of colonization to include hunger, arbitrary government, foreign exploitation, neglect of indigenous cultural heritage, and. Also, urban-bias, introduction of foreign alien values that contradict the rich traditional
ones, ecological neglect, and many more which have later brought about an alien inadequate formal social welfare policy.

Another factor responsible for children’s vulnerability linked to urbanization is high rate of divorce, leading to single-parenthood, especially female headed households. The culture of female headed households is viewed as alien in a patriarchal society like Kano, thereby creating some problems including urban-bias and increase in the deteriorating conditions of children. Similarly, Coles (1997) identified some factors that jeopardize the efforts of maternal resources in providing subsistence needs and socialization of the younger ones. These include kin dispersal, ecological pressures, environmental stress, economic disasters, growing burdens of labor-intensive work, increasing number of women depending on their children for current survival and future security. Most of the above mentioned factors are linked to colonization. Yet, Derefaka (2004) believes that we should not overburden colonization, instead, we should consider globalization as the major cause of Nigeria’s and Africa’s contemporary problems including those associated with OVC. His position therefore gives a self-critique of state of the nation state. He argues that if a democratic culture is firmly established in Nigeria, then the country would have become a significant player in the process of globalization.

But Norman (2002) argues that there will be no successful children developmental program without recognizing and addressing the critical role that poverty plays in the poor development of the children from the grass roots level. Similarly, Oguonu (2005) sees poverty as a major hindrance to sustainable development in both Kano and Nigeria as a whole. He believes that the increase of the poverty level in Nigeria
led to the increase in the number of orphans and vulnerable children as well as their deteriorating conditions. Lanchman et al. (2002) identify the challenges facing children in the 21st century as immense, and as impediments to achieving the goal of universal child protection. They went further to identify three specific constraints on child protection in Nigeria namely poverty: HIV/AIDS infection, and war. They emphasized poverty, which can be both financial and psychological, and can have serious negative effects in the continent, leading to many children becoming orphans and therefore vulnerable.

Gordon (1996) presents interesting yet very critical points to the discourse. He views the combination of patriarchy and capitalism to be the major causes of most problems associated with women, children and underdevelopment in Africa. He asserts that

Women typically face more disadvantages and exploitation than do men. They must cope not only with poverty and underdevelopment; they are also limited by patriarchal attitudes and practices, some predating capitalism, others established during the colonial period. These patriarchal attitudes and practices, which privilege men, continue to permeate African societies from the level of the family up to the state. Added to this are forms of patriarchy from Western capitalist nations that dominate the global economy…

The above indicates not only that patriarchy is a cause of children’s vulnerability but that it must be understood within the context of Africa’s peripheral and dependent position within the global capitalist economy. It also indicates that patriarchy is entrenched in the family, state, and global systems with tremendous impact on women especially. The next section reviews literature on non-governmental organizations: essence for establishment, various types and functions.
2.1.7 Necessity for the Establishment and Intervention of Non-Governmental Organizations

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are private organizations that act towards some common, humanitarian purpose. The idea of NGOs has been around since 1800s, though officially entered the mainstream because of the UN in 1945\textsuperscript{20}. Some of the criteria for establishing an NGO include being independent from government control; non-profit seeking; non-criminal; and not seeking to challenge governments on issues of control or power. NGOs cannot enforce or become a political party. NGOs can vary in size, from grassroots movements to juggernauts such as Red Cross, which is currently the largest. McPhail (2009) argues that NGOs have good intentions despite some controversies associated with their activities, sources of fund as well as spending, ideologies for which they are established, structural biases, unhealthy rivalry and competition among sister NGOs, etc. He further asserted that:

Today, the task of development is run by many diverse NGOs… The UN has long recognized the limitations of these nations as vehicles of progressive change, and has placed the task on the shoulders of the private sector through NGOs (p.68).

From the above, we can understand the recognition of, and necessity for NGOs’ establishment and intervention in improving the quality of people’s lives. There are different classifications of NGOs, which include:

1. \textit{Charitable orientation} NGO: This type of NGO often involves a top-down paternalistic effort with little participation by beneficiaries. It includes NGOs with activities directed toward meeting the needs of the poor, such as distribution of food,

\textsuperscript{20} See the Human Rights Charter of 1948
clothing or medicine; provision of housing, transport, and schools. These NGOs may also undertake relief activities during a natural or man-made disaster. The Red Cross Society is an example of such NGOs.

2. *Service orientation* NGO: This type of NGO deals with activities such as the provision of health, family planning or education services in which the program is designed by the NGO and people are expected to participate in its implementation and in receiving the service. Example of such NGO is the Adolescent and Health Information Project (AHIP).

3. *Participatory orientation* NGO: These NGOs are characterized by self-help projects where local people are involved in particularly in the execution of a project by contributing funding, natural resources, and voluntary labor. An example of this NGO is the Badarawa Development Association.

4. *Empowering orientation* NGO: This type of NGO aims to help poor people develop a clearer understanding of the social, political and economic factors affecting their lives and to strengthens their awareness of their own potential power to control their lives. Sometimes, these groups develop spontaneously around a problem or an issue. Empowering orientation NGOs are considered the most important in terms of promoting development and reducing the digital divide in peripheral nations. An example of such an NGO is the Orphans and Needy Welfare Association (ONWA) Gandun Albasa. Most of the sampled NGOs fall under the *Service orientation* NGOs as well as the last category *Empowering orientation* NGOs. The next section traces the history of Community-based Organizations in Kano, and how they transform into the modern-day NGOs.
2.1.8 The Evolution of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Kano

‘Kungiyar had’a Kan Matasan Fagge is said to be the first known established Community-Based Organization in Kano\textsuperscript{21}. Five persons founded it in the year 1955: Shehu Shanono, Ammani Inuwa\textsuperscript{22}, Malam Adamu Mai Shayi (a.k.a. Ka fi Uwa son ‘Danta), Garba Super, and his mentor Ya’u Kusada. Some of the functions of the association included rendering assistance to the needy-members as well as non-members, especially during illness, grief, marriage or naming ceremonies, and so on; environmental sanitation; cleaning up mosques; sanitizing graveyards; rescue activities during disasters like fire outbreak, flood, or removing snakes or dangerous reptiles in unwanted places. The association was also organizing friendly football matches between organizations in Kano. This last role was what led to the establishment of Zafi Boys’ Football\textsuperscript{23} Club, an off-shoot of the Kungiyar had’a Kan Matasan Fagge. Looking at the series of functions that the maiden association was performing, we can see that it had some characteristics of both participatory as well as empowering orientation NGOs. One of the living patrons of the association Malam Adamu Ka fi Uwa son ‘Danta attested the fact that the membership of Ya’u Kusada and his disciple Garba Super contributed a lot in attracting many to join and assist the club. This was because they were famous drum-beaters and singers who would always entertain participating members during most of the association’s social events. More so, the singers were praise-singing for philanthropists who donating to the association -an aspect that boosted the club’s income.

\textsuperscript{21} Interview with Malam Adamu Ka fi Uwa son ‘Danta, December, 2009.
\textsuperscript{22} A famous politician, currently a patron of the ANPP in Kano state, and an elder statesman
\textsuperscript{23} American Soccer. This is one of the most patronized sports in Kano, and Nigeria in general.
Among the oldest known such self-help associations that have now transformed into the modern-day Non-governmental Organizations are: Alheri Zumunta Club established in (1984), Yakasai Zumunta Development Association (1984), *Aguda tare, a tsira tare*– Kwarin Gogau Fagge D (1989), Himma Development Association Kofar Wambai (1992), and *Dadin Kowa* Dala (1993). Membership into most of these associations was voluntary and usually free, yet with some levies either on weekly basis, bi-weekly, monthly, or during times when the needs arise: depending largely on the system/method that the respective associations would adopt- which were subject to reviews. Membership into most of the associations was open to all, irrespective of gender, age, tribe, religious, or economic backgrounds. In addition, it was not restricted only to the residents of the respective associations’ geographical locations. That was the situation and this is what is obtained nowadays in many modern-day community-based associations.

Executive positions into the associations were contested for, depending on one’s popularity, dedication to associations’ duties among other qualities. Various committees\(^{24}\) were set up to run some activities, usually headed by specialists (experts) in various expertises. For instance, medical personnel would head the health committee; an educationist would head the education committee; and so on. This is very similar to what the studied and most Non-governmental Organizations adopt as methods of operation. Community-based organizations (CBOs) are grassroots associations established by the inhabitants of a community for the improvement of their socio-economic conditions.

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\(^{24}\) See details under chapter four entitled “Methods, Procedures, and Strategies adopted by NGOs in their operations.”
Most CBOs register with their local governments for recognition and attaining legal status. The fact that NGOs are numerous and perform different functions, this study uses the terms CBOs to refer to NGOs because the CBOs fall under the some of the broad categorizations of NGOs. As such, the terms are used in this research interchangeably. In any case, these associations serve as change agents to impact on the lives of underprivileged members of the society. The next section explores how NGOs serve as change agents.

2.1.9 Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) as Change Agents

Rogers (2003) defines a change agent, as “An individual [or group] who influences clients’ innovations in a direction deemed desirable by a change agency” (p.400). He presents two major problems that change agents face which are their social marginality, due to their position midway between a change agency and their client system. Secondly, information overload, which is the state of an individual or a system in which excessive communication inputs cannot be processed and used, leading to breakdown. He therefore presents seven roles of the change agent, which are: (1) to develop a need for change on the part of clients, (2) to establish an information-exchange relationship, (3) to diagnose problems, (4) to create an intent to change in the client, (5) to translate intentions into action, (6) to stabilize adoption and prevent discontinuance, and (7) to achieve a terminal relationship with clients. The studied NGOs perform some of the above functions of change agents. Change agentry could be primary or secondary. The NGOs, being community-based know the particular problems and needs of the target group, and are therefore the best to provide the appropriate intervention needed. Findings
of Hashim (2008) revealed that the activities of NGOs in Kano metropolis have been contributing immensely in enhancing betterment of socio-economic conditions of their communities. The next section reviews a model of societal response to the conditions of orphans and vulnerable children.

2.1.10 Building a Culturally-Rooted Response to Orphans and Vulnerable Children

Bernstein and Gray (1991) studied the development and failure of an organization *Khaya Lethu* that aimed to deal with the problem of street children in a South African city, Durban. It was a voluntary organization whose goal was to provide a shelter, known as *Khaya Lethu* meaning “Our Home.” Durban is one of the largest cities in South Africa, with rapidly growing population. It was characterized with congestion, poverty, and unemployment. It was a mixed-racial town with the blacks constituting the majority of the poor. The black townships surrounding Durban have been wracked with violence. There was disruption in the family structure, leading to high rates of marital instability, violence, assaults, juvenile delinquency, and so on.

The Khaya Lethu initiated a project after the City Health unit conducted a survey of 50 orphans and vulnerable children, most of them on the streets. Following the research, in 1985, a comprehensive rehabilitation and education program titled “Homeless Children Shelter Project” was established. A-14member Management Committee was created to operate under the auspices of the Durban African Child and Family Welfare Society. There were sub-committees (of shelter, feeding, education, behavior modification, etc) to manage the project. Through fundraising, huge amount of money were raised. The shelter for street children was opened on 2 November 1987 with
20 children and had 90 children in 1988 but unfortunately, it failed for a number of reasons. There was discipline problem among the children in the shelter, leading to establishing a special police unit to “weed” out the problem children. The attitudes of the City Council towards the shelter severely hampered the project to the extent of the withdrawing support. Finally, after lengthy negotiations the management committee was given notice to vacate the Khaya Lethu premises on 30 June 1989.

We can learn some lessons from the Khaya Lethu project. First, Durban city has many characteristics similar to Kano. As such, we can make comparisons with the two cities. More importantly, as this study concerns with collective societal response to the conditions of OVC, same applies to the Khaya Lethu. However, the strategies adopted by the studied NGOs vary. While the Khaya Lethu in Durban adopted “curative” approach to the problems, the studied NGOs in Kano metropolis adopt “preventive” approach, recognizing existing family values. In addition, with so many groups involved in the management of the shelter, there were bound to be conflicts of interest and difficulties in co-ordination. Within the institution, older children were viewed as delinquent and were found disruptive in the shelter. The intervention of the City Police Unit to separate the “worthy” from the “unworthy” countered the project’s open door approach. Another problem associated with the project was polarization of opinion regarding the location of street shelters (city centre versus outlying areas). All of the above problems are eliminated in a culturally-rooted (family-oriented) intervention for fostering OVC by relatives through the assistance of Non-governmental Organizations. The next section
presents the theoretical assumptions fit in the analyses of NGO’s activities in response to the state of OVC in Kano metropolis.

2.2 Theoretical Frame of Reference

This section reviews theoretical assumptions employed as frame of reference for the study. Efforts will be made to elucidate the relevance of the theories adopted in the research.

A theory according to Sullivan (2006) is a set of statements that explains the relationship between phenomena. He further asserts that the key role of theories is to tell us why something occurred. They help us organize the data from research into a meaningful whole. Williams and McShane (1999) buttress the above point as they assert that theory is part of everyday life and the most important thing about theories is that we need them to live. It is against this background that this research employs the Social Disorganization Theory (SDT) and the Social Network Theory (SNT) to explain societal responses to the state of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano metropolis. While the SDT describes the situation of the OVC, the SNT describes the role and impact of the societal response specifically the efforts of NGOs in addressing OVC’s conditions in Kano metropolis.

2.2.1 Social Disorganization Theory

Social disorganization refers to the breakdown of the social institutions in a community. In the inner city, families would be disrupted, adult-run activities for youths would be sparse and religious or worship places would be poorly attended. When such a pervasive breakdown occurred, adults would be unable to control youths or stop
competing forms of delinquent and criminal organizations from emerging (e.g., gangs, vice activities). This combination was highly criminogenic. Freed from adult control, youths roamed the streets, where they came into contact with older juveniles who transmitted to them criminal values and skills. From the above characteristics, we can conclude that Kano metropolis has the features of social disorganization. The Social Disorganization Theory (SDT) is an important theory developed by the Chicago School. Although, there are different forms of the theory, this study utilizes the general characteristics of social disorganization to describe what led to the conditions of OVC in Kano metropolis.

