Community Hosting of Internally Displaced Persons in Maiduguri, Borno State-Nigeria

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Caroline Erong

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Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Helen Hintjens

Professor Dr. Karin Arts

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460
Fax: +31 70 426 0799

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List of Acronyms

ACAPS:	Assessment Capacities Project
AU:	African Union
CCCM:	Camp Coordination and Camp Management
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
ICG:	International Crisis Group
ICRC:	International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent
IDMC:	International Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDPs:	Internally Displaced Persons
IOM:	International Organization for Migration
IRC:	International Rescue committee
KI:	Key Informant
KII:	Key informant Interviews
LGA:	Local Government Area
NEMA:	National Emergency Management Authority
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
NRC:	Norwegian Refugee Council
OCHA:	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OHCHR:	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UN:	United Nations
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Dedications

This paper is dedicated to Mr. Harry Putker who believed in me and made my ambition to further my studies a reality; my family who have always stood with me through thick and thin; the local communities of Maiduguri hosting displaced persons and all research participants.

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Abstract

Community hosting is a preferred choice for many displaced persons due to unconducive nature of camps; the absence of formal camps; the greater opportunities for work, socialization, education and food production living in the local community offers and the physical, emotional, social, spiritual and economic security it offers. With a number of displaced persons choosing to live in the local communities, members of these communities are providing support and assistance needed for the survival and wellbeing of displaced persons living among them. They are providing services which are significant in saving lives and building the resilience of displaced persons. They play an essential, and often unacknowledged, role in welcoming, supporting and assisting displaced persons at the very onset of displacement when no camps are in place and no humanitarian intervention available. This paper assesses how community hosting contributed to addressing the most basic needs and priorities of displaced persons living in local or host communities within Maiduguri in Nigeria.

Relevance to Development Studies

Development and displacement are interlinked, that is lack of development can be associated with instability and with forced movement from one location to another safer place. Fear of violence delays the return of displaced people to their original homes, and this can make displacement prolonged. Displacement can negatively affect the economic and social development of the home areas, but also complicates life for host communities. While displacement can result in a humanitarian crisis, it can also be a means to enhance development in host communities, and can thus meet some wider development goals. This research is important to development because understanding community hosting of displaced persons can provide a strong link between local community responses and interventions with regional and national-level development plans and processes, taking into account the costs and benefits of situations of mass displacement. This study aims to contribute to better appreciation of the role community hosting of displaced persons can play in local development and integration of IDPs, given the dearth of knowledge on this issue.

Keywords

Community hosting, Maiduguri, Nigeria, Boko Haram, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), host communities; integration; displacement.

Chapter 1: Research Problem Overview

1.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the motivation of the study, the research problem, study background, contextual background in particular forced displacement in north-east Nigeria, research justification, objectives of the study including main research question and sub-questions and structure of the research paper.

1.2. How it started

Working in conflict settings as a humanitarian aid worker provided me with first-hand experience and some personal insight into the realities, limitations and challenges that exist in providing protection and assistance to internally displaced persons. These experiences helped me realize the centrality of the silent heroes within the local communities in which displaced persons seek refuge. While several local communities hosting displaced persons have been directly or indirectly reaching out to displaced persons, their effort and contribution is "often unacknowledged" (Beyani 2013: 11). Host communities as I have witnessed as a humanitarian aid worker, have often enabled IDPs to weather the storm of displacement and loss, and face the challenges of being displaced. This study on community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri is inspired by my previous work experience in the humanitarian sector in Nigeria and in other similar settings. There I witnessed first-hand, how local communities hosted IDPs and provided much-needed assistance and protection support for them during their most difficult times.

In undertaking this study, I positioned myself as an "outsider[1]" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 106; Unluer 2012: 1) This is because a researcher's position can shape "the nature of researcher–researched relationship, which, in turn, affects the information that participants are willing to share" (Berger 2015: 2). While the researcher's position does not matter, it is essential for the researcher to have the ability to be authentic, open, honest, genuinely interest in research participants' experience and the ability to commit to "accurately and adequately representing their experience" (Dwyer and Buckle 2009: 59). Therefore, as an outsider, I ensured that I was open, honest and truly interested in the experiences of the research participants. Being an outsider helped me in more adequately conceptualizing research participants' experiences; appreciating the wider perspective and overriding self-deception (Dwyer and Buckle 2009: 59).

[1] An outsider is someone who is not a member of the community being studied (Collet 2008: 78) or a person who does not belong to the group under study (Breen 2007: 168).

1.3. The Research problem

In the past decade, forced displacement[2] has expanded to become a truly global problem (Crawford et al 2015: 1). It was estimated that the number of IDPs rapidly increased, at an average of 1.6 million people per year, from 2000 to 2014 (Crawford et al. 2015: 1). This rapid increase was caused by situations of generalized violence, armed civil conflicts and international military interventions, natural and also man-made disasters and human rights violations in many parts of the world (Crawford et al. 2015: 1; Christensen and Harild 2009: 5). As a result, forced displacement resulted, producing two main categories of victims, refugees who cross international borders[3] and IDPs who remain within the borders one's country (Christensen and Harild 2009: 5 and Sabie et al. 2017: 12). Forced displacement involving IDPs is "one of today's biggest humanitarian issues" (Christensen and Harild 2009: 4). At the end of 2014, the total number of forcibly displaced persons (refugees plus IDPs) around the globe stood at 59.5 million, with 60% of these being IDPs, within the borders of their own countries (Crawford et al. 2015: 1). Forced displacement destroys or at least weakens the fabric of communities, creating new vulnerabilities and needs among the deprived individuals and families, often stripped of their livelihoods and property (Christensen and Harild 2009: 4) required for them to survive while in displacement.

Due to reasons such as being displaced in isolated or remote locations without camps; inability to physically and financially to make it to the camp areas; the closure of camps by the state for political reasons, and the fear of being detected by the authorities who may be viewed as hostile towards them (Beyani 2013: 11); the majority of the world's IDPs prefer to live or end up living outside (Kamungi 2013: 1; Beyani 2013: 1) camp-like settings in both urban and rural areas (Beyani 2013; CCCM 2014). Most IDPs living outside camps "often prefer, or have little option, [but]…to reside with host families" (Davies 2012: 7) in the communities in which they seek refuge. The issue of displaced persons living outside camps is becoming more persistent as estimates "suggest up to 80%" (CCCM 2014: 2) of IDPs currently live outside camp-like settings (CCCM 2014: 2). This is true for Nigeria, where it is estimated that the vast majority of IDPs in the country have sought refuge in host communities (Tajudeen and Adebayo 2013: 5; Ezeonwuka 2016: 49). While some IDPs choose to live outside of camp settings because they "do not want or need assistance" (Beyani 2013: 11), many IDPs as an alternate means of coping with forced displacement end up opting for community hosting despite needing the assistance and protection that the camps could potentially offer (Davies 2012; Beyani 2013).

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[2] Forced displacement is when "one or more causal factors impact an area, causing its population to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers" (Sabie et al. 2017: 12).

[3] A refugee is anyone who "owing to well- founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is out- side the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (United Nations 1951).

The problems of reaching IDPs are complicated by the fact that most IDPs remain "outside of identifiable camps or settlements and instead live in dispersed urban, rural or remote settings" (Crawford et al. 2015: 1). In countries where IDPs are living both in camps and outside camps, the state authorities and humanitarian actors are "twice as likely to provide assistance and protection…" (Kamungi 2013: 1) to IDPs living in camps as those living outside camps. This is because "it is generally easier for authorities, organizations and agencies to provide assistance in camps than in non-camp settings" (Beyani 2013: 4) since IDPs outside camps are almost by definition difficult to identify (Beyani 2013). IDPs living outside camps are often scattered, not easy to reach with services, (Beyani 2013) and "tend to remain under the radar screen of government authorities and international actors concerned" (Beyani 2013: 1). Because IDPs outside camps remain under the radar, as it were, and undetected, host communities are most often in the first line response to IDPs' needs (Beyani 2013: 10: Rohwerder 2013: 3). Host communities can thus be seen as key to ensuring essential assistance and access to services for IDPs in general, since it is they who welcome, support and assist most IDPs, especially at the critical early stages of their displacement (Beyani 2013: 10).

1.4. Background to the study

Forced displacement results in urgent needs that require immediate responses (Derderian and Schockaert 2012). During forced displacement, IDPs face peculiar vulnerabilities[4] and have specific needs (Bohnet et al. 2013). They are, for example, "…at an increased risk of being separated from their families, and are particularly exposed to abuse during displacement…" (Kellenberger 2009: 476). This brings up their specific protection needs, which are due to the distinct vulnerabilities they face. Among their specific needs, they are "…commonly in need of special protection and assistance…" (Brun 2003: 376) and should therefore be viewed as an especially vulnerable category of people, entitled to protection and assistance as a matter of priority (ICRC 2006). Mustapha and Umara (2015: 48) suggest that IDPs are exposed to high risks and experience various forms of deprivation during forced displacement. This makes them "…more vulnerable than other citizens of their country…" (Brun 2003: 376). In addition, most IDPs outside the camps are unable "to meet their most basic needs" (Kellenberger 2009: 476; ICRC 2006: 3) by themselves.

The primary responsibility for "…protecting IDPs and meeting their basic needs lies with the State or the authorities that control the territory where the IDPs find themselves…" (Kellenberger 2009: 478). Though states have the primary responsibility to protect IDPs and meet their basic needs, very often governments are either unable or unwilling to fulfil this particular obligation (ICRC 2006: 4; Brun 2003: 376). This can result in large numbers of IDPs remaining

[4] Vulnerability is defined as "the characteristics of a person or group and their situation that influence their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact…" (Wisner et al. 2003: 11) of a hazard. Vulnerability "involves a combination of factors that determine the degree to which someone's life, livelihood, property and other assets are put at risk by a discrete and identifiable event (or series or 'cascade' of such events) in nature and in society (Wisner et al. 2003: 11).

"…exposed to further violence, malnutrition and disease, and [they] are often forced to flee several times" (Kellenberger 2009: 278). Where government has assistance programmes for vulnerable groups, the assistance available is "often insufficient for IDPs whose needs increase because of their displacement" (Beyani 2013: 5). In the case of Nigeria, where this study was conducted, ICRC (2016) recognizes that the Nigerian state, through its agencies, departments and ministries and with support from humanitarian actors (international, regional and local) is trying to respond to the various needs of IDPs as obligated under the Kampala Convention. Even so, the response "…is far from meeting the assistance and protection needs of IDPs" (ICRC 2016: 15). Additionally, the assistance provided by government can be dependent on beneficiaries having "local residency or identity document which IDPs may not be able to obtain" (Beyani 2013: 5).