Cullen and Agnew (2006) provide some basic postulates of the theory. Sutherland (1938) adopted the concept of social disorganization to explain the increases in crime that accompanied the transformation of preliterate and peasant societies where influences surrounding a person were steady, uniform, harmonious and consistent to modern Western civilization which he believed was characterized by inconsistency, conflict and un-organization. The mobility, economic competition and an individualistic ideology that accompanied capitalist and industrial development had been responsible for the disintegration of the large family and homogeneous neighborhoods as agents of social control. The failure of extended kin groups expanded the realm of relationships no longer controlled by the community and undermined governmental controls leading to persistent "systematic" crime and delinquency. Such disorganization causes and reinforces the cultural traditions and cultural conflicts that support antisocial activity. Sutherland

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25 See Shaw and MacKay (1942); Blau (1982); and Sampson (2006)
concluded that if the society is organized with reference to the values expressed in the law, the crime is eliminated; if it is not organized, crime persists and develops.

In line with the above, and with relevance to this research, Sampson (2006) presents not only what causes social disorganization in cities according to ecology, but also alternative to deal with the problem. His basic premise is that social and organizational characteristics of neighborhoods explain variations in delinquent or crime rates that are not solely attributable to the aggregated demographic characteristics of individuals. The differential ability of neighborhoods to realize the common values of residents and maintain effective social controls is a major source of neighborhood variation in violence. He suggested that social control is the answer to social disorganization. Social control refers generally to the capacity of a group to regulate its members according to desired principles- to realize collective, as opposed to forced, goals. Informal social control therefore generalizes to broader issues of importance to the well-being of neighborhoods. Here, we can refer the NGOs’ response to the conditions of OVC in the study area to as “social control.”

Sampson and his colleagues (2006) invented the notion of “collective efficacy.” They hypothesized that when people in a neighborhood trusted and supported one another, they had a basis for binding together to control disorderly and criminal behavior. This did not mean that people went about fighting crime on a daily basis. Rather, collective efficacy implied that when disruptive conduct arose, the people in these neighborhoods had the cohesiveness to act in an “effective” way to solve the problem. Collective efficacy is thus a resource that is activated in crucial situation. What we can
borrow from this theory is that members of Kano metropolis had the cohesiveness to come under the umbrella of NGOs to act in an effective way to solve the problems of OVC in the study area. The next theory helps to explain how the cohesiveness of the NGOs operates.

2.2.2 Social Network Theory

Castells, a major figure in urban sociology is a proponent of the Social Network Theory (2001). The power of social network theory (SNT) stems from its difference from traditional sociological studies, which assume that it is the attributes of individual actors - whether they are friendly or unfriendly, smart or dumb, etc. that matter. Social network theory produces an alternate view, where the attributes of individuals are less important than their relationships and ties with other actors within the network. According to Castells (2001), a social network is a social structure made of individuals or organizations called "nodes," which are tied (connected) by one or more specific types of interdependence, such as common interest (as in NGOs), friendship, kinship, financial exchange, dislike, or relationships of beliefs, knowledge or even prestige. He further postulates that social meaning arises primarily from challenges posed by certain kinds of social structures, notably those that generate social conflict, social inequality and the destruction of social solidarity. And if there is one unitary kind of social structure then there is a unitary basis for resolving the challenges and problems associated with it.

Applying this theory to the research therefore, we consider the various factors that drift the OVC into their conditions as the challenges that are posed by the social structure especially the erosion in family values of social cohesion and failure of the extended
family to provide protection to children. It is the same set of identified problems (being historical, economic, political, or social) that destroy the family values, and instigate social inequality—making the OVC and some widows at a greater disadvantage. But all hope is not lost because it is the “associational tie” that binds members of the community together and serves as a unitary basis for resolving the crises through home-care. This also indicates that the home-care is an alternate to the “official” orphanages.

There can be many kinds of ties between the nodes described above. Research in a number of academic fields has shown that social networks operate on many levels, from families up to the level of nations, and play a critical role in determining the way problems are solved, organizations are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving their goals. For the purpose of this study, “Associational tie” will be utilized to describe how the community through NGOs identify and solve the problems of OVC in Kano metropolis. Feld (1981) asserts that Social networks can be built in various organizational contexts, including voluntary associations, workplace, neighborhood, and schools. Furthermore, the data suggested that ties formed within civic associations or social movement organizations are more effective as channels of mobilization.

An “associational tie” is a connection through common membership in a voluntary or civic association. This definition indicates that although, members of the NGOs that come together do not build their relationship on blood ties, nevertheless, it is their association as a result of voluntary membership for a common goal, that binds them together. In line with the above, findings of Lim (2008) confirmed that associational tie
make members of a particular community more responsive to common interests than even blood tie. Similarly, people may be more responsive to requests by neighbors to join community activities because they share interests in community issues.

From the above, we can employ “appreciative inquiry” to see the value of NGOs’ activities in responding to the needs of OVC in Kano metropolis. Appreciative Inquiry (AI) involves making a very conscious and deliberate choice to ask positive questions when seeking to understand what is needed to make life better in organizations. A basic assumption of the AI is that people have more confidence and comfort to journey to the future when they carry forward parts of the past. Again, when we carry parts of the past forward, they should be what are best about the past. This means, we can utilize AI to examine what NGOs have brought forward in terms of playing some roles of the extended family in Kano metropolis. By maintaining social network, the NGOs find some innovative ways to create the future. At that moment, we can recognize with gratitude, value, and admire highly the roles of the associations in impacting the lives of orphans and vulnerable children in the study area. With that we can increase in the value by not only knowing the positive sides of the associations, but also knowing the negative to increase in value of what they do. It is worthy to note that AI has implications for methodology, it is hereby employed to appreciate the value for NGOs’ performance in impacting the lives of OVC in Kano metropolis. In other words, the use of AP is limited only to show its significance vis-à-vis the social network theory to the study. In addition, the research inquires not only about the positive but also the negative aspects (like problems/challenges) of the NGOs in discharging their duties.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the research design of the study covering population of the study, historical background and development to the study prisons, sampling technique and sample size, the methods of data collection and the techniques used to analyze the data. Finally, it presents justification for adopting qualitative methodology for the study.

3.2 The Study Area

Kano is the most densely populated state in Nigeria. The population of Nigeria stands at about 150 million people, making it the largest black nation in Africa. According to this census data, an estimated 42% of the Nigerian population is age 14 years and below, 55% are between 15 and 64 years, and only 3% are 65 years and above. The population growth is estimated at 2.38% each year, and the median age is 18.7 years old. The estimated fertility rate of children per woman is 5.49% while 47.08 years are estimated life expectancy. Kano state in the far north has the largest number of people with about 14 million people. (Nigeria Fact Book: 2010). There are 44 local governments in the state, and 8 of them constitute the Kano metropolis- the research area. They are: Kano Municipal, Dala, Fagge, Gwale, Nassarawa, Kumbotso, Ungoggo, and Tarauni). The research area is an urban and cosmopolitan city with diverse population, leading to congestion and overcrowding, as well as social problems. Despite the large population, only one institution (The Nassarawa orphanage27) owned by the government exists within

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the metropolis, which is grossly inadequate. Oluwatoyin (1998) observed that inadequate planning translates into the over-concentration of population in certain areas, putting pressure on resources and creating inner-city problems such as those associated with OVC.

3.3 Research Methodology

This research adopts both primary and secondary sources of generating data. The primary source of data comprised of field research which was conducted during the 2009/2010 winter vacation at Kano, Nigeria. The researcher followed the rules, regulations, and guidelines of the Ohio University by going through the Institutional Review Board (IRB) to seek for approval due to dealing with human subject ethics. During the fieldwork, the researcher conducted a number of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), In-depth Interviews, and in some instances Participant Observation in the field. The secondary source was the literature relevant to the study. The research instruments were used on a wide range of stakeholders ranging from executive members of some selected Grass root associations that cater for the needs of OVC, members of the intelligentsia, social welfare officers, religious or opinion leaders. As for the secondary sources of data, the researcher uses library research to gather data on the related field. It entails theoretical explanations that explain the phenomenon of child vulnerability: causes, dynamics, trends, and consequences. On the other hand, the theoretical postulations help in explaining the necessity, relevance, and the impact of the responses activities of the Community-based associations in improving on the lives of the OVC. To have a more clear and general understanding of the phenomenon, several research
conducted on the topic of discussion are consulted. In other words, the researcher reviews relevant literature, while facts and theories were employed to back up the data generated.

My personal experience with situatedness as a local researcher, as well as previous work helped me to have in-depth access and fluent communication with the discussants at all levels. I was trained in Sociology and engaged in many field researches organized by the department of Sociology, Bayero University- Kano, where I am a faculty member. Due to my interest in surveys, as well as satisfaction in my involvement in many researches, the National Population Commission of Nigeria together with the European Union (EU) inducted me to participate in the National Trial Census in 2006. I was then requested to participate fully in the National People and Housing Census organized in the capacity of facilitator. The exercise was for the period of six weeks, and that led to another invitation for Post-Enumeration Survey (PES). In addition to the above, I participated in numerous researches like the Small Arms and Light Weapons Survey (SALW) sponsored by the department of Sociology Bayero University and the University of Cornell. More so, I designed a study that increasingly deepened my interests in community development. I focused on community-oriented efforts in problem solving approach in fostering development; I designed a study on “The Role of Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) in Environmental Sanitation in Kano Metropolis”. It was my M.Sc. Sociology thesis in which I collected data through surveys, interviews, and focus group discussions concerning key aspects of peoples’ livelihoods with regards collective efforts and how they mobilized resources, as well as benefited from sanitizing their environment. Through such applied research, I learned the
intricacies of community development. These field researches and many others have inspired me to pursue further education. As a result, I found conducting this study a little easier especially in canvassing for the needed information, endurance to comply with the reviewing board’s rules, as well as communicating to the respondents.

3.4 Study Population

The populations of this study are executive members of the studied grass root associations (NGOs) that have programs on OVC in Kano metropolis (covering the eight local governments: Kano Municipal, Dala, Fagge, Gwale, Nassarawa, Kumbotso, Ungoggo, and Tarauni). Since the issue concerns societal reactions to the OVC, an official of the Kano state government Adaidaita Sahu (Societal Reorientation) program forms part of the Key Informants. This is to have an insight on the efforts made by the government in sensitizing the public and encouraging the grass root associations in addressing the needs of the OVC in the state. In addition to the above, the adviser to the governor on Tsangaya constitutes part of the study population. Also, interviews were conducted with two members of the intelligentsia- Professors of Law and Sociology; the Acting Head of Department of the Nassarawa orphanage; Heads of the Community and Social Welfare units of Nassarawa and Municipal Local governments; religious leaders who represent Faith-based organizations (FBOs) to add religious perspective on the subject matter; as well as community/opinion/traditional leaders.

3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

For the purpose of this study a total number of fifty four (54) respondents were drawn. Forty two (42) of these respondents participated in eight (8) Focus Group
Discussion (FGD) sessions; whereas the remaining twelve were engaged in In-depth interviews (I.D.Is), what I commonly referred as Key Informants Interviews (KIIIs) throughout this study. The researcher used purposive sampling (non probability) to come up with the sample by their possession of the characteristics needed for the research. Since there were eight local governments that comprised of Kano metropolis, each local government was considered a cluster. But it is worthy to mention that by virtue of the characteristics or typicality of these associations, most times, a specific NGO that participated in a discussion referred the researcher to sister organizations in the requested clusters. This means, a “snow ball” was used to identify the particular grass root associations that provide services for the OVC in the research areas.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

In this study, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and In-depth Interviews (I.D.Is.) were used to as methods of gathering data, for generating qualitative data (insights) from the respondents. The FGD and IDI guides (questions) were in English (but translated in Hausa where necessary. The researcher gained advantage of being Hausa and very fluent in speaking Hausa, and spent all his life in Kano speaking Hausa before coming to the United States for yet another Masters program. As such, I was able to administer the questions easily. I also took part as the principal solicitor to the information needed, but sometimes required note taker as research assistant, who received training based on the research ethics and requirements. Part of the training given was how to take notes during the FGD sessions and how to take care of the tape recorder. After the interviews (FGDs
and IDIs) the researcher transcribed the tapes while those conducted in Hausa were translated into English.

3.7 Techniques for Data Analysis

The researcher utilized the data generated from the interviews to analyze the phenomenon of OVC and societal response in Kano metropolis. A nuanced explanation, qualitative data, and insights into the subject matter were provided using the theoretical perspective adopted as frame of analysis. The analyses were supported by the data generated from the field basically qualitative, and backed up with reviewed literature.

3.8 Justification for Adopting Qualitative Methodology

In this study, I employed qualitative methodology because of the nature of the study, as well as the kind of information needed. In line with that Creswell (2007) asserts that “We conduct qualitative research because a problem or issue needs to be explored. This exploration is needed, in turn, because of a need to study a group or population, identify variables that can then be measured, or hear silenced voices” (p. 40). We also need qualitative research because we need a complex, detailed understanding of the issue. This detail can only be established by talking directly with people, going to their homes or places of work, and allowing them to tell the stories unencumbered by what we expect to find or what we have read in the literature. More so, we conduct qualitative research because we want to understand the contexts or settings in which participants in a study address a problem or issue. We cannot separate what people say from the context in which they say it. During the conduct of the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informants Interviews (KIIs), I took note of gestures like facial or emotional,
illustrations, areas of emphasis or empathy. These aspects were only possible when the qualitative methods were used. We therefore use qualitative research because quantitative measures and the statistical analyses simply do not fit the problem.

Studying the OVC’s conditions and trends, as well as community responses to OVC can best be conducted using qualitative methodology. Marshall and Rossman (2006) enumerate some of the merits of adopting qualitative methodology at the policy level. They assert that qualitative methods identify the anticipated outcomes of policies; help debug some policies; identify how policies can be changed as they are implemented at various levels; and help find the natural solutions to problems- the solutions that people devise without policy intervention. It is against this background that the qualitative methodology is employed to study the state of OVC and societal response in Kano metropolis.
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected in the study using qualitative methodology. It is divided into six sections as follows: Section one deals with the state of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC): major causes, trends, and the shouldering of the responsibilities of the less privileged. Section two treats societal responses to OVC, examining the methods and strategies that the studied associations adopt in assisting the children. Section three explores the means for mobilizing members of the NGOs and disseminating information to the public. Section four examines the relationships between caregivers and the children cared-for both at homes and institutions. Section five evaluates societal responses to the needs of OVC with specific reference to the activities of the NGOs’ intervention. Section six examines sources of generating funds as well as the major challenges facing the NGOs. Descriptive analyses are used to present the qualitative data, theories, and relevant literature employed to present and analyze the data. To provide insights of the phenomenon under study, and to strike a balance or “checks and balances” to the views of the executive members of the NGOs in focus groups, key informants’ opinions would be used as critique and follow-ups. It should be noted that there are two sociological categories of informants: the first is the executive members of the 8 studied NGOs that participated in focus group discussions (FGDs) and are addressed as discussants. The second is the resource persons, including government officials that were engaged in key informants’ interviews (KIIIs) and are addressed as key informants.
4.2 The State of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC): Major causes, Trends, and Responsibilities

This section of the chapter intends to identify and explore the state or conditions of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano metropolis, discussing the major causes of the conditions and magnitudes or trends of the conditions. Finally, discussants’ views on who is responsible for shouldering the responsibilities of the children will be examined.

4.2.1 The State of Being/Conditions of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano Metropolis

Members of the focus groups described the general state of being or conditions of orphans and other less-privileged children in Kano metropolis as deplorable or deteriorative. Almost all the discussants believe that the conditions of these children are undesirable. None of the respondents is of the opinion that the conditions are good or fair. Some of the conditions that are described to be deplorable include appearing shabby, living in uncompleted buildings, filthy areas, and other places that are believed to be dangerous. The OVC are also roaming the streets begging and engaged in menial jobs; thereby exploited due to child labor, and in some instances molested. The nutritional condition of the children is non-hygienic, and as such exposing them to malnutrition, malfunction, mental retardation, low cognitive abilities, dropping-out from schools, as well as emotional and psychological imbalances. The Report of Situation Assessment and Analysis on OVC in Nigeria (2008) confirms that generally, OVC are deprived of their rights to life, human dignity, education, and health/access to healthcare services. They
live without the care, love, affection and security available within the family environment. In line with the above, a particular discussant posited that:

These kids have become a burden or liability to the society. They engage in theft, drug sale, and abuse. Recently, a 14-year-old adopted orphan stole a goat…

Findings of Maikano (2000) support the above position. It revealed that OVC in Kano metropolis make the highest percent of juveniles, indicating social disorganization.

4.2.2 Causes and Trends of Orphanhood and Children’s Vulnerability in Kano Metropolis

Majority of the discussants believe that there is no single cause of orphanhood as well as vulnerability in the area; rather, there is a combination of factors that lead to the condition. One of the discussants said:

Many of the children we identify and assist are orphaned by accidents, illness, or HIV/AIDS. There are those whose fathers are driven-away by poverty, and they die somewhere searching for greener pastures.

In addition to the above findings, a consultant on OVC and a USAID/UNICEF Consultant on Situational Analysis on OVC in Nigeria further explained more reasons in a key informant’s interview. He said:

The causes of children’s orphanhood and vulnerability in Nigeria are a combination of factors like natural death, HIV/AIDS, accidents, poverty, and lack of access to proper medical care, etc. The prevalence of children’s problems in Kano is mostly vulnerability rather than orphanhood. Most of the children you see moving around are vulnerable because their parents are alive but gave the children out to some Islamic scholars Malams. The Malams themselves are not financially stable and the Almajirai disciples under them have to be left on the street begging, and doing all sorts of undesirable things. Of course some of the kids are orphans and their mothers cannot afford to cater for their needs. The last resort is for the mothers to give the kids out. , the mothers feel that the burden is lifted-off them, in the pretence that the kids will have Islamic education.

The above identified several factors including poverty, diseases, accidents, lack of access to medical care, and the culture of sending children to “learn” Qur’an as major causes of
children’s vulnerability. Similarly, another discussant sees some cultural practices as being factors responsible for the conditions of OVC in the study area. He said:

Both Islam and Hausa culture encourage support to orphans and the needy. But due to social change, people begin to think that everyone should be concerned with him/herself alone and survival of the fittest becomes order of the day. People begin to see the less-privileged as lazy. The main cause of this is alien cultures to the Hausa community, specifically the Western culture of individualism.

The above position is similar to the postulates of Birmingham (1995), who argues that colonization brought about many negative images including neglect of indigenous cultural heritage, urban-bias, and introduction of foreign or alien values that contradict the rich traditional ones and many others which have later brought about an alien, inadequate formal social welfare policy. But another discussant views the problem from the relationships of members of the community. He said:

Nowadays, assisting the needy is viewed as backwardness; showing the need for support is considered weakness; and seeking for assistance is seen a sin. This further increases the gap between the rich and the poor, especially as the rich, government officials, as well as some religious leaders support the view or idea. Some people lost their wealth in disasters like fire outbreak or so. But unfortunately, other members of the society are discouraged from assisting the victims…

The above position coincides with the self-assessment that Derefaka (2004) provides of the state of the nation. By implication therefore, we cannot blame external forces without considering our own attitudes – i.e. internal factors. In a different manner, one of the discussants identified misunderstandings between couples which in most cases lead to marital breakdown and broken homes, to be the fundamental source of children’s vulnerability in Kano metropolis. He posited:

The reality of our situation is: when a man dies and leaves children behind him, which is mostly the case with many orphaned families, the mother claims rights.
She deems it necessary to do whatever she wants with the children, considering that she took the burden of pregnancies and rearing. As such, no one could determine the future of her children. On the other hand, the paternal relations would feel they are most suitable to exert influence over the children. The paternal relations would not lobby, since they believe it is a matter of rights not privilege. The mother would then take a stance alongside the children in most cases, while the paternal relatives would completely ignore them. The widow will then be left with the children unsupported, pressured by the economic hardship and other challenges. Subsequently, the orphans become vulnerable.

The above discussant points at a central issue—misunderstanding between paternal and maternal relatives of the children, specifically after the death of the breadwinner. Another discussant in the same focus group agreed to the above position and added:

Such crisis described [above] is very true and usually begins when the fathers were alive. If there was no cordial relationship between the paternal and maternal relations, the crisis would likely spill-over to the time after any of the parents die, particularly the fathers. An adage goes: ‘When two Elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers,’ and in this case, the orphans are at the receiving end because they are the victims of circumstance.

Buttressing the above position, one of the discussants sees how patriarchs use and manipulate religion to perpetuate domination, oppression, and exploitation of women especially in regards to their relationships with their husbands or relatives of their deceased husbands. He said:

We the men are so self-centered and ego-centric. To be honest, we are not being fair to our wives, and other women being our sisters or sister in-laws. Whenever we cite or quote the religious injunctions, we do that in our favor. We do not consider all other factors in context. Let me give you an example: a friend of mine insists he wants to marry a second wife. When asked why, he replied ‘the Qur’an says men can marry up to four wives,’ but he vehemently refuses to quote the whole verse, where it states the principles of equity, fairness, and justice as conditionalities. More so, he silences the economic aspect of it. This is how we do when it comes to widowhood, inheritance, and other matters. We play ‘safe’ in our own favor…
The above point, which talks about patriarchy, is a very important factor that determines or explains power relations between mothers and fathers or maternal and paternal relatives of the OVC. Patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. This position conforms to Bhasin’s (1994) argument that the family, being the basic unit of society, is probably the most patriarchal because it is within family that we learn the first lessons in hierarchy, subordination, and discrimination. Similarly, this position supports Gordon’s (1996) postulate that patriarchy in Africa has its roots in African extended family systems and capitalist familial modes of production.

Islam28, being the dominant religion practiced by the people of Kano, also gives more of the share to male rather than female children of the deceased as inheritance. One discussant describes how power relations between the relatives of the deceased on the one hand and the widows are shaped, which in most instances are not in the favor of the widows. He said:

As we know, in the past, our social security system was informal, but was very comprehensive. If one died, people from the neighborhood, friends, and relatives would gladly and generously contribute to the deceased family. That kind of gesture would continue until the children were grown up to stand on their own. The widows were equally supported and advised to remain in their late husbands’ abodes. The support coming from people then was conscious, voluntary, and wholehearted. There wasn’t the need to have associations as we do have now. But presently, orphans have become very vulnerable and in dire need of support. Reasons for that are numerous, including economy, self-centeredness, and egocentrism. People have become very materialistic so much so that when one dies, people will be interested in coming closer to the family only if he had left riches. In some instances, the deceased family would be having disagreements over the wealth.

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The above indicates how disruption in the family structure, coupled with people’s attitudes including relatives of the deceased affects relationships with children as well as the widows. It also shows the kinds of relationships between the paternal relatives of the deceased and the widows. This data conforms to findings of Sa’ad (2001) which revealed that in Nigeria, women’s oppression in traditional societies is evident in various pre-colonial institutions. Similarly, Peil and Oyeneye (1998) asserted that in Nigeria, women are often disadvantaged when it comes to inheritance. Relatives are quick to swoop in when a man dies, giving little consideration to his wife and children. Another discussant in the same focus group expatiates on more reasons that drift the orphans into vulnerability. He said:

Some people, due to the desire to accumulate material wealth, would go ahead and make fake promises to the widows [vis-à-vis supporting the orphans] or get their hands into marriages. But in a real sense, it is the wealth of the deceased that is the target. But in the event that one dies, and has no wealth left behind, everyone including his relatives would not care about her and the orphans. Thence, orphans become gullible. In Hausa societies of the present, assistance to the needy, especially orphans is very, very weak.

The above identifies selfish and materialistic attitudes as a major cause of children’s vulnerability. Marriage is highly valued in the study area, and widows are traditionally expected to remarry for the society to accord respect to them. As a result, many men would like to go into relationships with the widows and thereby make fake promises. In line with the above, Sheldon (1996) describes the women of northern Nigeria as “invisible” primarily because most of those living in urban centers, as well as in rural areas, observe at least part of their lives in child-bearing and socializing their
children. As the above point notes, there is a combination of factors that cause or worsen the conditions of the OVC and another discussant buttresses that point. He asserts:

The cause of orphanhood and vulnerability is multi-dimensional: the economic hardships in the country coupled with the traditional belief system have fueled the situation. People in this part of the country [North] are giving birth to so many children while their incomes are not increasing. They then sought to send the children to *Almajiranci*. By so doing, the burden of maintenance is ‘lifted-off’ the parents.

But a Professor of Sociology[^29], who is the Chairman Charity Corner, has different views on the main cause of children’s vulnerability as well as the increasingly deteriorating conditions of the children. His position is looking beyond the specific practices of the people and rather looking at the macro level of analysis. He posited:

Partly, the problem is lack of responsible and reasonable governments at local, state, and national levels in Nigeria. Like you know, Nigeria is a country bedeviled with the problem of corruption. It is not that the country is poor but because those who manage the resources are extremely corrupt, the resources do not go to the right people at the right time. Again, the poverty that is pervading the society is extremely high, thereby making families unable to cater for their members. As a result of that you have so many societal problems emerging. Then, there is this culture of materialism and accumulation in Nigeria, which breeds a lot of competition. As a result, people are marginalized. The system does not ensure fair, equitable, and balanced distribution of the available resources.

The above position identifies factors like corruption, mismanagement of funds, materialism, and disruption in the family as the causes of marginalization in the society. It is a general consensus among all the respondents that the problems of OVC in Kano metropolis are not only deteriorative or deplorable but also increasing. Discussants cite many factors believed to be responsible for the increase in the conditions and trends. These include population explosion, economic hardship, corrupt practices, neglect of

[^29]: Interview with Dr. Sadiq Isah Radda, Dean Social and Management Faculty, Bayero University-Kano, December 2009.
traditional values, nonchalant attitudes of the community or society towards the victims, as well as government policies which are not favorable to the welfare of the children, and so on. One of the discussants said:

It is rather unfortunate that the problems of OVC are at the increase. To be honest, the future is not bright. The rich are not interested in assisting, except very few. The future is not promising because the OVC cannot come under an umbrella (association) to pursue their rights. The vulnerable nature of this category of the ‘weak’ is what hinders them from revolting. An example is the widows and divorcees who have come together to protest. This is an indication of societal inability to cater for their needs.

Another discussant posited that:

The problems are increasing and as such, the demands are very much increasing despite that we update. By updating I mean we assist the needy in terms of health, nutrition, and education to fit…

Another key informant posits:

To my observation, and as an individual, I see the OVC as becoming more in number due to illiteracy from both religious and western senses. It does not make sense to have many children that cannot be catered for. Many people get married without knowing its principles. I believe poverty and illiteracy go hand-in-hand but I deemphasize on poverty because we tend to impose poverty on ourselves…

The above informant identifies illiteracy as the major cause of the conditions of orphans in the society. The next section seeks to explore respondents’ views about those responsible for the needs of the children.

4.2.3 Shouldering the Responsibilities of the Orphans and vulnerable children

There seem to be three variant positions concerning who is responsible for shouldering the needs of the OVC: the first position assumes that it is solely the responsibility of the individual families or families of the deceased (both paternal or maternal); the second position believes that communities in which the children live and
by extension the society at large are responsible for the needs of the OVC; while the third position posits that it is solely the government’s responsibility. But the majority of the respondents in the various focus groups believe that it is parents’, families or relatives’ responsibility to cater for the needs of children. One of the discussants said:

The family is the immediate person(s) responsible for shouldering the needs of their children. If for any reason they cannot cater for those needs, then the relatives should take over, and in their absence the community. Government should only try to cushion-off the effects. We all know the economic conditions of the country. As such, government should identify the orphans and probably give some kinds of assistance to the families that are supporting the victims in their households.

In line with the above, another discussant also posits:

It is a whole responsibility of the parents. But the relations should give some support or take over during emergencies. The communities should come in to support when the family or relatives are weak or fail.