Principles for humanitarian relief stipulate that in situations where the state is unable or unwilling to fulfil its obligation to protect and assist IDPs, humanitarian actors (local and international) have an obligation to intervene (ICRC 2006). Although humanitarian actors - especially local organizations - may be more aware than the government of the specific concerns and needs of IDPs, they often lack the financial and logistical capacity to reach out to all the IDPs in time and in situations where they are able to assist IDPs living in host communities, or the assistance they provide is "adhoc and insufficient" (Beyani 2013: 1). Even in situations where specific assistance is provided for IDPs living out of camps, this

> "…tends to consist of one-off assistance, provided at the beginning of displacement, rather than the sustained assistance that is needed when people are displaced for long periods of time" (Beyani 2013: 5).

Furthermore, due to limited access to services by IDPs, insecurity, the limited capacity of many governments to respond, and the lack of political will, and given IDPs mobility and the poor coordination of assistance among different agencies, overall IDPs tend to be hindered "… from receiving protection and assistance" (ICRC 2006: 4) from both State and humanitarian actors.

Even if state and humanitarian actors are willing to provide protection and assistance for IDPs, those living outside of defined camp settings are "difficult to identify, protect and assist" (Beyani 2013: 4); this makes it difficult for them to be assisted and supported by State and humanitarian actors. In the absence of protection and assistance from state and humanitarian actors, the majority of IDPs seek refuge in host communities as an alternative coping mechanism (Davies 2012). In some countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), for example IDPs "…overwhelmingly favour hosting as a displacement response" (Rohwerder 2013: 3). As a result, many IDPs have depended on host communities for their survival and wellbeing and to address their most basic needs and rights concerns (Vigaud-Walsh 2016). As of December 2016, approximately "80 percent" (OCHA 2016: 6) of the over "1.8 million" (IOM 2017) IDPs found in Nigeria were estimated to be living in host communities, with

relatives, friends or with strangers in donated or independently rented houses (Skinner and Begum 2016; IOM (2017).

1.5. Contextual background-forced displacement in north-east Nigeria

In Nigeria, the non-international armed conflict between the Nigerian Government and the Boko Haram[5] Islamist militant group has in the internal displacement [6]of millions of the civilian population in the north-eastern part of the country. Despite the state of emergency declared in May 2013 in the states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe (which were considered the most affected) by Goodluck Jonathan, the ex-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Sodipo 2013: 1), Boko Haram "...intensified its operation in the North-East of Nigeria…" (Awojobi 2014: 145) leading to a massive humanitarian crisis (InterAction 2016: 1; IOM 2016: 1) and widespread displacement (InterAction 2016: 1) of the civilian population. With their activities mostly concentrated in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states of north eastern Nigeria; the Boko Haram modus operandi includes bombings (including suicide bombings), rape, sexual violence, indiscriminate killings, abductions, kidnappings and the destruction of civilian property (Awojobi 2014:146-147; Vigaud-Walsh 2016:4) which has led to "…wanton destruction of lives and properties, displacement of people from their place of origin…" (Olufemi and Olaide 2015: 145).

Since the emergence of the Boko Haram Islamist militant group from Borno state in 2009 (Lenshie and Yenda 2016: 143; Copeland 2013: 1) as a terrorist group, the north-eastern part of Nigeria has continued to suffer streams of violence and armed conflict. The Boko Haram up rise has resulted in the forced displacement of millions of civilians in Nigeria most of whom are women and children (Mustapha and Umara 2015: 48). The displacement of civilians has been recurrent with those internally displaced experiencing "…multiple episodes of displacement…" (NRC 2016: 1). The intensification of the Boko Haram insurgency in 2014 led to the forced internal displacement of millions of civilians in Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe States of north eastern Nigeria (IOM 2017: 1; Vigaud-Walsh 2016: 4). A total of 2.5 million civilians have been forcefully displaced from their homes since the onset of the Boko Haram up rise; 2.2 million of which have been internally displaced within Nigeria while the remaining 300,000 have sought refuge in the neighbouring countries

[5] Boko Haram which stands for "'Western civilian' is forbidden" (Onuoha 2012: 2) first emerged around 2002 (Oyewole 2015: 428; Shuaibu et al. 2015) in Maiduguri, Borno state as a local Islamic group "advocating a strict interpretation and implementation of Islamic law in Nigeria" (Shuaibu et al. 2015: 254). In 2009 following an anti-government revolt (Onuoha 2012: 3) by the group, Boko Haram transformed its activities from a peace militia into a violent group (Shuaibu et al. 2015: 255). Since 2009, Boko Haram has "spearheaded many violent attacks in Nigeria" (Agbiboa 2013: 145).

[6] Internal displacement is the "involuntary or forced movement, evacuation or relocation of persons or groups of persons within internationally recognized state borders" (AU 2009: 3)

of Cameroon, Chad, and Niger (InterAction 2016: 1).

As of March 2017, there are over 1.8 million IDPs in north east Nigeria; 96% of which have been displaced by the Boko Haram conflict. 55% of the IDP population are females; 56% are children[7] below 18 years old and 7% are persons over 60 years (IOM 2017). While all the states in north-eastern Nigeria were affected by the Boko Haram insurgency, Borno is the most affected, heavily impacted and hardest hit by the insurgency (OCHA 2016), Johnson (2016) and ACAPS (2016). As at December 2016, 69 percent of all IDPs in Nigeria were found in Borno State (OCHA 2016: 5); making the state a host to the majority of IDPs in Nigeria. As of March 2017, Borno state still hosted the majority of IDPs (IOM 2017: 3) in Nigeria.

1.6. Justification of the study

In most cases, IDPs are brutally deprived of their natural habitat in terms of "security, community support, the ability to earn a livelihood and access to food, water and shelter" (ICRC 2006: 3); this deprivation "…directly threatens their ability to meet their most basic needs…" (ICRC 2006: 3) while in displacement. Due to extreme deprivation, IDPs are often times exposed to considerable danger during displacement and their very survival is threatened (ICRC 2006). Therefore, while in displacement, IDPs should be protected and provided with assistance to enable them survive and cope with the challenges of being displaced. Although "…IDPs are not yet covered by a specific international convention" (Kellenberger 2009: 478), they are entitled to protection [8]and assistance under the International Humanitarian Law (ICRC 2006). Also under the Kampala Convention which was ratified by Nigeria in 2012, IDPs should be provided with protection and assistance during displacement. ICRC (2006) asserts that while in displacement, IDPs are entitled to the same relief as the rest of the civilian population (ICRC 2006) therefore protection and assistance should be extended to all IDPs whether based in camps or host communities.

Every IDP has the right to "liberty of movement and freedom to choose his or her residence" (Kalin 2008: 65); they can therefore choose to live in camps or out of camps. Under Article 5 of the Kampala Convention, the State has the primary responsibility to without any discrimination provide protection and humanitarian assistance to all IDPs within their territory or jurisdiction whether they are in camps or out of camps. The Kampala Convention also provides for International Organizations and humanitarian agencies to discharge their obligations of protecting and assisting IDPs "…in conformity with international law and the laws of the country in which they operate" (AU 2009: 9). However, though the responsibility for the protection and assistance of IDPs lies with the states, the reality on the ground is often very different. For example, in Nigeria, though the State has the primary responsibility to protect and assist all IDPs

[7] Nine percent of IDP children are less than one-year-old (IOM DTM Round XVI report 2017).

[8] Protection is defined as "all activities aimed at ensuring full respect for the rights of the individual in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the relevant bodies of law, i.e. human rights law, international humanitarian law, and refugee law" (ICRC 2013: 12).

within her territory, "only 8%" (IRC 2016: 2) of the millions of IDPs in Nigeria were receiving government support as at June 2016(IRC 2016: 2). This is because the Nigerian state only delivers humanitarian assistance to IDPs in government run camps or settlements and only an estimated "eight percent" (Vigaud-Walsh 2016: 4) of the IDPs in Nigeria are camp based. The remaining 92% of the IDPs in Nigeria must fend for themselves or depend on host communities for survival (Vigaud-Walsh 2016). For more than twelve months, host communities in Nigeria have with very minimal support from state or humanitarian actors. "…been sharing resources with one of the largest IDP populations in the world…" (OCHA 2015: 6).

Although host communities are providing support and assistance to IDPs, not much has been written about them. Host communities "…play a central role in the survival" (Mattieu 2017: 9) and wellbeing of IDPs, yet "…there is not much work on how the hosts play a role…" (Brun 2010: 340) in supporting and assisting IDPs. Rohwerder (2013) in his study on the issue of IDPs living with host communities in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) highlighted that there is "weak evidence base" (2013: 2) on the subject of IDPs host communities and the topic of host communities have not been "examined in much detail" (Rohwerder 2013: 2). The issue of IDPs living in host communities is still "…relatively unexplored…" (Davies 2012: 4) in comparison to the issue of IDPs living in camps, therefore very little is known about IDPs in host communities (Bruinsma 2015: 5). There is also little written about IDPs host communities and the available material on them is mostly "…written by NGOs working in the area, with less academic sources" (Rohwerder 2013: 2).

Furthermore, host communities usually respond first "…to people facing displacement" (Rohwerder 2013: 3); yet their contribution has not been recognized especially in the academia. Despite their significance in the protection and assistance of displaced persons, very little attention has been given to the role of local communities and their contributions to IDPs survival, safety and protection. Community hosting has proved essential during conflicts and natural disasters and is "becoming a well-recognized form of shelter…" (Caron 2017: 56) for displaced persons and their families. However, despite the growing significance of IDPs community hosting, there is "little systematic writing" (Caron 2017: 56) about it.

1.7. Objectives of the research study

The research intends to examine some of the decisions and choices involved in community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri, as well as the main costs and benefits for IDPs and hosts alike. The research was undertaken in Maiduguri because the vast majority of persons displaced within Borno state "…are in Maiduguri and its environs" (Vigaud-Walsh 2016: 4). The sporadic attacks in Borno State by Boko Haram in 2015 internally displaced millions of people forcing several of them "… to seek refuge in Maiduguri…" (OCHA 2015:1). In 2015 alone, Maiduguri received more than one million IDPs (OCHA 2015) and by April 2016, Maiduguri solely hosted 1.6 million IDPs (Johnson 2016). To achieve these research objectives, the research sought to answer the following questions.

1.8. Main research question

- How has community hosting of IDPs contributed to the survival and wellbeing of IDPs living in host communities within Maiduguri including meeting their basic needs and rights?

1.8.1. Research sub-questions

- Why do IDPs in Maiduguri prefer to live in host communities rather than in camps?
- How have gender and social networks shaped community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri?
- How has community hosting of IDPs impacted on IDPs and host communities in Maiduguri?

1.9. Structure of the research paper

This research paper is comprised of five chapters. Chapter 1 has discussed the study motivation, provided an overview of the focus and introduced the research problem, contextual background, justification and research objectives and chapter structure. Chapter 2 conceptualizes the main concept of community hosting and details the accompanying field research process. It discusses sources and methods of data collection, ethical considerations, research limitations and the researcher's own positionality. In Chapter 3, research findings are used to discuss community hosting of IDPs within the context of Maiduguri focussing on the significance of host communities during forced displacement, why IDPs prefer host communities to living in camps, forms of IDP community hosting and how gender and social networks have shaped community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri Chapter 4 returns to some conceptual issues raised by the findings and Chapter 6 discusses the overall conclusions of the study.