But a divergent view to the above conceives the burden of care to be the whole responsibility of the government. One of the key informants, who is also a Professor of Law, presents her individual representative view, perceiving or interpreting the issue from a legal perspective. She posits:

You see, not necessarily orphans or Vulnerable Children, but children generally are citizens of the nation. When you argue that they are solely responsibility of their parents, then what is government’s responsibility on citizens? Every citizen has some rights and privileges…

In line with the above postulate, Mishra (1981) recognizes the states’ inadequacy for the care of OVC and describes the welfare system operating in this kind of context as “alienative relationship” between the state and the citizens. Another key informant thinks similarly to the above two positions with some shifts. He said:

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30 Interview with Badamasuyi Juwairiyya, December 2009.
Shouldering the responsibilities of the OVC is indeed on the neck of parents/families/relatives and perhaps communities. But the government should create enabling environment for the families. It is logical: failure of the government to provide security, job opportunities, social amenities, etc is what worsens the situation. As such, very few opportunists siphon the abundance of resources in the country. It is government’s total failure due to corruption, mismanagement, and nepotism that led to the hardship...

Another discussant posits:

The children being volatile suffer the most from the dwindling economic hardship. Government has totally failed to meet its obligations in terms of providing education, health care, and other infrastructure which should have served as incentives to the less privileged ones.

From the three variant positions presented above, we can conclude that shouldering the responsibilities of OVC should be a shared responsibility i.e. to be shared among families, relatives, communities including NGOs, as well government. This position is in conformity with the position of the United Nations (UN) for the rationale behind the establishment of Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs). McPhail (2009) believes that nowadays, the task of development is run by many diverse NGOs because many developing nations are either too poor or too corrupt to improve the quality of life of their citizens. Thence, the UN has long recognized the limitations of these nations as vehicles of progressive change and has placed the task on the shoulders of the private sector through NGOs. To further buttress the above point, Oluwatoyin (1998) argues that the aim of the government is to provide institutional support for families and community-based associations. Certainly, it is not to provide a social welfare system such as those familiar in Western European countries. This concludes the argument: government should utilize the various associations from the community to positively impact the lives of the disadvantaged members of the society like the OVC. The next section presents
analyses on the different methods and strategies for intervention that the associations adopt in responding to the needs of the orphans and vulnerable children in the study area.

4.3 Societal Response to the Conditions of OVC: Non-governmental Organizations’ (NGOs’) Methods, Procedures, Strategies for Intervention, and Means for Mobilizing Members/Disseminating Information

This section explores societal responses to the conditions of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano metropolis. In other words, it examines the efforts made by the society through the activities of Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) in assisting the less privileged members of the public, notably OVC. It identifies some of the methods of intervention adopted by the organizations, including sources of generating funds or support for their operation. It also identifies means for mobilizing members/disseminating information among members of NGOs and the general public.

4.3.1 Methods, Procedures, and Strategies for Intervention

There are different Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) with different motives and programs, their methods of operation and strategies for intervention also vary. It is however interesting how most of the studied NGOs operate on committees. Each committee has been assigned specific roles and responsibilities. The committees in turn give feedback (reports) to the general body or executive members of the NGOs as the case may be. Another interesting thing about the committees is that people with specialties head them. For instance, a retired police or military officer heads the security committee; a medical Doctor heads the health committee; and so on. An example of such associations that operate on committee basis is the Yakasai Zumunta Development
Association\textsuperscript{31} (YZDA) which has the following committees: health, education, environmental development, skills and acquisition (including identifying and assisting widows and orphans), water and electricity, as well as security. The Orphans and Needy Welfare Association (ONWA) of Gandun Albasa operates on the following committees: feeding and shelter, health, finance, education, and follow-up. A member of the follow-up committee of the ONWA describes their strategy for intervention vis-à-vis education of the OVC. He said:

There are 28 schools that these children attend. What we did was established a ‘follow-up’ committee responsible for visiting and interacting with the children at their respective schools. The committee would also examine the children’s performances; submit reports; and suggest possible ways to improve. Each one member was assigned to the specific school that s/he is responsible. We intend to ensure sponsorship of the children up to tertiary level…

The Salsabil Foundation on the other hand has only three programs: health, nutrition, and education. It could be easier to categorize the NGOs based on their programs/priorities, or methods of operation.

In terms of methods or strategies for intervention, NGOs intervene at different levels using different methods. An executive member of the ONWA described one of their strategies for intervention. He said:

First of all, we made a census of all the orphans in Gandun Albasa. But it is worthy to note that we were interested in orphans that are needy not those that have wealth for inheritance. We came up with a list of the neediest orphans. How did we do that? We utilized our school teachers (both Islamic and western schools), who are residents and therefore know the neediest members of the community. They also know the students that dropped-out due to death of parents, poverty, or any other reasons. Some of the surveyors were residents only and not teachers. The residents worked together to identify widows and other needy members of the community. The above is a strategy adopted by a

\textsuperscript{31} The cooperation of the association’s Assistant Chairman Alhaji Yahaya Yakasai and that of the Secretary Malam Aliyu Yahaya are recognized.
big association like the ONWA Gandun Albasa. But a relatively small organization with welfare program on the less privileged like the Salsabil Foundation does not operate on committees. The chairman Board of Trustees of the foundation explains his organization’s method of operation. He said:

There are basically three areas of concern: health, nutrition, and education. This is the way we operate: when demands come, we have to go through certain procedures to ascertain the claims before we give support. In other words, demands are scrutinized to fit certain criteria for support.

Another discussant said:

We have some certain considerations when you come seeking for our help: we inquire about the genuineness of your claims; the extent of your incapacity; the efforts you are making or you have made; compatibility of your demands with our programs or provisions; our capability of handling your situation; and finally we intervene i.e. come in to help you. We do not accept prescriptions from private clinics. You have to go to a government hospital…

The above description of a specific NGO’s methods or strategies for intervention can be described to be at the individual level or one-on-one basis. This is perhaps because the association may be fairly small with targeted programs limited to specific groups, as well operating as a foundation with a philanthropist as the proprietor, financier and chairman. But for larger organizations such as the Yakasai Zumunta Development Association, they partner with other Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) in the area to identify the needy and render assistance through the smaller associations. There are 22 associations in the entire area. The YZDA through these CBOs identifies widows, orphans, and the unemployed youths to provide them with their immediate needs. The YZDA is therefore an umbrella association or mother to other smaller associations in the area. In addition, the following are some of the methods of intervention as provided by the Admin secretary of the association:
We construct and run the Yakasai Zumunta Health Clinic constructed in 1997 and upgraded to maternity level a decade later; we organized and conducted series of health weeks including supporting immunization programs where over 10,000 children benefited. We give training to the identified widows and provide them with soft loans for self-reliance. We collaborate with the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and other voluntary trainers to get them fixed so as to support their children. We have done so much in curtailing girl-child hawking as the mothers are now having lucrative trades.

The above method of intervention that talks about helping widows is very interesting partly because assisting them is by extension and implication trickling-down to the orphans.

Another important function that the NGOs perform as part of their methods of intervention is re-union of relationships between families, mostly paternal and maternal relatives that have had crisis in the past. In line with this, an executive member of one of the associations said:

We do identify and reconnect blood relatives of orphans, and then encourage them to be actively involved in assisting the widows and the children rather than to leave them unassisted. This helps so much: in most instances, the relatives assist, while in some situations they would not. Either way, we do contribute to ensure that we safeguard the lives and future of the orphans. The support from orphans’ relatives is to foster unity and solidarity among broken families; strengthen relationships among those not broken; create harmony among communities and society at large.

The above method of intervention is interesting, productive and encourages home-care against institutional-care. This is because among its many advantages, it is relatively cheaper and eliminates discrimination against the fostered children. Additionally, there is the restoration of sense of belonging to the children, thereby dealing with the problem of psychological imbalance or trauma. The data conforms to the findings of the Firelight Foundation (2005) which revealed that children who are cared
for by families within communities are more likely to thrive than those in institutions. More so, children growing up in families generally receive more consistent care, develop better social and emotional relationships, and form a stronger self-image. They absorb the patterns and values of their culture and develop the language, customs, and skills they will need in their adult lives.

Another discussant describes how they operate and some of their strategies for intervention. He said:

We provide food to the needy, especially orphans, vulnerable children, and widows. We hold Annual General Meeting (AGM) in Sha‘ban (the 8th month of the Islamic calendar) prior to the fasting period. During the meeting, we invite our target groups, sew clothes for them, and cook delicious meals for all to enjoy. As they come, they socialize with all. We therefore canvass for information during the interactions. We adopt this strategy because it is easier to examine the specific areas of needs through asking the target group themselves. Soon after the AGM, we come together and compile the needs and then prioritize…

The above shows some strategies of intervention which some of the associations adopt. It is worthy to note that the strategy performs many functions: it is an avenue for examining/appraising the activities of the association; it is a source of generating income for running the organization; it allows for accessing first-hand information from the recipients- thereby identifying specific areas of needs; and brings not only OVC but also widows together- thereby enabling an environment for social networking among the target groups, the NGO members, the donors, and the general public. From this information, we can conclude that “associational tie” binds members of the community together and serves as a unitary basis for resolving the crises of OVC in Kano metropolis. The data conforms to Feld’s (1981) assertion that social networks can be built in various
organizational contexts; including voluntary associations and that ties formed within civic
associations or social movement organizations are more effective as channels of
mobilization. The next section presents the means that NGOs adopt for mobilization and
information dissemination.

4.3.2 Means for Mobilizing Members/Disseminating Information

In terms of means for mobilizing members for meetings and disseminating
information to the general public, all the studied NGOs mentioned cell phones as the
major means for mobilizing members, as well as disseminating information to the general
public. Although, there are other forms of sending messages like through the use of
television and radio channels, notice boards, letters, and places of worship, all the
discussants mentioned that cell phones are the easiest and most convenient method for
communication and dissemination of messages including invitation to meetings,
reconnecting with families, solicitations, as well as receiving support from donors. This is
not surprising as the role of communication in development cannot be overemphasized.
Eribo (2004) argues that communication plays a vital role in development.

The studied non-government organizations (NGOs) utilize cell phones to serve
multi-dimensional purposes. They use Global Systems of Mobile communications (GSM)
or cell phones as major means for disseminating information to members, including
invitations to attend meetings. All the interviewed members of the NGOs use cell phones
to inform or organize meetings: weekly, monthly or annually. In addition, the cell phone
is a problem-solving tool for assisting marginalized members of the public, especially
those with special needs such as orphans, widows, the weak, and the ill. This innovation
serves as an avenue for creating awareness; mobilizing the public for fund-raising; providing shelter, emotional, psychological, educational, and nutritional support to the victims; as well as providing networking among families.

Findings of Olorunnisola (2009) also affirmed that there is an evidence of *communitarian lifestyles* that abound in the pattern of using the GSM in Nigeria. The GSM telephone became an artifact in a longstanding practice where more affluent members of the community offered helping hands to others who were less fortunate. It provides room for publicity of the organizations and their activities. More importantly, philanthropists usually call the executive members of the NGOs to go and pick donations—being cash or in-kind. The Vice Chairperson of *Orphans and Needy Welfare Association* Gandun Albasa in Kano stated:

We established this NGO in 2003. We were lucky to have a rich man around the area, who donates generously every year. He also connects us with his rich friends, whom we contact through the GSM without necessarily meeting with them in person. In fact, they sometimes ask for the NGO’s account number and then deposit some amounts. Soon after that we receive text messages from the Bank acknowledging the deposit. With the GSM, we are able to record giant strides. We have increased the number of people that we affect their lives.

The practice of exchanging recharge credits for cash is one of the strategies that NGOs adopt to receive donations from people who wish to contribute to the betterment of the lives of marginalized members of the society, notably orphans and vulnerable children.

4.4 Relationships between Caregivers and the Children Cared-For

This section of the chapter is devoted to explaining the relationship between caregivers and the Orphans and vulnerable children. In response to the question on the
relationship between caregivers and the children, there are three (3) variant positions. These positions emerge from the different types of care given to the OVC. They include institutional care in the orphanages; home-care by those fostering or adopting orphans or vulnerable children; and those providing support to people directly fostering the children.

The following is an examination of the three relationships.

In the first instance, the relationship between children in the orphanages and the caregivers is as described below by the Acting Head of Department Nassarawa Orphanage, Kano:

Honestly, we do face serious challenges because the children in the orphanage know that we are not their biological parents. As soon as they realize that they are an orphan that affects us. No matter how good or nice you treat them, they feel you are not being kind to them. They usually turn to be ingrates. I am not saying all of them, but majority of them. We do not have cordial relationship with them: they do not appreciate all we are doing to them. This case is common among the males as against the females though.

The above describes the relationship between caregivers in institutions and the children under their custody. But one key informant presents his individual representative view, explaining that the relationship in some institutions could be exploitative and as such, the children express some form of revolt by realizing that the caregivers exploit them. He posited:

A major challenge we face is that the little resources we are able to get from those willing to give out something, when we take the stuff to orphanages, prisons, or rehabilitation centers, the officials sometimes siphon the items for themselves… sometimes, we have to stay by ourselves and distribute the items to those whom we feel should benefit…

From the above narrative, one can deduce that as soon as the children grow bigger and wiser in the institutions and realize how such exploitation works, they would
certainly express or channel their aggression or annoyance to the caregivers in certain ways. This therefore indicates some of the defects of the institutional-care.

The second category of relationship is between caregivers at homes and fostered children (orphaned or vulnerable). The majority of the respondents believe that the relationship is very cordial. To illustrate that one of the discussants said:

In my home, I have 2 orphans whom I foster; they are my late elder brother’s children. No one knows that they are not “my kids.” I treat them as mine and there is no separation between them and my biological children. My wife treats them so nicely and every member of the family considers them as part of the family and not as outsiders. The problem starts when you give them, yourself, or the family members the impression that they are orphans. Instead, consider them as same with every child….

Another respondent said:

Among the Hausas, we have a proverb that says *Ba Maraya Sai Raggo* implying that ‘no one is an orphan except the lazy.’ We in our association embark on picking up one orphan as ‘ours.’ We may not necessarily adopt them and live with them but be responsible for all the needs of one orphan each. At the end of the day, you realize that what you spend on him is very meager compares to what you would have spent on other things that are not as important as adoption. The beauty of it all is that we maintain good rapport with them, seeing them through their educations, hygiene, shelter, etc.

Another key informant\(^\text{32}\) shares his view, explaining the relationship between him and those he cares for. He said:

I was raised an orphan: I lost my father at the age of 6 and we were taken care of by my cousin brother, who incidentally died when I was just 12 years. From there, I was able to make it to university by the assistance of relations and friends. After graduation, I started to work comfortably. I therefore care for a lot of people: in my house, I have 3 orphans, apart from those that I assist living in other families. I never segregate among them. Everything I do for my children, I equally do it for the orphans. The relationship between them and me and my family is very cordial. They are obedient and brilliant.