1.10. Conclusion

Due to inability to physically and financially make it to camps; being displaced in isolated or remote locations without camps and the closure of camps by the state among others, most of the world's IDPs often prefer, or have little option but to reside in host communities. While some IDPs choose to live outside camps because they do not need or want assistance offered in the camps, several IDPs opt for community hosting as an alternative coping strategy despite needing the assistance and protection that camps offer.

Given that IDPs are in need of and are entitled to protection and assistance, the primary responsibility to protect them and meet their basic needs lies with their governments. However, very often governments are either unable or unwilling to fulfil this obligation (ICRC 2006; Brun 2003). Where government is unable or unwilling to intervene, humanitarian agencies have the obligation to intervene (ICRC 2006). However, they often lack sufficient capacity to respond; where they are able to assist IDPs, the assistance is insufficient and ad-hoc (Beyani 2013).

Since it is easier to generally reach IDPs living in camps, state authorities and humanitarian actors are twice as likely to provide protection and assistance (Kamungi 2013: 1) to IDPs living in camps than those in host communities. Therefore, IDPs living outside camps must fend for themselves or depend on host communities for their survival; this is true for Maiduguri which is the focus of this study. Host communities play a central role in the survival and wellbeing of IDPs (Mattieu 2017; Brun 2010). They are often the first to respond to their needs (Beyani 2013: 10: Rohwerder 2013: 3) and offer them protection. Host communities welcome, support and assist IDPs, especially at the critical early stages of their displacement (Beyani 2013). Focusing on Maiduguri in Borno state Nigeria, the study intends to examine the contribution of community hosting in the survival and wellbeing of IDPs; why IDPs prefer community hosting than living in camps; the role of gender and social networks in shaping community hosting as well as the main costs and benefits of community hosting for IDPs and hosts alike.

Chapter 2: Theories and Methodologies: Community hosting

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses theories and research methodologies used for studying the phenomenon and processes involved in community hosting. It starts with broadly theorising community hosting in the literature, showing how theories are juxtaposed with the research processes in the field, with data collection methods and the use of sources, ethical considerations and the researcher's own positionality as well as the limitations of the study.

2.2. Conceptualizing community hosting

Hosting and community hosting is defined and framed in various ways (Lynch et al. 2011). For the present study, Sirriyeh's definition of hosting will be adopted, where hosting refers to "an offer of hospitality from those who own or control a territory entered into by newcomers[9], who have crossed the threshold" (Sirriyeh 2013: 6). Defined by Derrida (2005) as the invitation and welcoming of the 'stranger[10]", hospitality whether by an individual or a community involves the: "…welcoming of strangers into one's own house, country, or territory…" (Aristarkhova 2012: 165). Hospitality can be at two levels, one level is where one welcomes others into the privacy of his/her home, or into his/her being (Aristarkhova 2012: 164). and the other involves a "communal, cultural, and public relation associated with a public space of people…" (Aristarkhova 2012: 164), where a self-identified sociality welcomes strangers including IDPs into one's community, country or territory (Aristarkhova 2012: 164).

Hosting is "…a 'throwntogetherness' in which individuals and groups have to relate to one another in new ways" (Brun 2010: 340); it is a way in which newcomers (IDPs) relate with natives (their hosts). Shaped by three major intertwined prominent factors namely "length of stay, presence of children, and the need to share" (Caron 2017: 56), hosting of IDPs takes on various forms including providing property on which IDP families constructs their shelter, sharing same space with IDPs, allowing the use and occupation of the host's property by IDPs (Caron 2017: 56). Hosting is a "first or an intermediate step in a multistage process…" (Caron 2017: 56) of providing assistance to IDPs for it often starts before the arrival of humanitarian actors and lasts long after humanitarian actors have left (Caron 2017). It is about survival and protection (Pechlaner et al. 2016), and involves the care and support for IDPs by individuals, communities, and societies in which they seek refuge. It does provide IDPs with the opportunities to interact and socialize with the wider community in which they seek

[9] For purposes of this study; a territory means a community in which IDPs has sought refuge (host community), those controlling a territory are members of the host community and the newcomers are IDPs who have sought refuge in the host community.

[10] A stranger is a person who is "not familiar to someone else" (Pechlaner et al. 2016: 426).

refuge (Caron 2017: 58).

During forced displacement, hosting can be planned or spontaneous (Caron 2017: 57). It usually involves the individual being welcome into one's home (i.e. by a host family). It can also take the form of a collective welcome into a community or territory (i.e. by a host community[11]) of displaced persons as a group, or as an individual. Hosting of IDPs involves IDPs sharing rooms or living with host families, renting houses in the host community, or in some cases inhabiting land or owning buildings that do not belong to the host community (Beyan 2013: 1; CCCM 2014: 11). Not only does hospitality involve welcoming, receptivity, discretion, intimacy, recollection and habitation (Aristarkhova 2012: 164-165); it can convert "strangers into familiars, enemies into friends, friends into better friends, outsiders into insiders, non-kin into kin" (Lynch et al. 011: 6). The transformative potential of hosting is apparent in this point of view on the hosting relationship. Because hosting allows IDPs and their hosts to easily socialize and provide reciprocal services, it allows "for generosity, solidarity, trust, mutual exchange and engagement" (Friese and Ungaretti 2008: 1) between them and their hosts. Furthermore, because hosting is about taking care of people in need of help and protection (Pechlaner et al. 2016: 424), it encourages good treatment (Bell 2010) of IDPs.

While hosting encourages good treatment of IDPs; allows for alliance, generosity, mutual exchange and engagement between IDPs and their hosts and can be a means by which societies "change, grow, renew and reproduce themselves" (Lynch et al. 2011: 6), it does harbour a variety of tensions and a trace of hostility (Friese 2010). For example, in Sri Lanka, host communities who were once very hospitable to IDPs who sought refuge in their communities, providing them with immediate assistance upon their arrival, donating their resources such as land to IDPs and treating IDPs as special guests became resentful of IDPs when it was clear that they were in their communities to stay for a prolonged period of time (Thalayasingam 2009: 116). Hosting "…brings about tensions between being considered a stranger and being at home; of public and private space…membership and exclusion" (Friese 2010: 324). Furthermore, because hosts claim control of their households (Sirriyeh 2013), IDPs are unable to "…make themselves at home…" (Sirriyeh 2013: 6) for doing so can disrupt the hosts order and household control (Sirriyeh 2013). Hosting also "…fosters the tension between inclusion and exclusion, identity and difference, between antagonism and solidarity" (Friese 2010: 324). The prolonged stay of IDPs in host communities can result in their exclusion in accessing assistance by the very people hosting them.

[11] The term host community refers to a town, city or village where displaced persons who are not living in formal or informal camps, can live, find shelter and remain temporarily or for a longer period (Beyan 2013: 10). A host community can also be an established population, who happen to live in a place where forcefully displaced persons, such as IDPs, unexpectedly arrive (Sirriyeh 2013: 6). In the Nigerian context, a host community is defined as a community which though not displaced itself experiences the consequences and impacts of the displacement of others, either as a result of hosting large numbers of IDPs or through the process of assimilating IDPs into their own households (National Policy on IDPs in Nigeria 2012: 15).

2.3. Operationalising Community Hosting Research: the process

To analyse the contribution of community hosting of IDPs to the survival and wellbeing of IDPs in Maiduguri, the study employed concepts of hosting, gender and social networks which were best assessed using qualitative research methods. Given that the choice of research method should be appropriate to what the researcher is trying to find out Silverman 2013: 11), I chose qualitative research methods to gather data, information and materials relevant to the study. Qualitative research methods enabled me explore the life stories (Silverman 2013: 11) of research participants; offered me a privileged access to the basic experiences of research participants of the world they live (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009) and also enabled me to construct meaning to my study (on IDP community hosting) together with the research participants (O'Leary 2010). Also, given that fieldwork is a vital tool in understanding the lives (Ng 2011: 440) of IDPs and their hosts alike, I opted for it as a methodology for my primary data collection.

While fieldwork preparation process which included identification and selection of research community, identification and training of research assistants, recruiting of research participants, seeking approval from gatekeepers, testing of data collection questionnaires and so forth started on July 24 2017, the actually collection of data (interviews) was undertaken between August 21 and September 9, 2017. Though four potential IDP host communities were identified, the study was conducted in only one of the identified communities mainly due to limited time and resource constraints. The study was conducted in Sulemanti IDP host community located in Maiduguri because it was one of the first communities in Maiduguri to receive a large influx of IDPs especially in 2014 following the intensification of the Boko Haram insurgency which led to the forced internal displacement of millions of civilians from the most affected local government areas within Borno state. Sulemanti is also among the communities that has hosted a large number of IDPs for a protracted period. Furthermore, Sulemanti was selected because of easy access in comparison to other identified communities; that is the gatekeepers were more supportive, security was good.

2.4. Ethical considerations

In social research, ethics refers to "the moral deliberation, choice and accountability on the part of researchers through-out the research process" (Edwards and Mauthner 2002: 14). It pertains avoiding harm (Orb et al. 2001: 93). Harm can be minimized or hindered through applying appropriate ethical principles (Orb et al. 2001). Ethical norms promote values that are essential for coordination and cooperation between the researcher and research participants; contribute towards achieving research objectives; ensure that a researcher is accountable to the public and promote a number of social and moral values (Resnik 2011). In carrying out field work, I was guided by a few ethical norms as discussed below.

In collecting primary data, I was guided by the 'do no harm' principle (Morrell et al. 2012: 616) hence utmost care was taken in selecting interview locations

and focus group [12]discussion (FGD)/interview times. In selecting interview location, "comfort, privacy and quiet" (King and Horrocks 2010, 42) are important aspects to consider. This is because the physical space in which an interview is conducted can have a strong influence on how it proceeds" (King and Horrocks 2010: 42). During my FGDs and key informant [13]interviews (KII), the three aforementioned aspects were taken into consideration in selecting locations. To ensure that interview locations were private, quiet and comfortable, location selection was done together with research participants in consultation with community leaders. Also, both male and female research participants were consulted on the most appropriate times to conduct FGDs and KIIs. Female participants opted for afternoons because they used the morning and evening hours to carry out household chores while male participants opted for evenings because they were occupied in the morning and afternoon hours. Additionally, separate FGDs were carried out for IDPs and host community members. Joint decisions on the interview location and time and holding separate FGDs created a relaxed environment that put participants at ease to share information.

Research participants' "informed consent[14]" (Morrell et al. 2012: 616) was also sought in collecting primary data. All research participants were informed about the purpose and procedures of the research and the possible risks involved; participation in the research was voluntary and permission was obtained from participants before involving them in the study. Three to four days before each FGD, about 20-25 potential research participants were mobilized for briefing on research purpose, procedures, possible risks and benefits. A maximum of two hours was spent briefing potential research participants and answering their questions relating to the research; potential research participants were then given one to two days to decide whether they wanted to participate in the study or not. Those who were voluntarily willing to participate were asked to approach insiders once they were sure of their decision. In addition, research participants who decided to participate in the study were informed about their right to withdraw from the research at any given moment (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009: 70-71).

Furthermore, the consent and permission of research participants (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009: 72) was sought before obtaining audio recordings, note taking and taking pictures during FGDs and KII. At the start of the FGDs and KIIs, participants were informed that audio recording was to enable efficiency in carrying out a detailed and accurate analysis of FGDs and KII sessions and

[12] Focus group is a "research methodology in which a small group of participants gathers to discuss a specified issue under the guidance of a moderator" (Morgan 1996: 129).

[13] Key informant is "an expert source of information" (Marshall 1996: 92).

[14] Informed consent involves informing research participants about the overall research objective, main research features which includes information about confidentiality, access to research materials, the researcher's publication rights of whole or part of interview materials, participants access to interview transcription and qualitative data analysis; possible risks and benefits of participating in the research; obtaining research participants' voluntary participation and informing them of the right to withdraw from the study at any given time (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009: 70-71).

no intent in sharing the recordings externally to third parties and would be destroyed after the submission of the final research paper. Research participants' consent to using audio recording during the sessions was sought. Also, to ensure and protect confidentiality, obtain sensitive information such as sexual abuse/exploitation, access to services among others; private information such as names, address among others that identifies participants will not be disclosed in the research paper instead pseudo names will be used.

2.5. Theorising the Researcher's positionality

Positionality is defined by Huijsmans (2010) as the "researcher's position in various relations of power" (2010: 58) such as gender, sexual orientation, age, race, nationality, personal experiences, urban-rural relations, beliefs, economic and social status (Rose 1997: 308; Berger 2015: 220) and how these relations of power impact on data collection and knowledge production (Rose 1997; Huijsmans 2010). Positionality impacts on research in three major ways that is, it can affect the researcher's access to the field; shape the nature of the researcher-researched relation and shape findings and conclusions of the study (Berger 2015: 220). My position as a female, foreign national with knowledge of Maiduguri impacted on my research in three major ways as pointed out by Berger (2015). That is, it affected my access to the field, shaped the way in which I related with research participants and shaped my research findings.

Research participants "…may be more willing to share their experiences with a researcher whom they perceive as sympathetic to their situation" (Berger 2015: 2). Being a national of Uganda, a country that experienced civil war for many years, the gruesome experience of the civil war that led to mass displacement of the civilian population essentially placed me in an advantageous position to better understand and analyse research participants' experiences. I observed that upon introducing myself as a national of Uganda, some research participants (especially males) immediately took interest in the research, due to the knowledge about the previous civil war that ravaged the northern part of Uganda. The knowledge about the previous civil war in Uganda made the research participants perceive me as someone who has had a working level of experience and understanding of their situation, hence more willing to share their experience. However, while my nationality placed me in an advantageous position with the research participants, it impacted on the research methods I used as explained under research limitation.

My position as a female, affected the way I related with male and female research participants; it accorded me with the ease to interact with female participants more than with the males; female participants were more relaxed than the males which made the sessions with them more beckoning for me, the females as well felt more free and comfortable interacting with me hence making them more willing to share sensitive information that they would not have shared with a male researcher. Berger (2015: 220) pointed out that positionality shapes the nature of the researcher-researched relation; this I experienced when testing my data collection tools. I noticed that my positionality as a female affected the relationship between myself and the male participants. I observed that

each time I asked a question, the male participants were kind of reserved on the kind of information they shared with me. On the other hand, when a male asked a question, their response was quite different. I recruited a male research assistant to support in conducting interviews with the males and his positionality as a male made the male participants more free and comfortable. I only then took notes in this situation and asked questions when it was really necessary.

A researcher's background affects the way he/she poses questions, chooses the lens for filtering gathered information and uses language, and thus "may shape the findings and conclusion of the study" (Berger 2015: 2); this was true in my case. Having previously worked in Maiduguri, I had some knowledge on the cultural norms and traditions including the dos and don'ts. This background knowledge affected the way in which I carried myself in the community and my relationship with research participants. The background knowledge further affected the way in which I dressed, choice of words, nature of asked questions, interaction with the research population and body language during FGDs and KIIs; it further guided the choice to filter information gathered from the research participants.

2.6. Data collection methods and sources

The research drew upon both primary and secondary data. Primary data which was collected through group interaction (Morgan 1996: 129) with IDPs and host community members, at the community level and through KIIs with community leaders and a few community based humanitarian volunteers enabled me have control over the study process (O'Leary 2014). For the community level group interaction (focus group), a total of 10-15 participants were gathered under my guidance (Wibeck et al. 2007: 249) to "discuss and comment on, from person experience" (Powell and Single 1996: 499) the topic of IDP community hosting in the selected community. While secondary data was drawn from existing academic literature as well as publications and reports from International Organizations (such as the ICRC), UN agencies and NGOs (local and international) that address the issues around IDP community hosting.

Since IDP host families including IDPs living in host families are invisible and "hard-to-find" (Bernard 2011: 192), I had to use the most suitable sampling method. For my study, snowball sampling (Bernard 2011) was used to identify participants FGDs and KII. Snowball sampling was used because it is a "network sampling method" (Bernard 2011: 192) useful in reaching hard-to-find populations (Bernard 2011: 192). In my study, research participants were reached through referrals by other persons who are aware of the characteristics relevant to the research (Bryan 2015: 415). Because IDP host families were few and scattered within the selected community and Sulemanti is a large community with a big population of both IDPs and community members, knowing who was an IDP and who was not was impossible for an outsider like me, therefore making snowball sampling my best option. Acknowledging that both IDPs and host community members' experiences were important for this study, I was keen in getting balanced perspective and information from IDPs and host community members hence the engagement of both groups. Also, because men and women

experience displacement differently and are faced with different challenges during displacement, it was important to have both male and female research participants and to hear their different experiences and views.

Four FGDs were conducted with 46 persons (20 females and 26 males) participating, 57 percent of these were host community members while the remaining 43 percent were IDPs. Two FGDs (one for females and the other for males) were carried out with IDPs living with host families and those living independently within the selected host community; and another two FGDs (one for females and the other for males) were held with host community members who have hosted IDPs in their homes (under the same roof or same compound) or whose families have directly hosted IDPs in their homes and those who have hosted IDPs at a distance (that is provided land or property for IDPs to live). The purpose of having separate FGDs with male and female host community members and IDPs was to encourage open and free participation of both groups and to avoid victimization. Conducting separate FGDs contributed to ensuring and minimizing harm. IDPs who participated in the FGDs were those who have lived with host families or in the host community for at least two years. And the host community members who participated in the research have hosted IDPs (either closely or at a distant) for at least two years.

Furthermore, four informal face to face semi structured KIIs were held with a total of four (1 female, 3 males) key informants (KIs) whole included one male community leader, one male civilian joint task force who ensures security in the selected community, one IDP female working as a volunteer for a humanitarian NGO and one male youth leader who also doubles as a volunteer with a humanitarian organization. The KIs were all knowledgeable about IDP community hosting in the selected community.

As one cannot carry out a conversational analysis "without a full, accurate record of what the participant said" (King and Horrocks 2010: 47). It is always preferable and absolutely essential to obtain an audio-recording (King and Horrocks 2010: 47). Given this reason, I with full permission from the research participants, recorded the interview sessions (FGDs and KIIs) using my mobile phone. Notes were also taken to accompany the audio-recording. At the very start of the interview, I endeavoured to explain to the research participants why it was necessary to record the interview sessions and take notes.

AGE GROUP	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
Focus group discussions			
19-29 years	4	0	4
30-39 years	3	10	13
40-49 years	7	7	14
50-59 years	4	7	11
60 years and above	2	2	4
Total	**20**	**26**	**46**
Key informant interviews			
19 to above 60 years	1	3	4

Table 1: Summary of FGDs and KII participants disaggregated by age and gender

AGE GROUP	FEMALE IDPS	FEMALE HOST	MALE IDPS	MALE HOST	TOTAL
Focus group discussions					
19-29 years	2	2	0	0	**4**
30-39 years	1	2	4	6	**13**
40-49 years	4	3	2	5	**14**
50-59 years	3	1	2	5	**11**
60 years and above	0	2	2	0	**4**
Total	**10**	**10**	**10**	**16**	**46**
Key Informant Interviews					
19 to above 60 years	0	1	1	2	**4**

Table 2: Summary of IDPs and Host community members who participated in FGDs and KIIs

2.6.1 Fieldwork process

Prior to my arrival in Maiduguri, I contacted colleagues from my previous work place requesting them to recommend four local communities within Maiduguri that have had limited state and/or humanitarian interventions despite hosting large numbers of IDPs for a protracted period of time. I then together with two of my former colleagues went to the recommended communities to negotiate access (which included identifying insiders) and seek approval from gatekeepers.

While negotiating access in potential communities, two research assistants[15] (one male, one female) whose main role was to interpret during FGDs were identified through recommendations from my previous colleagues. The identified research assistants were well conversant in English, Hausa and Kanuri and had prior experience in data collection and interpretation from English to Hausa and Kanuri and vice versa. The research assistants were used in testing research questionnaires and when conducting FGDs, this is because most FGD participants did not speak or understand English. The research assistants went through a four-hour orientation training; which included going through research questionnaires and strategizing and practising FGD process.

2.6.2 Gaining access to research participants

Given the limited time I had for primary data collection, I used "insider assistance" (King and Horrocks 2010) to gain access to the selected community, gatekeepers[16] and research participants during my filed work. As a way of gaining access to the research population, King and Horrocks (2010), assert that researchers can use insiders "to actively assist in recruiting participants" (2010: 31).

[15] The two research assistants were not from the selected community. Using research assistants from outside the selected community was deliberate; it was meant to avoid biasness, create a comfortable atmosphere for the research participants.

[16] Gatekeeper is "someone who has the authority to grant or deny permission to potential participants and/or the ability to facilitate such access" (King and Horrocks 2010: 31).

I identified three insiders (two males and one female) through my former colleagues as part of a network sampling method. Insiders were recommended to me based on their knowledge of the community, familiarity with the research topic, knowledge of at least two local languages, position in the community, mobilization and communication skills. I chose to use insiders because, they would more ably identify and mobilize the hard to reach IDPs and host community members since they came from the selected community. Insiders were used because people are able to more likely give proper consideration to requests coming from known and trusted persons than from a stranger (King and Horrocks 2010: 32).