\(^{32}\) Interview with Inuwa Bakari Jalingo, December 2009.
The above informant indicates how he imbibes the traditional family value of extending helping hands to the needy. The third category of relationship is between individuals or NGOs providing support to OVC at the individual level, in home-care or at institutional-care. This category of relationship is said to be very cordial especially as those providing support have direct contacts with the subjects only on an occasional basis, usually during visits. The caregivers may not be able to have insights of the attitudes of the OVC for whom the support is intended. In other words, when compared to the first categories that live together with the children under their care, a huge gap exists. Here is what one of the discussants had to say on the relationship between support providers (NGOs) and the OVC:

Our relationship both as individuals and as association (NGO) with the children whom we support is very cordial. When we meet with them annually, visit their homes occasionally, or ‘supervise’ them in schools periodically, they are happy. They show some appreciation by remembering them and sharing the ‘we-feelings’ with them.

Another discussant said:
Whenever we visit the OVC in the orphanage or at homes, we see them appearing very happy. They wear good clothes, live in conducive atmosphere, have nutritional food, and attend good schools. They are glad to have us visit them and share some goodies with them…

The above shows relationships that can be viewed as “cordial” but could be superficial. This is because it is human nature to reciprocate and show appreciation when some kindness is shown to them. In other words, times spent with the children during such visits cannot be enough to examine a relationship to be cordial. In line with the above, a key informant reacts to such visits or relationships. He posited:

The NGOs or individual donors visit orphans on specific days. The orphanage staffs have prior knowledge and then ask the inmates to wear good clothes. As such, preparing the kids is an after-thought. As soon as the visitors are gone, the
staff collect back what was meant for the kids, cornering them into theirs. The entire relationship is framed. The NGOs and other donors think there is cordial relationship, but in real sense, there is not. Besides, it is not enough for me to appear in good clothes but do I have complete well-being: psychological, emotional, cognitive, and so on? These are aspects that the children lack: they need care, love, and affection.

Another key informant believes that there are relationships that are cordial particularly in home-care and that there are those that are not cordial. He further identified some of the reasons why the relationship is not cordial. He posited:

In the past, when you fostered a child, s/he would be treated as full member of the family; remain trustworthy; and would keep your secrets. But nowadays, due to changes in the society, the fostered do not consider themselves as part of your family, and would seek to expose your secrets. As a matter of fact, there are incidences of adopted people exploiting the kids of the adopters. Also, there are cases of collaborations with the fostered to commit armed-robbery and rape against their hosts. Due to this change in behavior patterns of vulnerable members of the society, the public are skeptical in adoption and giving out trust.

The above statement sums up some of the reasons why people develop fear, mistrust, and uncomfortable attitudes towards the children that need to be adopted. Next is an assessment of NGOs’ intervention in response to the conditions of OVC in Kano metropolis.

4.5 An Evaluation of Societal Response to the needs of OVC: The Case of Non-governmental Organizations’ Intervention

This section of the chapter presents discussants’ evaluation or assessment of societal response to the problems of OVC with specific reference to the activities of NGOs in Kano metropolis. As noted earlier, critical assessments of key informants on the activities of NGOs will be presented for needed additional information as well as critical views about existing activities of the associations and their performances.
All the discussants in the focus groups believe that the intervention of NGOs in assisting the OVC is necessary, and an indication of societal positive response to the situation. They also believe that the participation of NGOs has greatly and positively impacted the lives of the targeted groups. Nevertheless, that does not mean that the problems associated with OVC in the area are eradicated which could be attributed to the factors already discussed including cultural practices, poverty, unemployment, corruption, government’s failure to provide social amenities, and so on. One of the discussants said:

I want to believe so far the responses of the public to OVC are impressive. In many of the districts that we have, there are such voluntary associations and they are doing pretty well…

A discussant evaluates the performance of their foundation vis-à-vis OVC in Kano metropolis. He said:

Our foundation has done so much to the underprivileged. We do not have in records the number of people we have assisted or want to want to assist. This is because; we do not want to have a feeling of pride about the number of people whom we impacted positively on their lives. As such, we feel we do not have to record the number of people whose lives we touched.

Another discussant assesses the performance of their activities:

We have done so much, and have gone so far. We are very proud that our good deeds have been recognized and the association is now a role-model worthy of emulation- others copy from us. Certainly, we are able to influence a lot of people and places to come up with what we are doing. These include Me Kalwa Na’ibawa, Sharadda Gindin-Garu, Tukuntawa, Indabawa, Dawanau-Dawakin Tofa, and even outside the state as far as Damaturu- Yobe, Mala-Madori- Jigawa state, as well as Dutse-Jigawa state.

But the above praises come from the executive members of the various NGOs with programs on OVC sampled for the discussions. They are likely to be supportive of
what they are doing, and perhaps be subjective in their evaluations or assessments. This is one reason why this research conducts key informant interviews with other non-executive members of such NGOs for balanced data. The representations of other people’s evaluations are provided rather than only those of the service providers passing judgments on their activities. One of these key informants gave a critique of NGOs. He said:

The idea of community efforts to help the needy through forming Community-based organizations (CBOs) originated from urban centers. Most often than not, such CBOs create disunity due to membership. Those that did not register are usually considered as ‘outsiders’ thereby creating disunity and misunderstandings. The payment of dues is yet another problem. Many of the laid down principles go contrary to the cultural beliefs of the people. More so, the proliferation of CBOs goes hand-in-hand with modern leadership (government). Corruption comes into play here. I see CBOs and NGOs as agents of perpetuating corruption.

The above position is a critique of the associations in their activities. Then critique conforms to McPhail’s (2009) argument that NGOs have good intentions despite some controversies associated with their activities, sources of funds as well as spending, ideologies for which they are established, structural biases, unhealthy rivalry and competition among sister NGOs, etc. Another key informant posited:

Although NGOs are doing well, they have become a necessary material evil. Some of these associations are established for political reasons while some for survival of the fittest because to get fertilizer for instance, you must go in groups. Such associations are now used as avenues for exploiting the masses because public funds are not utilized for social services, and as such, the little resources in the masses’ hands are being exploited. NGOs are also becoming avenues for social exclusion because they make members feel superior to non-members. Yet, some are doing well in assisting the less privileged. But they need to revisit their methods of operation.
The above appraisal provides a critique of the NGOs’ performances, activities, and ways of operation. It provides a critical analysis of the NGOs as well as suggestions on ways forward for achieving greater heights. The next section presents some of the major challenges facing the studied NGOs.

4.6 Major Challenges facing the NGOs/ Sources of Generating Funds

As with many organizations, there are certain challenges that the studied associations face despite the success they have recorded. Most, if not all the studied associations face certain challenges in operating their affairs. The studied organizations are not an exception. The major problems identified were mainly financial, increase in demands, non-co-operation from members of the community, failure of members to pay their dues, lack of support from the government and stakeholders, as well as mismanagement of the little resources/funds meant for the less-privileged. One of the discussants posited:

Finance is our major constraint. We have increased demands: many people die and leave orphans and widows behind. Many more are becoming weak and unable to meet their daily needs. As such, money or resources available at our disposal is very much limited. We need more funds as there is increase in demands.

The above constraint of funds is a common challenge to all the associations under study. This is in line with the findings of Tostensten et al (2001) which revealed that the large majority of voluntary associations in Africa are still informal, work on a small scale, and have limited resources. More so, their scope for making an impact are more constrained due to inadequate funding from both external sources and membership fees.
At this juncture, it will give a better understanding of the financial challenges of the associations when viewed from their sources of income or financial support.

The studied NGOs are different both by nature and methods of operation. Also, their sources of generating funds differ. For example, while the *Salsabil* Foundation relies only on the proceeds made from *Salsabil* Investments as the major source of funds and does not solicit from any one, Charity Corner has only two sources of funds: a specified amount voted on by the faculty of social and management sciences, as well as solicitations from the public. A relatively bigger NGO like the Yakasai Zumunta Development Association has 5 major sources of generating funds. These are: membership registration fees, monthly membership dues, assistance from philanthropists and well wishers from within and outside the community; donations from the state and local governments; and grants from international donors. It is worthy to note that most of the studied organizations (6 out of 8) did not receive any support either financial or otherwise from the government. One of the executive members of the *Orphans and Needy Welfare Association* comments:

To be honest and sincere, any organization, especially a voluntary like this that relies on government is bound to fail. There are too many problems associated with that. Governments are political establishments and operate on tenure basis. But this is a community-oriented effort to be maintained for the entire members of the public. We do not advise that such associations rely on governments. We made several efforts to receive assistance from the government but all proved abortive.

The above suggests that this NGO in particular does not receive any support from the government, and does not advise or recommend other sister organizations to rely on support from government. Most of the studied NGOs rely on levies they tax themselves
in the form of membership as a source of income. But some of the associations engage in endowment funds as well as some other legitimate trades. One of the discussants describes how their finance/fund raising committee operates. He said:

This committee follows many channels to raise funds. They include:
i. Going round to solicit for assistance from the well-to-do members of the community as well as philanthropists. Some contribute on the spot while others make pledges;
ii. Raising funds during Annual General Meeting or Endowment Fund;
iii. We invest part of what we have in some legitimate business to make profit. We had started with buying motorcycles for business, and recently the handsets (cell phones) business. We are able to purchase a big plot for the orphans;
iv. Whenever we publish or publicize our activities, either through print or electronic media, we publish our contacts, including Account Numbers and cell phone numbers. Some people donate through directly depositing into the accounts while others call us to go and pick up; and
v. We receive donations in the form of cash from people through recharge cards. How it works is we receive vouchers and sell them at discounted rates. This is a very good and easy way of receiving assistance from the public.

The sources of generating funds of the studied NGOs vary from one association to another. Nevertheless, it is apparent that financial constraints, due to increase in demand, are identified to be major challenges. Related to finance are some other logistic challenges as a discussant in one of the discussion groups mentioned. He said:

We need a bus to support for effective service delivery. We made a request to the state governor, and we are made to understand that he has approved the granting of one to us. Yet, we are about to receive it, perhaps due to administrative protocols/procedures.

From another viewpoint, another discussant presents some of the challenges his organization is facing. He said:

There are some culprits that go round soliciting for money and logistics in our name. They are actually impersonators, using our good name to receive donations from people. This has instilled fear into the minds of people,
making them suspicious of our activities. They find it difficult to
differentiate the real from the fake.

To the general public, this is what a member of one discussion group has to say:

The society as a whole, I mean members of the general public need total
reorientation. We have to fight ignorance by seeking knowledge at least the
basics for self-reliance. People should be re-orientated to not only be self-
reliant but equally self-sufficient. A challenge we face from people is
misunderstanding. They misunderstand us and what we do in our
organization. Instead of supporting or encouraging us, they accuse, abuse,
and condemn us, thereby discouraging people from supporting our cause.
This non conformity and non co-operation from the public is a big
challenge.

Having presented some of the challenges facing the studies NGOs with programs
on OVC, let us look at some of the challenges facing institutional-care. In a key
informants’ interview, the acting H.O.D. of the Nassarawa Orphanage Kano
identifies resource persons as a major challenge facing the institution. She said:

We have no adequate nurses who come in to treat patients. We are assigned
those coming for morning shifts only. As such, we need more to be posted
to other shifts because one could fall sick in the afternoon or in the night.
Take for example, the weather is now cold and many of the children fall
sick. We need helping hands.

It is evident from the data that all the studied NGOs rely on internally generated incomes
as major sources of funds for running their activities. Also, the major challenge to the
running of the associations is low funding that is halted by increase in demand. The data
also identifies lack of medical personnel as a major challenge to the Nassarawa orphanage.

In conclusion, this chapter presents the qualitative data collected in the study.

Section One examines the general state of being or conditions of orphans and other less-

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I want to credit the Acting Head of Department of Nassarawa orphanage for granting interview, and
taking me round the facilities. The interview was conducted in December, 2009.
privileged children in Kano metropolis. The data showed that the conditions are deplorable and therefore the children are exposed to neglect, violence, exploitation and all forms of abuse. The major cause of the OVC’s condition is a conflict between maternal and paternal relatives of the children: either separated, divorced, paternal-orphaned, maternal-orphaned, or double-orphaned. This is directly linked to disruption in the extended family structure (social disorganization). The data indicate that the phenomenon of OVC’s vulnerability is increasing due to many factors including poverty, population explosion, illiteracy, and a general breakdown in family values. The care of OVC is not the sole responsibility of the government but of the family, relatives, and the community at large and that the government needs to intervene and provide some assistance. Section Two dealt with the methods and strategies used by the NGOs to intervene in responding to the state of the OVC. The data showed that the society has responded to the needs of the children, notably through the activities of NGOs in Kano metropolis. The associations provide an array of activities for the OVC, including emotional, nutritional, educational, health, psycho-social, vocational supports, as well as social networking and reconnecting with relatives. Section Three presents the means for mobilization and information dissemination. The data showed that all the studied NGOs use cell phones as a medium for mobilizing members as well as disseminating information to the public. It is also a good channel for social networking and receiving assistance from donors, usually receiving credit cards. Section Four analyzes the relationships between caregivers and the children cared-for. The data indicated that the relationship between caregivers in institutions (orphanages) and the OVC is not cordial
compared to the relationships formed in home-care, which are very cordial. The children in home-care live with relatives or in few instances with members of the community, and are under the care and support of communities through the NGOs. Section Five evaluated the efficacy of the NGOs’ performances in responding to the needs of the OVC in the study area. The data showed that the performances of the NGOs are highly effective, recommended and have greatly improved the conditions of the target group. The last section of the chapter highlighted some of the challenges facing the NGOs in efficiently delivering their activities. The data indicated that the associations face a major challenge of inadequate funding due to increase in demands.
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents discussion on the major findings of this study. In order to scientifically explore some of the factors that create the conditions of OVC in Kano metropolis, as well as the strategies NGOs adopt in intervention, this study was conducted in the eight local governments that comprise of the metropolis. The study focused primarily on the examination of seven major questions: (1) What is the state of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano metropolis? (2) What role does the community or society play in improving the lives of the OVC? (3) What are the methods and strategies of intervention, including information dissemination adopted by the communities through the activities of the NGOs? (4) What are the relationships between the caregivers and the children cared-for? (5) What are the sources of funds as well as major challenges facing the organizations? In addition to the above questions, supplemental exploratory analyses will be performed for critical review of the phenomena under study. Each question will be addressed in the discussion.