Insiders[17] were very helpful in identifying initial research participants (for testing of questionnaires) and linking me with the gatekeepers. Insiders were using helpful in orienting and briefing me about the selected community, the dos and do nots of the selected community, dress code, body language and so forth. Because initial research participants can be used to recommend other probable participants who fit the selection criteria for the study (King and Horrocks 2010: 34), initial participants were in addition to the insiders used to recruit potential research participants. The identified participants were requested to recommend one to a maximum of five IDPs and host community members they knew for the actual data collection. Specific dates were provided on which initial participants were asked to bring potential participants for a briefing. However, despite using insiders, I was aware that they could be biased and may exert undue pressure on potential participants (King and Horrocks 2010). To minimize pressure on potential participants and biasness from insiders, I ensured that they were fully briefed about the study and that I kept regular contact with them during participants' recruitment processes. Furthermore, while using insiders was very useful, it was very time consuming.

2.7. Limitations of the study

My initial plan was to use qualitative interviewing and ethnographic[18] research methods to gather primary data, information and materials relevant to the study; this would involve using a blend of 'participant observation' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 2), FGDs and KIIs. As part of participant observation, the initial plan was for me to live in two host families at different intervals (and take part in their day to day activities) for a period of 10-14 days (in each family). However, the initial plan couldn't be undertaken as a direct result of an attack launched in early June 2017 by suspected members of the Boko Haram in one of the communities in Maiduguri. The gatekeepers of the selected community and other host communities were not in favour of me (as a foreign national) living with IDP host families or in the community and were not comfortable with the idea due to the attack; therefore, strongly advised against it because they felt the risk was too enormous. Thus, to ensure my security, the gatekeepers advised that I

[17] The three identified insiders formed part of the research participants.

[18] Ethnography is a social research method which involves participating explicitly or surreptitiously in "…people's daily life for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said…" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 2).

use other methods of data collection for my study; I therefore resorted to qualitative interviewing which I considered the best option given the circumstances on ground.

While the initial plan was to carry out primary data collection in two host communities, a lot of time was spent in selecting a suitable research location, negotiating access with gate keepers and selecting research participants. Thus, field work was limited to only one IDP host community in Maiduguri out of the several host communities. Therefore, research findings cannot be generalized to all IDPs and the host population of Maiduguri and other parts of Borno state. However, the research results from the selected community may be valid for other host communities in Maiduguri in particular and Borno state in general. Another limitation is the small sample size of the study that is 50 research participants. This sample size is not proportional to the total of host community and IDP population however, primary data was supplemented with secondary data.

Another study limitation was language barriers between myself and most the research participants, since all but a few did not speak or understand English. Most research participants spoke either Hausa or Kanuri while a few spoke both. Because "concepts in one language may be understood differently in another language" (Van Nes et al. 2010: 313), language difference between a researcher and research participants impacts on the study. For example, the concepts of hosting and IDPs in English were understood differently in Hausa and also very differently in Kanuri. To address the issue of language barrier, I sought the assistance of two research assistants who spoke English, Hausa and Kanuri. The research assistants were tasked with interpreting my questions and meanings into a form that was understood by research participants and interpreting research participants communicated responses and meanings into a form understood by me (Esposito 2001: 573). I sometimes found it difficult to process the meaning of the research participants' comments and responses hence making it difficult for me "…to adjust questions and comments in response to unanticipated answers" (Esposito 2001: 573). While using research assistants was useful in bridging the language barrier between myself and the research participants, it also impacted on the data collection. When FGDs are conducted in a language other than that of the researcher, "the researcher loses the ability to guide and redirect the discussion in response to participant comments" (Esposito 2001: 573); this I experienced.

2.8 Conclusion

Taking various forms, community hosting of IDPs involves the individual being welcomed into one's home or a collective welcome of IDPs into a community or local area. It often starts before the arrival and lasts after the departure of humanitarian actors. It is the earliest or transitional stage in a multi-stage process of providing protection and assistance to IDPs (Caron 2017: 56). It involves the care and support for IDPs by host communities and provides IDPs with the opportunities to interact and socialize with their hosts; allowing for solidarity, mutual exchange and engagement between them (Friese and Ungaretti 2008).

Qualitative research methods were used in primary data collection and analysis of research findings on community hosting; this enabled exploration of research participants' life stories and access to their basic experiences. In collecting primary data through fieldwork, ethical consideration such as the do no harm principle, participants' informed consent, confidentiality and participants' permission was taken into consideration. In primary data collection, my positionality as a female foreign national with background knowledge of Maiduguri affected access to the field and shaped the nature of my relationship with research participants including research findings. Field data was collected through four FGDs with 46 IDPs and host community members and four informal semi-structured KIIs. In identifying research participants, snowball sampling was used and insiders were used in negotiating access to the selected community, linkage to gatekeepers and recruiting research participants. Research assistants were used to carry out interpretation during FGDs.

Chapter 3: The Context of Maiduguri: Why IDPs avoid IDP camps

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the specific context of community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri, focusing on the significance of community hosting of IDPs rather than camp hosting. The chapter provides insight from field research results, into the factors that led IDPs in Maiduguri to prefer community hosting rather than move to IDP camps provided by the Nigerian government. The role of gender and social networks in community hosting in the Maiduguri context, comes out clearly in the discussion, and is analysed towards the end of this chapter. Drawing on secondary data and primary data from my time in Maiduguri (interviews and discussions with IDPs, key informants and hosting families), the aim of this chapter is to discuss and analyse why IDP individuals and families in this context prefer to be hosted by the community, despite more resources potentially being available in camps. Presentation of the analysis will be linked to the concepts of hosting, gender and social networks.

3.2. The significance of host communities

Host communities are recognized as significant stakeholders in the protection and assistance of IDPs by the National Policy on IDPs [19]in Nigeria. They therefore have the obligation to "cooperate and collaborate with government efforts" (National Policy on IDPs in Nigeria 2012: 43) in providing IDPs living in their communities with adequate security and safety; promoting harmony and integration of IDPs; preventing discrimination of IDPs; allowing IDPs access social services in their communities, provision of safe spaces to IDPs; ensuring IDPs access to humanitarian agencies, NGOs and government actors providing support and assistance to IDPs living among them (National Policy on IDPs in Nigeria 2012).

Host communities are the "first responders" (Duchatellier 2015: 3; Beyani 2013: 10) to IDPs; they are important because they "provide IDPs with vital assistance in an environment where official humanitarian aid is hard to access" (Rohwerder 2013: 4). Furthermore, host communities "…provide key support, by way of shelter, food, livestock, social networks, loans, transportation, employment opportunities and other forms of protection and assistance" (Beyani 2013: 11) needed for the survival and wellbeing of IDPs during forced displacement. The study established that in Maiduguri, host communities were the first responders to IDPs who fled to their communities between 2013 and beginning of 2014.

> When I, my wives and children arrived in Maiduguri in 2013, following an attack by Boko Haram in my village, there was no single IDP camp in place and no NGO was present at that time; it was my brother-in-law who first came to our aid. He allocated a piece of land to me and my entire family, made make

[19] The National Policy on IDPs Nigeria which is still in draft form is yet to be passed.

> shift shelters and provided us with food and household materials needed for us to start a new life in Maiduguri (Male IDP research participant August 2017).

Considered as "silent" (Davies 2012: 11) service providers and informal instruments of humanitarian aid, host communities are "…critical to saving lives, building resilience and providing essential services' (Davies 2012: 11) to IDPs especially in the absence of support from the government and humanitarian agencies. Findings show that IDPs who sought refuge in Maiduguri relied and depended on host communities for their survival. IDP participants stated that services offered by host communities was lifesaving.

> When Boko Haram attacked my community, I was shot in the foot. What mattered most at that time was staying alive; I did not pay much attention to the bleeding wound. When I arrived Sulemanti, I had lost so much blood and needed immediate medical attention. My brother-in-law not only gave me shelter, he made sure that I got proper medical attention (Male IDP research participant August 2017).

Findings also revealed that host communities in Maiduguri played a vital role in welcoming, supporting and assisting IDPs at the very onset of forced displacement when no IDP camps were in place and no humanitarian agency on ground to offer services for IDPs living in host communities.

3.3. Tough Choices: community hosting or camps?

Several factors are linked to IDPs' decisions and choices to reside in host communities; one of them being the absence of camps or formal settings (CCCM 2014: 13; Davies 2012: 7) in various settings of internal displacement (Davies 2012: 7) and/or inaccessibility of camps. In somewhat half of the 54 countries monitored by Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre [20](IDMC) "there were few or no formal camps or collective shelters for IDPs displaced by conflict or violence" (Davies 2012: 4); this is not any different for Nigeria which is the focus of this study. Despite the increased establishment of IDP camps in the north-eastern part of Nigeria between 2007 and 2010 by National Emergency Management Authority (NEMA) [21]following heightened Boko Haram attacks in the region, there are still "no official IDPs camps of long lasting nature in the country" (Olaitan 2016: 14; Tajudeen and Adebayo 2013: 5), therefore many IDPs have little option but to live in host communities.

[20] IDMC was established in 1998 by the Norwegian Refugee Council to provide information and analysis on the global scale and patterns of internal displacement (IDMC).

[21] NEMA is a federal level government agency established "via Act 12 as amended by Act 50 of 1999, to manage disasters in Nigeria" (http://nema.gov.ng/2131-2/). With a mission to coordinate resources towards efficient and effective disaster prevention, preparation, mitigation and response in Nigeria, NEMA responds to natural and man-made calamities and coordinates emergency response with state-level governments and agencies (http://nema.gov.ng/2131-2/).

Male and female IDP research participants who sought refuge in Maiduguri between July 2013 and early 2014 affirmed that no official camps were available in the local communities in which they sought refuge upon their arrival in Maiduguri Metropolitan City. IDPs research participants further stated that the very few camps which existed in designated locations were difficult to access by IDPs who wanted to move from host communities into IDP camps; one of the reasons for not being unable to access the available camps is the lack of identification to prove their IDP status. The absence of official camps and the difficulty in accessing the few available formal camps did according to the IDPs research participants leave them with no other choice than to seek refuge in the host communities.

Another factor that influences IDPs' choice and decision for community hosting is the type of security this option offers to them. In situations where camps are present, "displaced people express a strong preference for living with host families rather than in camps" (Haver 2008: 5). For Nigeria, even with the establishment of formal IDP camps in north east Nigeria (particularly in Adamawa and Borno states), a number of IDPs still prefer to "abide with host communities for their own protection" (OCHA 2015: 6). Displaced persons prefer living in host communities or with host families rather than in camps because host communities/families are seen as offering more spiritual, emotional and physical security (Haver 2008: 5; Davies 2012: 10; Rohwerder 2013: 2; CCCM 2014: 13).

> While free services are offered in the camps, I prefer living in the host community. Reason being that I find living in the community comforting and more emotionally fulfilling than living in the camp, it reminds me of the good old days. It still gives me a feeling of being at home (Male IDP participant August 2017).

At the time IDP camps were being set up in north east Nigeria (particularly in Adamawa and Borno states), a number of IDPs preferred to "abide with host communities for their own protection" (OCHA 2015: 6). Most IDP research participants who arrived during or after the establishment of formal camps in Maiduguri stated that though they were aware the IDP camps existed, they preferred to live in the host community or with host families because staying closer to family, friends and kin made them feel more economically, socially, emotionally and physically secure. A number of IDP research participants mentioned that, living with host families and in host communities was their preferred choice for it has provided them with a sense of physical, social, economic and emotional security which has enabled them cope more easily with the challenges and frustrations of being displaced. One of the IDP research participant stated that

> I opted to live with my husband's relatives. As a displaced woman who lost her husband to Boko Haram insurgency, living with my husband's relatives has helped me a lot in forgetting my agony and has also socially, physically and economically empowered me to take care of my children (Female IDP research participant).

Furthermore, living in host communities offers IDPs greater opportunities for "work, business, food production, education and socialization, among other advantages" (Davies 2012: 10). Despite IDPs who in formal camps feeling "more secure than those living in host communities or informal settlements" (ICRC 2016: 33), the study established that the vast majority of IDPs in Maiduguri opt for community hosting partly due to the "tentative assurance of freedom, care and provision" (Olaitan 2016: 14) it offers. IDP research participants mentioned that their biggest motivation for opting for community hosting is linked to greater access to public services and greater livelihood opportunities in the host communities.

Another factor that pushes IDPs to opt for community hosting is the unconducive nature of camps and IDPs "negative perception" (Haver 2008: 24; Rohwerder 2013: 2) of camps and camp conditions. Haver (2008) asserts that IDPs generally perceive camps as "crowded, insecure, and unhealthy" (2008:24). In Nigeria for example, notwithstanding the efforts made by the government, "IDPs have continued to face harsh condition especially in the IDP camps" (Obikaeze and Onuoha 2016: 6). In 2015, IDPs sought refuge in "over-crowded, poorly-resourced camps or centres" (OCHA 2015: 13). Also throughout 2015 and 2016, IDPs living in camps faced varying restrictions in moving in and out of the camps (ICRC 2016: 35).

> Why should I stay in a camp where a husband is not allowed to share a roof with his wife and children, where one has a lot of restrictions on movement. …I may not have everything I need in this community but at least I can stay under the same roof with my wife and children, I have greater access to livelihood opportunities and I can freely move in and out of this community if and when I want to without any restrictions (Male IDP research participant).

With experiences and insights like these, this research can establish that poorly equipped formal IDP camps; overcrowding in the camps; prevention of couples from sharing accommodation; regulated movement of IDPs into and out of the formal camps and limited access to livelihood opportunities for camp based IDPs, has contributed to the majority of IDPs in north east Nigeria opting for community hosting.

3.4. Various forms of community hosting of IDPs

While community hosting of IDPs takes on many forms (Caron 2017), community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri has taken on two major forms namely, in-house hosting and distant hosting. Distant hosting is where IDPs are hosted at a distance and do not share the same space with their hosts. It has involved the collective welcoming and assistance of IDPs by numerous individuals or families of the communities in which they have sought refuge. IDPs hosted at a distance live independently but in property such as land and houses owned and provided to them by the host community. Findings from the field indicate that the two main characteristics of distant hosting in Maiduguri include IDPs being given or

allocated land on which they construct their shelter by their hosts and IDPs being allowed to use other houses or buildings owned by their hosts. On the other hand, in-house hosting is where IDPs live within host families and share the same space (such as room or house) with their hosts or the host allows them to occupy an outbuilding on the same property they occupy (Caron 2017: 56). This involves the individual welcome and acceptance of IDPs into a spaces, houses or property by one person or a family.

Findings from the field indicate that for in-house hosting, an average of three to thirteen individual IDPs or three to thirteen IDP families consisting of 5-6 members each are accommodated, supported and taken care of by individuals or host families. The number of IDPs or IDP families hosted by one host family is dependent on the host family's resources, the number of dependants an IDP has, the availability of space to accommodate IDPs in a host family and the number of IDPs relations a host family has. In Maiduguri, IDPs living with host families share "space, resources and activities" (Caron 2017: 57) on a regular basis with their hosts. IDPs and host family members stated that shared resources include cooking fuel, household utensils, food and water among others. Activities shared between IDPs and their hosts include domestic/household chores such as cooking, childcare, gardening and laundry among others.

Although in-house hosting has increased the bond between IDPs and their hosts, led to increased acceptance of IDPs by their host and helped IDPs living with host families feel useful, IDP research participants stated that sharing space, activities and resources has been a source of conflict; has resulted in increased dependency on the hosts and increased their feelings of indebtedness which has led to some of them being exploited by their hosts. For distant hosting, findings show that an average of 50-80 IDP families are hosted on a single property (especially land) owned by a host community member or host family. Since the assistance of IDPs is a collective effort under distant hosting, shelter, food, clothing, household materials and others are provided to IDPs by different people. For example, one person or family can provide the land for IDPs to stay while other persons or families construct shelters for the IDPs and provide them with food and clothing.

3.5. Role of social networks in community hosting of IDPs

When people are forced to flee their homes due to widespread human rights violations, natural disasters or conflicts, they tend to move to areas where they have family or friends as well as "kinship networks or social ties" (Beyani 2013: 3); this is true for IDPs in Maiduguri. Social networks strongly influence displacement decisions and choices of destination (Banerjee 1983: 187; Ryan 2011: 709; Torres and Casey 2017: 2) by IDPs.

In Sulemanti, community hosting greatly influenced IDPs choices and decisions for community hosting options. IDP research participants stated that social network had been one of the most significant influences on their choice

to stay with a host community. All IDPs who participated in the FGDs stated that their decision to seek refuge in a particular community and their choice of host community was strongly influenced by the social networks (especially kinship[22]) they had in that community. IDP research participants stated that they preferred to seek refuge in communities where they have social networks such as family, relations, friends, kinship networks and social ties; this is because social networks serve a shock absorbing role in facilitating to meet their social, emotional, physical and financial needs (Imouokhome Obayan 1995: 254). Furthermore, research findings showed that social networks shaped the various forms of community hosting taken by IDPs in Maiduguri. In Sulemanti community, for example, most IDPs who opted for in-house hosting (living with host families) are primary[23], secondary[24] or tertiary[25] kin to their hosts. Those without primary, secondary and tertiary kin tended to opt more for distant hosting, not living with host families but in a separate property, for example, which they are lent.

3.6. Gender dimensions of community hosting

The study also established that gender played a role in community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri, more specifically it influenced the form of hosting choices and opportunities for IDPs. Study findings indicate that gender interacted with other factors such as marital status, ethnicity, kinship in determining the forms of community hosting for IDPs in Maiduguri. Study findings further show that IDP females and males in Maiduguri experience community hosting very differently; this is attributed to the gender roles ascribed to men and women by the respective societies they are from. In Nigeria, culture demarcates the distinct roles between men and women (Omadjohwoefe 2011: 69); men play many powerful roles in the society and are the primary decision-makers (Oladeji 2008: 133) while women are "made to be subordinate to the authority of the males" (Omadjohwoefe 2011: 67). Married IDPs respondents stated that their spouses took the primary decision on the form of community hosting; if their spouse opted for in-house or distant hosting, they had no choice but to agree with the option/decision. On the other hand, while un-married, widowed and separated female IDPs respondents had the freedom to choose the form of community hosting, their decision was influenced by male family members or kin. Many still

[22] Kinship are ties based on blood and marriage (Dykstra 2009: 951).

[23] Primary kin are those who are directly related to each other such as mother, father, sister, brother, husband, wife, son and daughter (http://download.nos.org/331courseE/L-14%20KINSHIP.pdf).

[24] Secondary kin are not directly related to an individual but through an individual's primary kin. Example includes maternal grandmother/grandfather, paternal grandmother/grandfather, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law (http://download.nos.org/331courseE/L-14%20KINSHIP.pdf).

[25] Tertiary kin are secondary kin of an individual's primary kin. For example, the spouse to one's brother-in-law or sister-in-law, the children to one's brother-in-law or sister-in-law (http://download.nos.org/331courseE/L-14%20KINSHIP.pdf).

opted for in-house hosting because they believed the responsibility to protect and care for them lies with the men as their respective traditions have ascribed.

In Sulemanti community, most unmarried, widowed and separated female IDP research participants stated that they opted for in-house hosting since they preferred to be under the protection, guidance and leadership of male hosts. Married female IDP research participants stated that their choice of community hosting option was influenced by the decision of their spouses; unmarried and married male IDP research participants stated that they opted for distant hosting. The decision to opt for different community hosting forms by male and female IDP research participants was closely linked to the gender roles that men and women play in their respective societies, in this case in Northern Nigeria. While women in Nigeria constitute half of the total population (Makama 2013: 116), a patriarchal[26] system in the country sets parameters "for women's structurally unequal position…" (Makama 2013: 116) in both families and society. This places women at a relative disadvantage (Mbonu et al. 2010: 2). Just as patriarchal processes and structures provide material advantages to men, they place severe restrictions on women's roles and activities (Makama 2013: 116), enabling both female subordination to men and male domination over women (Makama 2013: 116; Okafor Amuche 2015: 69). Unequal status between men and women, especially in Northern Nigeria, tends to make women socially, economically and politically relatively powerless (Ekpe et al. 2014: 16).

3.7. Benefits and Costs of community Hosting: the Maiduguri case

One Wednesday morning in December 2015 while working in Nigeria as a humanitarian aid worker with an International Non-Governmental Organization, I received a phone call that inspired my interest in the issues around community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri. On that day, I received a call from Modu (not real name), informing me about Babagana (not real name), a 46-year-old IDP living in his community. Modu, a local leader in one of the many communities in Maiduguri hosting IDPs was concerned about Babagana's condition and was soliciting for support to Babagana from my organization and other organizations as well. Babagana who was separated from his family for about a year and was living with a distant relative at the time of the call had no stable and sustainable source of income/livelihood, had limited access to adequate food and had been bedridden for several days with no proper medical care. The text of the conversation was more or less as follows:

> "Ms. Caroline, Babagana is very ill, he needs urgent treatment" Modu lamented. "Babagana has been bedridden for close to three weeks now and has not received any professional medical attention. He has not also been eating well. …the community has contributed some little money to take care of him but he

[26] Patriarchy is defined as "a system of male authority which oppresses women through its social, political and economic institutions" (Makama 2013: 117).

requires additional help" said Modu. "Babagana needs adequate food and immediate medical attention; can your organization come to his aid?" asked Modu. "…Ms. Caroline, please do something" Modu concluded.

There are economic, social and moral dilemmas faced by local communities as a result of hosting IDPs. It is important to note that over 80% of the world's displaced persons are hosted by local communities (Skinner and Begum 2016) who are themselves "…economically unstable" (Fayemi and Dasylva 2016: 4) and are struggling to survive. Host communities are continuously sharing the meagre resources they have with IDPs; resulting in the exhaustion of their resources, impoverishment and increased vulnerability of the host population. The prolonged presence of IDPs in host communities is mounting pressure on the hosts thereby resulting to increased competition for resources and tension between IDPs and their hosts (Kellenberger 2009: 483).