5.2 The State of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano Metropolis: Causes, Trends, and Shouldeering Responsibilities

It is clear from the literature, data gathered from the qualitative method, as well as what the researcher observed during the study that the conditions of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano metropolis are deplorable. They generally lack love, care, and support and are hygienically, emotionally, psychologically, educationally, and socially deprived. This finding is in line with the report of the Rapid Assessment
Analysis Action Planning (RAAAP, 2004) which indicates that a vulnerable child is less likely to enroll in school, more likely to drop out of school, to engage in risky sexual behavior and substance abuse. Often s/he is exposed to abuse, exploitation and social exclusion. In addition, there may not be a single cause to the problem of orphanhood and child’s vulnerability, rather a combination of factors ranging from economic, political, cultural, as well as social. Notably, among the major causes is a misunderstanding usually between paternal and maternal relatives of the children, which is traced to claiming rights to care and inheritance. This is an indication of disruption in family institution: social disorganization. The data also indicates that the problems of OVC in the study area are on the rise. Factors associated with the increase include colonization and globalization, population explosion, illiteracy which has to do with people’s knowledge, attitudes, and practices towards family planning, corruption, economic hardships, mismanagement, self-centeredness, alien culture notably colonialism, individualism, and fear of mistrust for the children to be fostered. This clearly indicates disruption in family structure, leading to social disorganization.

In terms of shouldering the responsibilities of the OVC, the data from the research indicated that parents or families are the primary caregivers and as such responsible for the care and shouldering the responsibilities of their children. In the case whereby one of the parents dies, and in most complicated cases it is the father who dies and leaves behind children, then the relatives of the deceased should take over. Almost all the respondents agreed that the care of OVC is not solely the responsibility of the government, but that the government has to create favorable atmosphere for the parents or relatives to provide
welfare for the OVC. It is therefore, a responsibility to be shared among the families, community, and the government. The data is in conformity with the findings of Sanda (1987) which revealed that the dominant perspective on children and youth in Nigeria is that primary socialization is the responsibility of parents while governments provide a variety of institutions for secondary socialization. Nevertheless, government comes to the aid of disadvantaged children and youth through the provision of scholarships for their education beyond the levels at which provisions are made for free education. Let us look into some of the efforts that the government is making in responding to the OVC’s needs.

As the data showed, it is evident that there have been efforts by the federal, state, and local governments in recognizing and responding to the needs of OVC as presented in Chapter Two. The efforts showed series of provisions or responses by governments at various levels, which affirms that governments recognize the necessity of intervening in the state of OVC. Sanda (1987) confirms that there is a variety of arrangements by different States for fostering children and in a few cases for their adoption. However, we see that certain things are not working well. For instance, Kano state is the most densely populated state in the nation with over 14 million people. Despite the density in population, especially the study area - metropolis (composed of 8 local governments), where there are higher concentrations of people, and by implication a higher number of OVC, there is only one orphanage which houses only 63 children: boys and girls. This does not only show how grossly inadequate the orphanage is but also non patronage due to inappropriateness of the intervention. This therefore calls for an alternative method.
But what makes the States’ interventions ineffective and incomprehensive is a series of factors which include structural like cultural, political, and economic. One of the factors that impinge on government efforts to address the problems of the OVC includes fear of the stigmatization associated with orphanages. Children brought up in the orphanages are labeled “bastards” and thereby find it difficult to integrate within the larger society. In addition, the State’s provision of the orphanages as institutional-care is considered alien and a top-down approach to the problems of OVC. This, therefore, calls for an alternative intervention such as home-care. The numerous advantages of the home-care intervention include the relatively cheaper cost compared to institutional care. It also eliminates discrimination or stigmatization against the fostered children and restores some sense of belonging to the children, reducing the chances of psychological trauma.

In line with the above, a study conducted by the Firelight Foundation (2005) confirms that children who are cared for by families within communities are more likely to thrive than those in institutions. More so, such children generally receive more consistent care, develop better social and emotional relationships, form a stronger self-image, absorb the patterns and values of their culture, as well as develop the language, customs, and skills they will need in their adult lives.

The data also showed that there are no realistic community-oriented efforts from the governments to genuinely address the problems of OVC. The majority of the studied associations attest that governments have not been supporting grassroots associations due to the associations’ non-political inclinations. Instead, the governments are approaching the OVC phenomenon from an alien, expensive, top-down, incomprehensive, and non-
realistic approach, usually translated into the institutional-care. It is due to the inadequacies of the States’ intervention, that the communities have to make collective efforts in the form of Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) or NGOs to rescue the conditions of the affected children. This data affirm Sanda’s (1987) argument that in Nigeria it is the voluntary associations that provide the greatest support for the deprived or the disadvantaged children (such as motherless babies, abandoned, and neglected children), and these associations exist in virtually all cities and states in the country. This data therefore recommends community-oriented home-care as the best alternative for OVC in Kano metropolis. Among many advantages, it reflects the culture of the people, and builds on already existing social networks that operate within some cherished family and community values.

The community or members of the society have been responding to the conditions or needs of OVC individually and collectively for ages. It is essential to identify and explore collective societal response, which is what this research aims to address, especially through the activities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) otherwise called community-based organizations (CBOs) in metropolitan Kano. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are private organizations that act towards some common, humanitarian purpose. They vary in size and are independent from government control, non-profit seeking, and not seeking to challenge governments on issues of control or power. There are four categories of such associations with different motives for establishment: service orientation, participatory orientation, charity orientation, and empower orientation.
Majority of the sampled NGOs in this research are service orientated and empowering orientated NGOs. These types of NGOs are the ones that provide services to the community. Some of the areas of intervention include hygiene, feeding, shelter, education, skills and acquisition, and placement of OVC. An interesting function that the NGOs perform is identifying and assisting widows and reconnecting with the orphans’ relatives. This is a very good strategy because it does not only facilitate the process of home-care intervention, but also creates reunion of families that have had misunderstandings. Above all, it provides an avenue for assisting OVC to reintegrate with their families, relatives, communities, and society as a whole. It eliminates most of the problems associated with OVC in institutional-care. This position is in conformity with the findings of Bradley (2003) that in Nigeria, non-governmental organizations can and do play a vital role in civil society, and they may begin to take on roles hitherto unseen, not just in Nigeria but throughout the ‘developing’ world and even in ‘mature’ political and economic systems.

5.3 Methods and strategies of intervention that the communities adopt through the activities of NGOs on Existing Social Structure

NGOs differ in orientations, purposes for which they are established, size, target groups, strategies for intervention, major areas of concerns, resources, as well as in terms of the functions they perform. The data collected in this research indicated that the studied NGOs responding to the conditions of OVC in Kano metropolis, mainly organize their activities through committees. These committees act independently, utilize available logistics and resources, and report to the general body on the specific assignments they
are responsible for. However, there are some NGOs that are relatively smaller in size and composition, and have addressed specific aspects for improving the lives of the children in question not through committees. The orientations and administrative structure of the NGOs are key indicators of the functions and perhaps intervention procedure. The particular areas of intervention of the studied associations include hygienic, shelter, educational, emotional, psycho-social, and financial supports. They also engage in cementing relationships between the parties who ideally should have provided support to these children in home-care. The NGOs’ activities provided are conceived as normal and part of the community life. This revelation is in harmony with the analysis of Poplin (1979) which indicated that community actions are classified into either spontaneous or routinized. The spontaneous are when the activities are designed to address unanticipated problems while the routinized are activities planned before the problem arises. NGOs with programs on OVC in metropolitan Kano organize their activities in both spontaneous and routinized activities.

The studied NGOs adopt many different methods and strategies for intervention in responding to the conditions of OVC in Kano metropolis. These include conducting census of widows, orphans, and vulnerable children in the communities in order to have a reliable data base; buying medicines and picking medical bills of OVC, their parents, and other needy members of the families; sponsoring the children to certain levels of education; providing shelter and clothing to OVC and widows; visits to orphanages and homes hosting OVC; and raising awareness at all levels through advocacy and social mobilization to create a supportive environment for OVC.
5.4 Means for Mobilizing Members and Information Disseminating to the General Public

All the studied NGOs in this research use cell phones as their major means for mobilizing members, disseminating information to the general public, and in some instances receiving some financial and material support. This data conforms to Yunus’ (2009) acknowledgement of the role information technology (IT) plays in transforming the world. He argues that what is less well understood is the enormous potential of new IT for transforming the status of the poorest people in the world. He believes that the new IT’s unique contribution comes from the fact that it creates new relationships among people. Moreover, this transformation will inevitably have a profound impact on the lives of the poor, particularly women and children. This means there are several areas through which IT, especially telephony, can be utilized and play a powerful role in positively impacting the lives of the disadvantaged members of the community. This is where the NGOs come in to facilitate the social networking. The use of Global Systems of Mobile communications (GSM) or cell phones to trace, identify, reconnect, and solidify relationships with families and relatives of the OVC is a very striking strategy that makes social networking easy to achieve.

In addition to the above, the practice of exchanging recharge credits for cash is one of the methods that the NGOs adopt to receive donations from people who wish to contribute to the betterment of the lives of marginalized members of the society, notably orphaned and vulnerable children. Apart from being inexpensive, text messages save time, energy, and resources. Additionally, text message services are a way of keeping the
cost of GSM down. It is through these text messages that recharge cards are exchanged for money by the recipients.

Although, there are other forms of disseminating information like the use of television and radio channels, notice boards, letters, and places of worship, these channels are not frequently and effectively used in comparison to cell phones. Cell phones are the easiest and most convenient means of communication and dissemination of messages including invitation to meetings, reconnecting with some families, solicitations, as well as receiving support from donors. This finding supports Eribo’s (2004) assertion that communication plays a vital role in world development, and communication is present in all levels of human contact, including thought, action, inaction, appearance, and love.

NGOs act as motivators in solving the problems of the needy, especially orphans and vulnerable children by reminding the public of the necessity for contributing and supporting the underprivileged. They therefore perform many functions that include identifying and solving problems, and constantly reminding both the civil society and the governments of their responsibilities. This position conforms to Hyden and Leslie’s (2002) assertion that the more participatory approach to development adopted in recent years is also having the effects of encouraging growing number of individuals, groups, and NGOs to take advantage of the rapid changes in information technology. NGOs therefore utilize information technology to foster their cause and sustainable development.

5.5 The Relationships between the Caregivers and the Children Cared-For

There are three (3) kinds of relationships between OVC and their caregivers: in institutions, at homes, and “passive” level emanating from the society collectively as
NGOs. These positions emerge from the different types of care given to the OVC. They include institutional-care in the orphanages; home-care by those fostering or adopting orphans or vulnerable children; and those providing support to people directly fostering the children. The relationship between children in the orphanage and the care-givers (institutional-care) is not cordial. The caregivers experience from the cared-for attitudes which they consider to be disrespectful. The relationship gets bitter when the children mature and thereby realize that the caregivers were not their biological parents. It was identified that some of the caregivers exploit the children and that calls for a negative response or reaction from the exploited. The children therefore grow to express or channel their aggression or annoyance to the caregivers. This indicates an increased risk of serious psychopathology in the children’s later life.

The second category of relationship is between caregivers at homes and fostered children, which is very cordial. This is partly because children fostered as part of a family tend to grow and accept every older adult as “parents.” This finding conforms to Mills and Richard’s (2000) construct of understanding childhood as innocent; as persons in their own; as well as members of a distinct group. Children have the potential and the tendency to grow up as conformist members of the families, communities, and societies they were raised in. It is the society that contributes to shaping and making them what they become. This also shows the necessity and efficacy of home-care intervention as an alternative to institutional-care. Some of the numerous advantages of home-care compared to institutional-care of the orphans and vulnerable children include the following: it is relatively cheaper because the children are part of the families they are
fostered into; it instills into the community a sense of responsibility to the children; it eliminates discrimination since they are not isolated in an institution, it provides avenue for cementing relationships with the orphans’ families, relatives, communities, and societies at large; and it restores a sense of belonging to the children, thereby dealing with the problem of psychological imbalance or trauma, making it more likely that these children will grow to become productive members of the society. This data is in conformity with the findings of the Firelight Foundation (2005) which revealed that children who are cared-for by families within communities are more likely to thrive than those in institutions. It further pointed that children growing up in families generally receive more consistent care, develop better social and emotional relationships, and form a stronger self-image. The OVC who benefit from these provisions of the home-care absorb the patterns and values of their culture and develop the language, customs, and skills they will need in their adult lives. As a result, the UNICEF Report (2004) strongly commended home-care as the best intervention model to OVC for the protection, care and support.

The third category of relationship is between individuals or NGOs providing support to OVC at individual level, in home-care or at institutional-care. This category of relationship is equally “cordial” especially as those providing support maintain direct contacts with the subjects on occasional basis, usually during visits. Some of the NGO members identify and assign themselves certain orphans to be under their supervision. In other words, the members of the associations would engage in what they call “each one-takes-one”. That way, the support given would be more efficient, consequently making
the relationships between the caregivers and the children stronger. Another level of relationship under the collective response in the form of NGOs’ intervention is between the associations and the children in institutions. This kind of relationship may be seen to be “cordial” because the children would be happy for the visits, gifts, and sense of belonging they benefit from. But this may be very brief and not adequate enough to establish affection and therefore not substantial enough to claim cordial in evaluation. Despite the fact that the NGO members as “caregivers” would define this kind of relationship as cordial, they could be incapacitated from examining the relationship due to the short-term interaction they have with the children. What we learn from the above narratives is that we should think of how to make the home-care a better approach by utilizing the various associations in the affected areas for community-involvement.

It is worthy to acknowledge and emphasize that the NGOs adopt a very vital strategy for intervention by identifying relatives of the children and settling disputes, reconnecting, and reinforcing relationships between the children on the one hand, and their relatives as well as society on the other. In other words, the NGOs network not only with the children but with the families that should be proving primary socialization to the children.