However, as reflected above, study findings also reveal some benefits of community hosting to IDPs in host communities within Maiduguri. IDPs have the right to adequate standard of living which includes having access to essential food and portable water, basic shelter and housing, appropriate clothing and essential medical care and sanitation (UN 2004: 10 Principle 18). Research findings reveal that community hosting has to some extent contributed to survival and wellbeing of IDPs living in the host communities in Maiduguri as well as in meeting their basic needs and realizing their right to adequate standard of living. Not only is community hosting a means to cope with forced displacement, but it is a form of social support[27] that involves exchange of resources between host community members and IDPs. This, overall, the study found, community hosting had provided IDPs in Maiduguri with four benefits, each of which will be discussed in the section that follows, before discussing some of the costs:

1) Tangible aid including material resources and financial aid;

2) Sense of belonging and self-esteem;

3) Affiliation and interaction with persons in the host communities and

4) Information.

[27] Shumaker and Brownell (1984) define social support as "an exchange of resources between two individuals perceived by the provider or the recipient to be intended to enhance the well- being of the recipient" (1984: 11). Provided through formal or informal networks (C.A. and B.A. Israel 2008: 197), social support involves individuals or group of individuals providing assistance to others (Heaney and Israel 2008: 190; Birch 1998: 159). Informal networks include friends, neighbours, co-workers, immediate or extended family, supervisor (Heaney, C.A. and B.A. Israel 2008: 197).

3.7.1. Benefits of community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri

Social support in Maiduguri has taken on two major forms namely functional support[28](Glazer 2005: 606) and informational support [29](Heaney and Israel 2008: 197). Study findings reveal that host communities have provided direct assistance in form of tangible aid and services such as food, shelter, clothing and medical care critical the survival and wellbeing of IDPs and in meeting their most urgent needs. Providing this form of social support has aided in reducing the feeling of loss of control that IDPs have (IDP research participants). For example, IDP community hosting has offered IDPs with "short- and longer-term shelter (Caron 2017: 58) options; this has been significant in addressing their shelter needs and contributing to the realization of their right to adequate standard of living. All the IDPs research participants stated that meeting their shelter needs has been the greatest and most important support and assistance they have received from the host community. IDPs further stated that having shelter had offered them physical and social security and had enabled them address their other basic needs such as food, clothing and medical care.

> Being provided with shelter by our hosts has helped a lot in meeting our most urgent need and therefore has reduced the stress and burden that comes with displacement; promoted harmony between us and our hosts, ensured safety and security for us and our children, increased our acceptance by the host community, made us feel dignified and helped us cope more easily with stress of being displaced and losing everything (Male IDP research participant August 2017).

> For me, having shelter is paramount, because once I have a roof over my head, I can address my other needs such as food, clothing and medical care and I can also take care of my family in the little way I can. Even though I have lost everything, having shelter still makes me feel like I am in control of my life and reduces the feeling of helplessness. Having no shelter while in displacement doubles the level of stress one has and puts one in harm's way (Male IDP research participant August 2017).

Findings also show that community hosting has provided IDPs who have sought refuge in host communities within Maiduguri with emotional support which has allowed them to express their feelings and enabled the restoration of their self-esteem. Involving the demonstration of "…care or sympathy toward another person…" (Birch 1998: 159) through "…verbal and nonverbal communication of caring and concern…" (Hogan et al. 2002: 382) and provided by

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[28] Functional support refers to palpable and impalpable support and constitutes emotional and instrumental support (Glazer 2005: 606). Instrumental support which involves providing tangible aid and services for example physical assistance, money, transportation that "…directly assist a person in need" (Heaney and Israel 2008: 190).

[29] Informational support refers to "…the provision of advice, suggestions, and information that a person can use to address problems" (Heaney and Israel 2008: 190) and involves informing persons about where they can get information (Birch 1998).

showing compassion, listening to someone or even being available when a person needs someone to talk to, emotional support has according to IDP research participants contributed to the reduction of distress among a number of them.

> One of the most important form of assistance that people forget to talk about and do not even consider important is emotional support. My hosts provided me with emotional support which although they do not consider an important form of assistance; I found it to be very important for it aided my healing from the loss I had incurred and it was very critical in helping me cope with the challenges of forced displacement and facilitated the reduction of distress I felt at the very start of being displaced (Male IDP research participant August 2017).

> As a man who previously had everything I needed, lived a good life and adequately took care of my family and catered to their needs; I could not believe that forced displacement reduced me to a beggar. It was so distressing for me to depend on others; struggle to put food on the table for my family and have no proper source of livelihood. Forced displacement cripples one's ability which is a very distressing situation. Showing care, compassion and empathy by the host community; having someone to talk to when I needed them and a person to listen to me has been vital in reducing my distress levels (Male IDP research participant August 2017).

Findings further reveal that host communities have provided informational support to IDPs valuable for their survival and wellbeing as well as for coping in the host communities. Host community members have been a source of information for IDPs living among them; providing relevant information such as information on access to basic, public and communal services within the host community; safety and security; humanitarian services; which has helped IDPs living in host communities to "define, understand and cope with problematic events" (Cohen and Wills 1985) such as forced displacement.

> How can one cope in such a situation without information? How can one know their left from right without knowledge? How can one survive without information? Knowledge is power therefore, for one to be empowered, they need information. The information given to me by members of Sulemanti community not only empowered me; it was also valuable for me to cope in the community and was helpful in understanding and coping with the effects of forced displacement (Male IDP research participant August 2017).

Seeking and receiving support from host communities has been "…a major form of coping…" (Sherbourne and Stewart 1991: 705) mechanism for IDPs living in host communities in Maiduguri. Study findings reveal that the provision of support to IDPs by host communities has contributed to the reduction of "…the effects of stress" (Haslam et al. 2005: 355) experienced by IDPs; shielding of IDPs from certain negative consequences of distress and impacting positively on their health and wellbeing (Sherbourne and Stewart 1991: 705). However, although receiving support from the hosts is a form of coping mechanism

for IDPs, it can undermine the self-worth of IDPs; can increase IDPs awareness of their undesirable situation; can result in unwanted IDPs indebtedness to their hosts and can encourage IDPs to become extremely dependent on the host communities (Vangelisti 2009: 41).

3.7.2. Costs of community hosting of IDPs

For the case of Nigeria, the protracted nature of displacement in the north-eastern part of the country has generally led host communities to adopt negative coping mechanisms such as begging, cutting down on meals among others, so as to shelter IDPs (ICRC 2016). The large influx of IDPs of north east Nigeria into host communities has significantly impacted on access to resources and employment for the locals and has led to the increase in prices of goods and services among other negative dimensions of hosting IDPs (ICRC 2016).

For Sulemanti host community in particular, the study established that community hosting of IDPs for protracted periods has led to a depletion of resources. While host communities provide initial support to IDPs, their resources tend to dwindle overtime; this is because protracted displacement exhaust host community resources hence stretching the capacity of host communities (Beyani 2012: 11-13). The study also established that the depletion of resources has led to increased competition of resources hence causing tensions between IDPs of Sulemanti and their hosts. IDP research participants who live in host families stated that the exhaustion of host family resources negatively affects IDPs-hosts relationship as tensions quickly arise between them and their hosts over small things.

> The host family has been very helpful to me and my children since our arrival however they have lost their patience over time. Having us for such a long time has drained their resources and this has led to tensions between us. Sometimes we fight over trivial things and sometimes the mother of the house does not talk to me and she gives her children food while my children are out playing (Female IDP research participant August 2017).

The study also established that the depletion of resources is resulting to negative coping strategies by both IDPs and their hosts. IDP research participants stated as a result of wanting to ease the pressure on host community resources and not wanting to be a burden on their hosts, they resort to negative coping strategies such as deliberate family separation in pursuit of employment, begging, forcing their children into child labour among others. Host community research participants stated that so as to cope with hosting IDPs for protracted period, they resorted to negative coping strategies such as selling household assets, reducing the number and quality of meals per day and sending their children to the streets to beg. The negative coping strategies adopted by both IDPs and their hosts has led both IDPs and host community members "…more vulnerable and impoverished over time" (Beyani 2012: 12).

The research further established that community hosting of IDPs is leading to exploitation of IDPs by the host community. Community hosting of IDPs causes "different forms of exploitation within and between the hosted and the hosts" (Davies 2012: 7). Certain categories of IDPs such as women and children face particular risks such as abuse and exploitation by their hosts (Beyani 2013: 14). While host community members consider IDPs a source of cheap labour, IDPs consider providing cheap or unpaid labour to the hosts a form of exploitation. Both male and female IDP research participants stated that while they offer same services (such as laundry services, gardening/farming, manual labour) as members of the host community, they are paid half the wage and sometimes not paid at all by their hosts which they consider as exploitation. IDP research participants who opted for in-house hosting stated that although they carry out a number of house hold chores for their hosts including other casual jobs, they are not paid for their work.

> Sometimes I am exploited by some host community members. On several occasions, I have done casual jobs for long hours yet the wage paid is half of that paid to a local community member for the same job (Female IDP research participant August 2017).

The study further established that some of the IDPs living in host communities face marginalization and are subjected to discrimination. "IDPs are often the victims of direct or indirect discrimination in host communities based on the fact that they are displaced" (Beyani 2012: 18). Both male and female research participants stated they are marginalized and/or face discrimination related to their displacement.

3.8. Conclusion

Host communities are significant in providing IDPs with vital assistance in situations where humanitarian aid is hard to access; providing critical support in form of shelter, food, social networks and other forms of protection and assistance. IDPs choices and decision to opt for community hosting are linked to factors such as the absence of camps or formal settings and inaccessibility of camps. In Maiduguri, IDPs choice and decision to opt for community hosting over living in camps was influenced by unavailability of official camps at the onset of internal displacement; limited access to available official camps; the economic, social, physical and emotional security community hosting offers; the greater opportunities such as business in host communities; the unconducive nature and IDPs negative perceptions of official camps.

Community hosting of IDPs has taken on two major forms namely in-house where IDPs live in host families and distant hosting live on their own but on land and property owned by host community members. The forms of community hosting have been shaped by gender and social networks. Community hosting has provided tangible aid required to meet the basic needs of IDPs and realize their basic rights; sense of belonging and self-esteem, affiliation and interaction with hosts and information required for IDPs' survival and wellbeing. Despite all the benefits, community hosting of IDPs for has led to a depletion

of host community resources leading to tensions between IDPs and their hosts, negative coping mechanisms by both IDPs and their hosts, exploitation and discrimination of IDPs by their hosts.

Chapter 4: (Re)conceptualising community hosting of IDPs

4.1. Introduction

This chapter returns to the concepts that helped make sense of the main findings of this study in the last chapter, and reflects on how to (re)theorise community hosting, drawing on the example of the IDPs in Maiduguri, in Nigeria. The concept of hosting is returned to because it was the single most important concept used to organise the study's findings. Choices around community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri, Borno State, versus hosting in camps, are reflected on, in relation to the meaning of 'community' itself. The concepts of gender and social networks are also linked in this chapter with community hosting, since both turned out to be almost of equal importance in the findings as explaining IDPs' choices and processes of negotiation between IDPs and their hosts in the community.