5.5 An Evaluation of Societal Responses to the State of OVC in Kano Metropolis

In discussing or evaluating the various levels of response to OVC, this study emphasizes collective efforts of the community response to OVC as opposed to individual and government responses. This is partly because as indicated earlier, this study is concerned with collective response of the society through the activities of NGOs.
From the gathered data, societal responses to the abhorrent conditions of OVC in Kano metropolis through the wide range of NGOs’ activities have been very effective. This is evident when assessing the efficacies of methods and strategies adopted in intervention compared to the “official” or institutional-care provided by the government.

To begin with, nature of the home-care approach, allows the orphans or vulnerable children to live with their families, relatives, or community members. This system has been in existence for centuries and is compatible with the traditional values of the society. In addition, community-oriented home-care is inexpensive, devoid of discrimination, and integrates the children with their parents, relatives, communities, and society. Society is significantly less likely to label, stigmatize, or segregate against home-cared OVC. This data is in conformity with the findings of the Firelight Foundation (2005) which revealed that children who are cared for by families within communities are more likely to thrive than those in institutions. It further pointed that children growing up in families generally receive more consistent care, develop better social and emotional relationships, and form a stronger self-image. They absorb the patterns and values of their culture and develop the language, customs, and skills they will need in their adult lives.

A particular intervention method of utilizing school teachers and members of the community in identifying the children in need, who constitute the target group is very striking. This is because it is the people living in these communities who are part of the reality of everyday life in the respective areas. They are in the best position to know about the deaths of parents, children dropping-out of schools, community members’ socio-economic capabilities, and most contemporary happenings around the
communities. In other words, the NGOs operate on first hand information from community members. The NGOs identify the grassroots problems based on the immediate needs of the community and then utilize the available resources for community development. This data conforms to the findings of Arthur (1960) who views community development as a method of helping local communities to become aware of their needs, of assessing their resources to be more realistic and to organize themselves in such a way as to satisfy some of their needs. By so doing, the NGOs acquire attitudes, initiatives, experience and co-operative skills for repeating this process. More so, the efficacy can be seen when viewed from the impact of the services in improving the conditions of the OVC and by implication their mothers. This is buttressed by Anyanwu’s (1992) assertion that community development centers on the improvement of communities systems of values, their structures, as well as the usages through which communities function and are maintained.

Findings of this research showed that the intervention of NGOs in assisting the OVC is not only necessary but also an indication of societal positive response to the situation. All the discussants, including the key informants, who are not members of the studied associations but critical analysts, commended efforts of such associations to OVC. They believed that the participation of NGOs has greatly and positively impacted the lives of the target groups. The methods, procedures, and strategies for intervention utilize the available human and material resources to touch the lives of underprivileged members of the society, specifically orphans and vulnerable children. Nevertheless, that does not mean that the problems associated with OVC in the area are eradicated. This
could be attributed to the factors already discussed including increase in population, cultural practices, poverty, unemployment, and corruption. On a whole, government’s failure to provide a comprehensive and realistic community-oriented framework for the OVC is a major hindrance to addressing problems of OVC in Kano metropolis and most Nigerian cities. The next section discusses sources of generating funds to running the activities of the organizations, as well as the major challenges facing them in terms of effective service delivery.

5.6 Major Challenges facing the NGOs/ Sources of Funds

The findings of this research revealed that all the studied NGOs rely on internally generated sources of income for running their associations. These sources include: sales of membership forms, dues paid by members usually on monthly basis, dividends on shares, profits from legitimate businesses, as well as reinvesting profits or revolving capital in some investments. Other sources of generating funds or support include: going round to solicit from well-to-do members of the community, organizing endowment funds, receiving recharge cards or invitations to go and pick goods for OVC from donors through cell phones, and in very few instances donations from governments and international donors (such as the USAID and UNICEF). This finding is in harmony with Murry’s (1996) postulate that the development of community is only to be achieved through utilization of program of approach and techniques that rely upon local communities who combine outside assistance with organized local self-determination and effort. And that these must correspond to local initiatives and leadership as the primary instrument of change.
Although, only one of the studied NGOs, the *Yakasai Zumunta Development Association*, receives donations from the government and international donors, it is worthy to acknowledge here. This is partly because these associations are established by people who voluntarily came together to organize themselves and devise programs and techniques of combining their self-determination and efforts with outside assistance where available. More so, this shows not only variance in the size, functions, and connections or social networking of the NGOs, but also the extent to which they can exert influence and collaborate with the international community in addressing certain identified challenges like those of OVC. This finding conforms to McPhail’s (2009) position that today, the task of development is run by many diverse NGOs. Similarly, Amutabi (2006) concluded that in Africa, one of the functions of NGOs is to serve as agents of genuine development.

Despite the aforementioned roles of the associations in development, the studied NGOs face certain challenges which either hinder the smooth running of their activities or limit them from achieving desired goals. All the NGOs face the challenge of inadequate funding: in most cases, they are incapacitated from meeting the demands of the target groups, OVC. This emanates from increase in demands that supersedes the little available resources. Again, there is the problem of failure of some members to pay their dues, which limits the associations from efficiently reaching the target groups. Failure of the government to provide the needed logistics and moral support to the associations is yet another problem that the associations face. At the institutional-care level, the one and only Nassarawa orphanage owned by the government faces a shortage
of logistics and resource persons, especially nurses. There is no maximum co-operation from philanthropists and other stakeholders to support the cause of assisting the target groups in many of the studied associations. There are also allegations of mismanagement of funds or resources meant for the targeted group by some caregivers as well as impersonation by some unpatriotic members, who go to philanthropists soliciting in the name of the associations. This data conforms to the findings of Tostensten et al (2001) which revealed that the large majority of voluntary associations in Africa are still informal, work on a small scale, and have limited resources. More so, their scope for making an impact are more constrained due to inadequate funding from both internal and external sources. This means, with addressing financial problems of the associations, they are likely to do better than expected, thereby extending their impact on the lives of the orphans and vulnerable children in their communities and even beyond. They are equally most likely to increase their scopes from assisting OVC and widows to some other categories of underprivileged members of the society.

In conclusion, this chapter discusses some of the major findings of the research. The study has been able to identify some of the factors responsible for the deteriorative conditions of orphans and vulnerable children in Kano metropolis. One of the results of the study identified is gross misunderstanding between paternal and maternal relatives of OVC, which is associated with many factors, notably divorce, death of fathers, patriarchy, disputes over inheritance and claims of rights of ownership and power to handle children. This leaves the children in deteriorating conditions, malnourished, appearing in shabby clothing and bad hygienic conditions, living in filthy areas, roaming
the streets begging, exploited, and sometimes engaged in delinquent acts. Out of the many aims of this study, one of the central targets is the examination of societal roles in responding to these conditions of the children. The study focuses on collective societal response through the activities of Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs). Most of the associations mainly organize their activities through committees. Some of the areas of intervention include hygienic, shelter, educational, emotional, psycho-social, and financial support. One of the major challenges facing the associations is limited resources due to increase in demands.
CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the main objectives, questions, methodology and conclusion in this study. It will also offer some recommendations for future research, and other policy implication suggestions for the improvement of the welfare of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano metropolis.

6.2 Summary

Nigeria is the largest Black Country, with a population of 150 million. In Kano, the most densely populated state of the nation with over 14 million people, children that need special protection on account of being in vulnerable conditions and situations such as orphanhood and homeless are observably increasing. This is traced to colonization and globalization as well as attributed to many intervening factors. These include an increasingly poor socio-economic situation in the country, corruption, cultural practices, illiteracy, and most importantly failure of the family institution to provide comprehensive social welfare for its members. Essentially, there is often misunderstanding between paternal and maternal relatives of children, whose parents divorce or whose fathers die (which is more frequently the case). The conflict arises due to claim of rights to care for the orphans. The widows usually claim rights and prefer to keep the children under their custody, while the paternal relatives permit mothers to go with the children without any assistance. As a result of economic pressure, the demands of the children become a burden on the mothers, and as such, too difficult for them to shoulder. This social disorganization puts the children in difficult conditions: many of them live in filthy
conditions and are exposed to health, educational, moral and psychological problems. Others experience direct harm. Although governments and individuals have recognized the necessity to assist in addressing the problems associated with the children, the phenomena seem to be increasing by the day. This research has explored societal response to these conditions with a specific interest in the activities of Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs). NGOs are private organizations that act towards some common, humanitarian purpose. The Human Rights Charter of 1948 established the need to work towards sustaining peace and improving the quality of life for humans. NGOs differ in orientations, size, target groups, strategies for intervention, major areas of concerns, resources, as well as in the functions they perform. This study targets the activities of participatory and empowering orientation NGOs in response to the conditions of orphans and vulnerable children in Kano metropolis.

There are two basic models of OVC intervention: institutional-care and home-care. Both models address some of the OVC’s needs, but the home-care model of intervention has been found to be the best and most appropriate model for addressing the needs of OVC in Kano metropolis. The home-care model of intervention has, among others, the following advantages: it is relatively inexpensive compared to the institutional-care model which is a top-down approach. In addition, home-care eliminates discrimination against the fostered children. It also restores some sense of belonging to the children, and deals with the problem of psychological imbalance and traumas. It is this kind of intervention that the NGOs in this study adopted in order to assist underprivileged children in the study area. Most of the associations mainly organize their
activities through committees. The committees utilize available logistics and resources, and then report to the general body on the specific assignments assigned to them. Some of the areas of intervention include hygienic, shelter, educational, emotional, psycho-social, and financial supports. The associations engage in cementing relationships between the parties who ideally should have provided support to these children in home-care. The relationships between the children and their caregivers in homes are very cordial, especially when compared to those under institutional-care. Through this effort, they also promote social solidarity, unity, co-operation and peaceful co-existence among people. Cell phones are essential instruments that the associations use in mobilizing members, disseminating information to the general public, and in some instances receiving some financial and material supports. The findings also revealed that all the studied NGOs rely on internally generated sources of income for running their associations despite the existence of other externally generated funds. Some of the major challenges facing the associations are limited resources (financial constraint) as a result of increase in demands, lack of logistic and moral support from government, and non-support from philanthropists. Fundamentally, government’s failure to provide a comprehensive realistic community-oriented framework for the OVC is a major hindrance to addressing problems in the Kano metropolis and most Nigerian cities.

In view of the above, this study addressed the following major questions: What is the state of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Kano Metropolis?; What role does the community or society play in improving on the lives of the OVC?; What are the methods and strategies of intervention including information dissemination adopted by
the communities through the activities of NGOs?; What are the relationships between the
caregivers and the children cared-for?; and What are the major challenges facing the
organizations? Accordingly, the following objectives were formulated: To identify and
discuss the conditions of (and challenges facing) Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC)
in Kano metropolis; to examine societal response to OVC situation specifically through
the activities of grass roots associations; to identify the methods and strategies that the
associations adopt in identifying OVC’s needs, as well as intervention; to examine the
relationships between the caregivers (under both institutional-care and home-care) and
the children; and to investigate the major challenges facing the organizations.

6.2.1 Theoretical Discussions

Two theories: The Social Disorganization Theory and the Social Network Theory
are employed to provide theoretical explanations in this study. The findings of this
research are that a major cause of orphans and vulnerable children’s conditions is
disputes between families, which indicate disruption in the family or social
disorganization (SDT). Social disorganization is the absence or breakdown of certain
types of relationships among people and is intimately tied to conceptions of those
properties of relationships that are indicative of social or communal “organization.”
Relationships among people in a given territory are presumed to be especially
“organized” when there are high levels of involvement across age-levels in activities
coordinated by representatives of communal institutions (e.g. family-heads, religious
leaders, school organizations and local officials). The data generated from this study
indicate that the situation of OVC in Kano metropolis is social disorganization. Social
Disorganization Theory is a type of criminological theory attributing variation in delinquency and crime over time and among territories to the absence or breakdown of communal institutions notably family and communal relationships that traditionally encouraged cooperative relationships among people. Social control is therefore the answer to social disorganization. By social control, it means the capacity of a group to regulate its members according to the desired principles- to realize collectively, goals. It is this informal social control that the NGOs’ use through collective efficacy in response to the conditions of OVC in the study area.

Another central theoretical framework for this research is *Social Network Theory*. One of the assumptions of the theory, as Castells (2001) postulates, is that a social network is a social structure made of individuals (or organizations) called "nodes," which are tied (connected) by one or more specific types of interdependence, such as common interest, friendship, kinship, financial exchange, or knowledge. As the data show, one of the important roles that the NGOs play as part of intervention strategies in response to the conditions of OVC in metropolitan Kano is re-union of relationships between families, mostly paternal and maternal relatives that have experienced a crisis in the past. This study showed that the associations create and reinforce social networking among contending parties, which helps not only reconnect children with their relatives, but equally reintegrates the children into a single family, and by extension the community. This conforms to the principle of a social network theory, in which social structure made of individuals are tied or connected by one or more specific types of interdependence. The children depend on their relatives; the relatives would to some extent depend on
NGO support; while the associations would depend on the members’ associational tie to contribute from internally generated support to cater for the children through their families. This research therefore confirms the contention that NGOs have the potential to build social networks and instill co-operation among the participants. Findings of this research are also relevant to theory concerning the role of NGOs in responding to the conditions of orphans and vulnerable children in Kano metropolis. In this work it is clear that NGOs can make social meaning and confront challenges in the social structure, contributing to a resolution of social problems. Orphans and vulnerable children therefore benefit from some of the psycho-social, emotional, health, educational, shelter, and financial supports that the associations provide through their services.

We also learn from this study that there are two models of intervention to OVC in Kano metropolis: the institutional-care and the home-care. Although, both models address some of the OVC’s needs, the home-care model of intervention is the best and most appropriate model. Some of the advantages of the home-care model are that it is relatively cheaper compared to the institutional-care and it eliminates discrimination against the fostered children. It also restores some aspect of family belonging to the children, and deals better with the problem of psychological imbalance and traumas. This research revealed that it is this kind of intervention that the studied NGOs adopt in assisting the underprivileged children and it has been comparatively effective. This is partly because it reflects the norms and values of the people in the study area. More so, it allows the community members to come together and create networking for the sustenance of their cultural heritage of collective identity, conformity, and solidarity.
What I found relevant to the theory is the participation of the community members in social networking for a common goal. More so, the networking leads to utilization of available resources for problem-solving.