4.2. (Re)conceptualising community hosting and social networks

The concept of social networks was first presented by Barnes in 1954 to define patterns of social relationships that were uneasily explained by more customary social units such as work groups or extended families (Heaney and Israel 2008: 192). Social network refers to the web of social relationships in which individuals are embedded (Glanz 2008: 283; Heaney and Israel 2008: 190), "…personal relationships based on family, kin, friendship, and community" (Hagan 2009: 55) or a set of ties that links several individuals (Nelson 1989: 380). Social network describes processes, structures and functions of a social relationship; links people that may or may not offer social support and that may perform functions other than providing support (Heaney and Israel 2008: 109-193).

Social networks serve as a source of "substantial resilience–or capacity to cope with adverse events…" (Torres and Casey 2017: 2); for they provide IDPs with resources to economically and emotionally cope (Torres and Casey 2017: 2; Banerjee 1983: 187) with the effects and consequences of forced displacement. Furthermore, social networks allow for exchange of tangible and intangible goods and services (Hafner-Burton and Montgomery 2006: 8) between and among individuals; provide a counter-balance to the disadvantages that IDPs may encounter in host communities (Ryan 2011: 707) and link "persons in need with potential sources of assistance" (Gurak and Caces 1992: 151). For example, in Sulemanti community, IDP research participants stated that living in host communities with social networks provided them with a sense of protection, solidarity and belonging including emotional, social and physical security which helped them cope more easily with the after effects of forced displacement.

Hosting varies from culture to culture since all cultures have their own principles of hosting (Derrida 2010). Hosting can be unconditional (absolute) or conditional (Brun 2010). In unconditional (absolute) hosting, the arrival of the stranger is not anticipated by the host (Sirriyeh 2013: 6) while in conditional

hosting, the arrival of the guest is anticipated. Conditional hosting involves unequal power relations between the host and the hosted (Bell 2010); the guest or stranger is required to meet the criteria of the host (O'Gorman 2007. The principle of unconditional hosting demands "…a welcome without reserve and without calculation, an exposure without limit to whoever arrives" (Derrida 2005: 6). Unconditional hosting requires that the host to give all they have to the guests or strangers "…without asking any questions, imposing any restrictions, or requiring any compensation" (Westmoreland 2008: 3); open his or her home not only to the known invited person but also to the unknown other and ask for nothing in return and not expect a commitment by the stranger to their "terms and conditions" (Sirriyeh 2013: 6); which is "…uncomfortable and rather unrealistic…" (Brun 2010: 341). Brun's asserting that unconditional hosting is unrealistic was revealed in the study findings where it was found that in Maiduguri, community hosting was impacted by social networks that is social networks shaped the various forms of community hosting taken by IDPs.

People hosting IDPs in their families stated that though they are open to hosting, they are more comfortable sharing rooms, houses or space with IDPs related to them through blood, marriage, and ethnicity than with those not related to or with whom they had no previous social connections. They stated that they would more easily allocate space in their houses to their kin, share houses or rooms with their kin, and allow their kin to occupy an outbuilding within the same compound. They would be more reluctant to share rooms, houses or close spaces with non-kin, since these were viewed as people over whom they had little influence (through kin networks). This emphasises a point made by O'Gorman (2007) that unconditional hosting is not ideal, it is impossible and cannot be accomplished. Host community members further stated that instead of hosting non-kin in their homes, they prefer to host them at a distance by allowing non-kin IDPs build shelter on their property and allowing them (non-kin IDPs) use other homes they (host) own. For IDPs in Sulemanti who do not have kin, their decisions and choices were dependent on the availability of other social networks such as friends, ethnic groups, tribes in the community or host family; this highlights the conditional nature of hosting.

4.3. (Re)Conceptualizing gender in forced displacement

There are "marked gender dimensions" (Kerr 2010: 5) to forced displacement. Thus, a gender perspective on community hosting is important since it can enable a deeper analysis of the different roles and opportunities that male and females hosts and IDP men and women have in a given social setting, such as Maiduguri (Dietrich and Quain 2014: 1). In host communities, gender operates at many different levels, as revealed by the study findings. Defined as "…socially constructed roles ascribed to women and men…" (Bouta et al. 2005: 3), gender is an important dimension of hosting relationships between IDPs and host community members.

Gender also acts as kind of social filter, being "a mechanism by which notions of masculinity and femininity are produced and naturalized" (Mbonu et al. 2010: 2); this means that relationships between IDPs and host families can often involve complex negotiations and adjustments around the social, cultural and

psychological "shaping, patterning and evaluation of male and female behaviour" on a daily basis (Mbonu et al. 2010: 2). Gender relations between IDPs and hosts are affected by various factors such as class, age, sexual orientation, religion, ethnicity and so forth, as was explained when we considered the main findings of the fieldwork research in the last chapter. Gender roles vary according to cultural, socioeconomic and political contexts and can be learned and negotiated, or contested (Bouta et al. 2005: 3). While both men and women may simultaneously or individually combine different roles over time gender roles do differ between and among men and women (Bouta et al. 2005: 3).

While forced displacement has different consequences for women than men (Gururaja 2000: 13), and impacts differently on women, girls, boys and men, it affects mostly women in various ways (Kemirere 2009: 3. Although both men and women are forced into restricted mobility with little or no opportunities continuing their livelihoods (Gururaja 2000: 13), forced displacement does according to (Kemirere 2009: 3) disadvantage women because it results in increased workloads, social exclusion and poverty, breakdown of support structures and reduces women's access to and control over resources (Gururaja 2000: 13; Kemirere 2009: 3) that are required to cope with household needs thus increasing their physical and emotional stress (Kemirere 2009: 3).

Furthermore, forced displacement often results in dramatic increase in the number of female household heads (Gururaja 2000: 13) and leads to a shift in gender roles for both men and women (Kemirere 2009: 3). In the absence of male family members, women have no access to remunerative work yet they bear additional responsibilities and are faced with new demands in meeting their own needs and that of their children and ageing relatives (Gururaja 2000: 13). In north east Nigeria for example, a number of IDP women who have been separated from their spouses or male family members are fully responsible for their families' protection and economic wellbeing (ICG 2016). Furthermore, women face increased risks of sexual violence, exploitation and abuse (Gururaja 2000: 13). In Borno state for example, many displaced women and girls living in camps have experienced sexual and gender-based violence which has included survival sex and sexual exploitation (ICG 2016: 14).

4.4. Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the concepts of community hosting, gender and social networks which were used in analysing study findings. Social networks and gender were discussed in relation to community hosting of IDPs. While community hosting should be unconditional, study findings revealed that community hosting in Maiduguri was conditional with IDPs seeking refuge with their kin and relations. While IDP host families were open to hosting, they were more likely to hosts their kin and relations in their homes and less likely to host non-relations or non-kin. Host families preferred to host non-kin and non-relations at a distance by allowing them build shelter on their property and use other homes they own.

Chapter 5: Research Conclusion

5.1. Summary

The study established that a number of IDPs in Maiduguri sought refuge in the host communities at the very onset of displacement (between July 2013 and early 2014 when many IDPs first came into Maiduguri). At that time, not many official camps were in place and for the very few that were in place, and access to them was difficult partly due to displaced people's lack of identification to prove their IDP status. The absence of official camps and the difficulty in accessing the few available formal camps led many IDPs to opt for community hosting, seeing few acceptable alternatives. Many IDPs in Maiduguri preferred community hosting over official camps due to the relative physical, emotional, economic, social and spiritual security they believed this offered them. Furthermore, community hosting was preferred by several IDPs as an alternative coping mechanism because of the tentative promise of greater freedom, care and provision as well as more opportunities for work, socialization, education and food production. This pointed to formal camps being seen as generally unconducive to the well-being of IDPs in this part of Nigeria.

In Maiduguri, community hosting has taken on two major forms that is in-house and distant hosting. For in-house hosting, IDPs live with host families and share same space, activities and resources with their hosts while for distant hosting which involves the collective care and assistance of IDPs by the host community, IDPs do not live with host families however host community members give or allocate land on which IDPs construct their shelter and allow IDPs to use their other property. The study established that in choosing community hosting options and opportunities, IDPs in Maiduguri have been significantly influenced by social networks and gender which have both shaped IDPs community hosting forms in Maiduguri. The study also established that majority of IDPs living in host communities are related to their hosts or are kin to their hosts; this is because host families are more comfortable sharing their space with their relations and kin than with non-relations or non-kin.

While host community members are open to hosting, they are reluctant to invite non-relations or non-kin into their homes however they are more comfortable in hosting non-relations and non-kin at a distance by allowing them build shelter on their property and use their other property. Study findings reveal gender has interacted with other factors such as age, class, marital status, ethnicity, kinship in determining the forms of community hosting for IDPs in Maiduguri. Due to the distinct roles that culture demarcates to men and women in Nigeria with men playing many powerful roles in the society and being the primary decision makers while placing women at disadvantaged positions in families and societis; female and male IDPs in Maiduguri experience community hosting very differently. The difference in experience is attributed to the gender roles ascribed to them by their respective traditions and the societies they come from.

Community hosting has involved exchange of resources between host community members and IDPs in Maiduguri making it a form of social support to

IDPs in Maiduguri. In Maiduguri, community hosting has provided IDPs tangible aid including material resources and financial aid; information; affiliation and interaction with local communities and a sense of belonging and self-esteem valuable for coping in the host communities and their survival and wellbeing. Community hosting has provided IDPs with direct assistance in form of shelter, food, information, clothing and basic health care which to some extent contributed to IDPs realizing their right to adequate standard of living and has been significant in meeting their most urgent needs. Host community members have provided care and concern and also showed compassion and empathy which has helped in meeting the emotional needs of IDPs hence enabling the restoration of their self-esteem and reducing the feeling of distress among IDPs. Host communities have further provided information valuable for IDPs to cope in the local communities.

Whereas community hosting has been a coping mechanism for IDPs, providing them assistance and support essential for their survival, it has had both negative and positive dimensions. The down side of community hosting of IDPs in Maiduguri include the depletion of resources of host community members; exploitation of IDPs by their hosts and discrimination of IDPs. Community hosting of IDPs for protracted periods has led to the depletion of resources which has resulted to tensions between IDPs and their hosts and negative coping strategies by both IDPs and their hosts.

5.2. A Future for Community IDP Hosting?

The emotional, instrumental and informational support offered by host communities to IDPs has been a major form of coping mechanism for IDPs and has contributed to realizing IDPs basic rights, meeting their basic needs and ensuring IDPs survival and wellbeing. This is because the emotional, instrumental and informational offered by the host community has aided in reducing the feeling of loss of control that IDPs have; enabled IDPs address their basic needs; reduced distress among IDPs; enabled the restoration of IDPs self-esteem and helped IDPs in defining, understanding and coping with the effects of forced displacement which elements are essential in the survival and wellbeing of IDPs living in host communities.

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