As was established in the literature, the theory of Social Networks operates at many levels, from families, associations and communities, up to the level of nations. It can play a critical role in determining the way problems are solved, organizations are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving their goals. More so, Freire (1973) confirms that humans find themselves marked by the results of their own actions in their relations with the world, and through their action on it. By acting they transform and by transforming they create a reality which conditions their manner of acting. In this case, the NGOs build social networking through “associational ties” which serve as channels of mobilization. Through associational ties, they make social meaning and confront challenges of the social structure. They therefore help to resolve social conflicts, save the lives of the underprivileged, reduce the wider gap of social inequality and restore social solidarity among children, their families, relatives, communities, and the general society.

One of the things that we learn from this study is that the major forces that drift children into vulnerability is individualism, usually emanating from relatives of the children, who ideally should have been responsible for the needs of the children. Individualism appears to be a major driving force for OVC’s neglect and abuse. This study shows that the home-care model of intervention, organized and facilitated by the community, is the best solution to this problem. This data confirmed Coser and
Rosenberg’s (1989) claim that the forces that counteract individualization within the family are chiefly influences of the primary community of which the family is a part. They further argue that if social opinion favors family solidarity and reacts against any individualistic tendencies, and if the individual keeps in touch with the community, an individual’s desire for recognition compels him to accept the standards of the group and to look upon his individualistic tendencies as wrong. In Kano metropolis, it is the NGOs that create arenas for the social networking, compelling members of the children’s families to conform to the associational provisions of intervention, which are in accordance with the existing community values. This finding shows the relevance of the Social Network Theory and its ability to explain how the strategies of NGOs to identify and reconnect the children to their relatives serve as a mechanism for counteracting the attitude of individualism, cementing social solidarity among the community members, and discourage the development of anti-social behavior in children.

6.3 Methods

The target populations of this study are mainly executive members of identified Grass-root associations, referred in this study as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that have programs on OVC in Kano metropolis. The research was conducted in Kano metropolis, covering the eight local governments: Kano Municipal, Dala, Fagge, Gwale, Nassarawa, Kumbotso, Ungoggo, and Tarauni. In addition to the executives, interviews were conducted with members of the intelligentsia; government officials: the Acting Head of Department of the Nassarawa orphanage; Heads of the Community and Social Welfare units of Nassarawa and Municipal Local governments; religious leader
represents Faith-based organizations (FBOs); as well as community/opinion/traditional leaders. A total of fifty four (54) respondents were drawn. Forty two (42) of these respondents participated in the eight (8) Focus Group Discussion (FGD) sessions; whereas the remaining twelve were engaged in in-depth interviews (I.D.Is), or what is commonly referred to as Key Informants Interviews (KIIs) throughout this study. The researcher used purposive sampling (non probability) to come up with the sample on the basis of possession of the characteristics needed for the research. Since there were eight local governments that comprised of Kano metropolis, each local government was considered a cluster so as to have a fair representative sample. The KIIs were conducted with some government functionaries to have more insights and nuanced understanding of the efforts that government is making in response to the OVC’s conditions. In addition, interviews were conducted with some resource persons who are non- members of such NGOs to provide critical views for balanced data. , the researcher utilized representations of other people’s evaluations rather than only of service providers passing judgments on the efficacy of their activities.

6.4 Conclusion

Building on the past studies, this research has confirmed that Orphan children and others whose parents are alive but separated, divorced, or faced with hardships of modern-day reality, are vulnerable and exist in deplorable conditions. The children are exposed to many immediate and long-ranging problems that cause harm to themselves and society. A vulnerable child is less likely to enroll in school, more likely to drop out of school, engage in risky sexual behavior and engage in substance abuse. Often s/he is
exposed to abuse, exploitation and social exclusion. Although, mostly attributed to factors related to poverty, illiteracy, lack of social amenities, corruption, and other economic hardships, this study identifies the role of a lacuna in the family structure to be the substantial ground for the children’s vulnerability in the study area. Accordingly, the following conclusions are reached:

1. The care and support of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) are not solely governments’ responsibilities, but shared responsibility between parents/relatives, community, and governments. While the families/relatives provide primary socialization to the children, the community takes over when the former cannot or are not available, whereas the government strengthens the economic coping capacities of families and communities. This means it is government’s responsibilities to enhance the capacity of families and communities to respond to the psychological needs and rights of OVC and their caregivers.

2. Existing African family networks serve vital functions and would benefit from further strengthening. Although, the forces of contemporary realities challenge the patterns and functions of the African families, they still serve as the most appropriate caregivers to Orphans and vulnerable children specifically in urban Kano. This is because apart from being primary socialization agents, families play a major role in identifying and addressing children’s problems emotionally, psychologically, nutritionally, educationally, morally, socially, and otherwise. In other words, families are the best providers of protection and care to the OVC within extended families and communities compared to institutional-care.
3. The position of the governments at all levels: federal, state, and local recognize the problems of OVC and make efforts in response to the conditions. Nevertheless, we see their effects limited partly because the models, approaches, methods, and strategies adopted are alien, top-down, and incompatible to the traditional values of the society in question. The communities are not consulted when coming up with such models, and we often find that community members do not patronize institutional care because it contradicts the values of the people.

4. Community-Based Associations are the best change agents to identify and address OVC’s conditions as well as other related social problems. This is because members of these associations are part of the life world of the communities they serve: they know the specific problems, immediate needs, as well as the best approaches to be applied. Association leaders are part of the OVC’s social networks. This position is in contrast to the position of agents in externally-based NGOs. It counters some of the failures of the externally-based NGOs that operate with a top-down style and do not acknowledge the rich social resources, cultural value systems, and religious ideals that are part of African communities.

5. The results of the study indicate that the most successful model of intervention in Kano metropolis is the family-oriented care model compared to institutional model as adopted by the Khaya Lethu project illustrated in chapter two. This is because the family- or community-oriented strategy does not only acknowledge the norms and values of the people, but also involves families with very little resources in the activity of solidifying social relationships. It also eliminates stigma and discrimination of the fostered; restores
sense of belonging to the children; reduces the chances of psychological trauma; increases the children’s likelihood to thrive; delivers more consistent care; develops better social and emotional relationships; forms a stronger self-image for the child; absorbs the patterns and values of community culture; and helps children to develop the language, customs, and skills they will need in their adult lives.

6. Findings of this research suggest that Community-oriented NGOs are good channels for effective utilization of families and communities to develop participatory development projects. Furthermore, the associations give voice to the underprivileged like OVC an impact positively on their lives.

7. Despite the multi-faceted roles of the NGOs as well as the efficacy of their services and supports to the OVC, widows, and other needy members of the society, there is generally the problem of inadequate funding due to increase in demands as a major challenge facing all the studied associations.

8. Concerning development and future practice in Kano, we can conclude that the home-care model is a better model through utilizing local initiatives and little available resources, as well relying on social networks that already exist. In addition, it meets the aims of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by reducing children’s mortality and ensuring betterment of their lives. Findings of this study revealed that Kano metropolis has succeeded in mobilizing networks organized around existing family values through the activities of NGOs to address some of the conditions of OVC.
6.5 Implications and Recommendations

The role of Non-Governmental Organizations in sustainable development cannot be overemphasized. There are several studies conducted on the progress and prospects of NGOs in Nigeria. Nevertheless, little or no attention is paid to the dynamic relationships that lead to the conditions of the OVC. In addition, the role of the NGOs in intervention by solidifying and cementing the relationships between the contending parties (of the widows and paternal) is neglected. In line with the above, some possible recommendations are suggested on how to improve societal responses to OVC’s conditions in Kano metropolis. Also, measures on how to minimize the problems through the activities of the associations are presented. In addition, there are some recommendations at the first level for future research, beyond the capabilities of this study. The recommendations for future research are as follows:

This study addresses the societal responses to OVC, with specific concern on the activities of NGOs. Further researchers should focus on the role of Faith-based Organizations (FBOs) in addressing the problems of OVC. Also, a more elaborate study should be conducted on the power relations between paternal and maternal relatives of the OVC. It is worthy to investigate factors widows consider for preferring to live with the orphans. This would enable researchers, policy makers, and other stakeholders to have a clear picture of what is happening with respect to the extended family structure as well as the impact of such conflicts on the children.
6.6 Policy Implications

In view of the above data, below are some recommendations in order to improve on the efficacy of NGOs’ role in particular and societal responses to the state of OVC in Kano metropolis:

1. The government at all levels should be realistically more committed to support OVC. This can be achieved through making available adequate funds and their timely release for supporting and integrating Community-Based Associations in identifying OVC and addressing their immediate needs through utilization of existing family networks. Development agendas, plans or programs should recognize and incorporate the associations, families, communities, and societies involved.

2. Government should utilize holistic community-based interventions by collaboration with the NGOs to provide family support, education, vocational training and employment, counseling, etc., to home-caregivers and widows. This would go a long way in addressing the root causes of the massive problems associated with OVC and their families.

3. The Kano state government program of Adaidaita Sahu, Societal Reorientation is highly commendable especially in its massive campaign to mobilize the general public to appreciate the necessity and desirability of assisting OVC. The program should collaborate with NGOs for utilizing Zaurukan Sulhu Consultation Forums in settling disputes notably the breakup and separation of families, the gross misunderstanding between paternal and maternal relatives of OVC, abandonment and exploitation of children, as well as intervention in sharing inheritance.
4. Social workers, lawyers, legislators, judges, law enforcers, community leaders can collaborate in efforts to initiate standards for treatment and family-based assistance to all OVC in a variety of milieus and situations; support family reunification and utilize kinship and community-based placements.

5. Philanthropists, donors, and the public should learn to appreciate the role of NGOs in responding to the needs of OVC. To do this, the information ministry should discharge its duties of educating the populace on the necessity for assisting the needy, especially OVC, as well as the dangers of neglecting the children. Community and opinion leaders should be made part of the campaigns, to enable the crusade gain acceptability.

6. There should be greater efforts to sensitize and educate caregivers in institutions (orphanage) responsible for dealing with the children to the children’s rights and needs in the host communities. In addition, government should ensure the welfare of the staff to enable them deliver their services diligently. Government should provide adequate resources including medical personnel to the Nassarawa orphanage.

7. More effort should be made to utilize the community-based organizations (CBOs/NGOs) to increase opportunities for tracking the children, follow up on their situation specifically in terms of family reunification, social reintegration, and insure follow-up on any kinship placement. It is not enough to identify or trace kin members, but also ensure the sustainability of relationships.

8. There should be an enhanced communication and utilization of the media with community-based efforts in metropolitan Kano. This can be facilitated and upgraded with co-operation and collaboration by cell phone service providers such as MTN, Zain,
Globacom, Starcomms, etc. The companies should consider that as part of discharging their corporate social responsibilities.

9. Transparency and accountability should be the guiding principles in both public and private sectors so as to deal with corruption and mismanagement of resources. Government’s efforts of dealing with corruption through the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) are worth commendation. At the NGOs’ level, faithfulness, sincerity, selflessness, and humility to serve humanity should be the watch-word. They can serve the OVC better so as to grow as productive members of the society.

10. All stakeholders in Kano metropolis, the state, as well as the northern region should initiate and expand collaborative and coordinated efforts among initiate and expand collaborative and coordinated efforts to address the problems of OVC and their families. This may require enacting a bill for the establishment of a National Commission that will deal with the problems of children in the Northern region, where the phenomenon is more pronounced. The Commission should receive special budgetary allocation from the Federal government just like the Niger Delta Development Corporation (NDDC).

11. The Child Rights Act in Nigeria should be revisited to reflect the immediate culture of the people for implementation and enforcement of the legislation. In addition, there should be inter-sectoral co-ordination among stakeholders (governments, NGOs/CBOs, international donors, and civil society) to ensure the implementation of the National Policy of Action on OVC as well as passing into law the National Policy for the Protection of OVC in Nigeria but with focus on existing family networks.
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APPENDIX I

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) Guide for the Executive Members of Non-Governmental Organizations with Programs on OVC

Part 1: Demographic and Socio-economic backgrounds of Respondents

Age

Gender

Marital Status

Educational Background

Occupation

Income

Position in the Association

Part 2: Discussants’ Views on orphanhood and vulnerability

Who an orphan is

What constitutes orphanhood

What causes Child’s/Orphan’s Vulnerability

An Assessment of the conditions of OVC in Kano Metropolis

Responsibility for shouldering the needs of OVC

Level of societal commitment in responding to the needs of OVC

Relationship between caregivers and the children cared-for

Major challenges facing the association
Way forward: Recommendations on how to improve

Part 3: About the Association

Establishment

Goal/Objective for which the association was established

Activities of the association

Methods adopted to identify OVC and their needs

Ways of mobilizing members and information dissemination

Strategies for intervention

Means for generating resources/funds/logistics

Successes recorded

Major challenges facing the association in achieving their desired objectives

Recommendations on how to improve
APPENDIX II

Key Informants Interview (KII) Guide for Resource Persons

Part 1: Demographic and Socio-economic backgrounds of Informant

Age
Gender
Marital Status
Educational Background
Occupation
Position

Part 2: Informant’s Views on OVC and Societal response

Who an orphan is
What constitutes orphanhood in Kano Metropolis and beyond
Causes of Child’s/Orphan’s Vulnerability
An Assessment of OVC’s conditions in Kano Metropolis
Responsibility for shouldering the needs of OVC
Relationship between caregivers and the children cared-for
Appraisal of societal commitment in response to the needs of OVC
Suggestion on how to improve societal response to the OVC phenomenon
APPENDIX III

Key Informants Interview (KII) Guide for Head of Nassarawa Orphanage, Kano

Part 1: Demographic and Socio-economic backgrounds of Respondents

Age
Gender
Marital Status
Educational Background
Position in Institution
Working experience

Part 2: Key Informant’s Views on Orphanhood and Children Vulnerability in Kano Metropolis

What constitutes orphanhood

Causes of Child’s/Orphan’s Vulnerability

An Assessment of the conditions of OVC in Kano Metropolis

Level of societal commitment in response to the needs of OVC in the study area

Part 3: About the Nassarawa Orphanage

Establishment of the institution

Goal/Objective for which the orphanage was established

Activities of the orphanage
Relationship between the caregivers in the institution and the children cared-for

Ways of mobilizing members and information dissemination

Means for generating resources/funds/logistics

Successes recorded

Major challenges facing the institution

Suggestions on how to improve the conditions of OVC phenomenon