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Faculty of Humanities, Social Science, and Education – Centre for Peace Studies

An Exploratory Research on the Role of Social Capital to Urban Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs)

Challenges and adaptability process of Conflict-induced IDPs from the Anglophone regions of Cameroon

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Dedication

To All the Internally Displaced Persons from the North West and South West of Cameroon

Acknowledgments

I am most thankful to God Almighty for giving me all the grace and strength that I needed throughout this program, and for the completion of this work. I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor Professor Christine Smith-Simonsen, for all her continuous motivation, patience, and invaluable contributions right from the start of this work. Without her intellectual guidance and advice throughout my writing process, this thesis could not have been accomplished.

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Abstract

Understanding the role of social capital in the adaptability process of Urban IDPs, is of great importance, in targeting the specific needs and challenges of Urban IDPs. Addressing these needs and challenges can help reduce the prospects of other civil crisis, that can result because of an increase in the urban population, unequal distribution of economic and social opportunities, and high crimes waves in the urban areas.

This study is an exploration of the role of social capital in the adaptability process of Urban IDPs from the North West and South West region, who relocated to the Capital city of Cameroon due to the ongoing Anglophone crisis. The Anglophone crisis which started as a protest of marginalization from the dominant French-speaking regions in October 2016, escalated to serious violence, causing many to flee to other regions or areas for safety.

The study uses close-ended questionnaires and semi-structured interviews to capture a vast meaning of the role of social capital in the adaptability process of Urban IDPs and to provide an in-depth understanding through interviews, of how social capital plays a role in their adaptability process after a conflict-induced displacement. Also, the objective of the study is focused on the different levels of the acquisition of social capital after displacement, and how these differences in an individual's social capital, can influence their adaptability process and challenges.

Through the tabulation of questionnaire data and narrative analysis of interviews, the findings of this study, indicates that, an individuals' personal resources, can determine the type of benefits they get from their social networks. Individual's personal resources like education, income, employment, and family support are essential in determining an individual's level of social capital. The study's findings contribute to the understanding that, it is not only the resources that influences an individual's level of social capital, but also, the quality of the resources is what makes social capital important in the adaptability process of an Urban IDP. A good education, job, and high income with good family relations, can only help increase an individual's social network with potential contacts. However, the study also confirms that, it is these different quality in resources embedded in social capital that can lead inequality in social interactions.

Keywords: Social capital, Anglophone crisis, Urban IDPs, Adaptability, Resources,

List of Abbreviations

IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
NW	North West
SW	South West
Urban IDPs	Urban Internally Displaced Persons
UPC	Union of the Peoples Cameroon
OCED	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

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Chapter 1. Introduction

No one chooses to be forcefully displaced from their habitual residence or home. Yet, due to fear of insecurities, persecution, human suffering, and other forms of violence caused by either armed conflict or force majeure, thousands of people in different parts of the world, flee from their once known safe homes to uncertain destinations in search of shelter, safety and food (Hampton, 2014: p3). The term Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) was denoted to these people, far back as during the Second World War period when people had to flee from war casualties to places of safety. Some were forced to leave their home countries, while others left their homes but without crossing the borders of their country. Therefore, the Term “IDPs” was first used by the Allied United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) as a short form of separating those who were displaced within their own country from other categories of “displaced persons” (Orchard, 2018: Chap 3, p:1).

Erin Mooney has questioned the concept of internal displacement and the case of IDPs as a category of concern. He notes that *“for some, the term ‘internally displaced persons’ refers only to people uprooted by conflict, violence and persecution, that is, people who would be considered refugees if they crossed a border. (...) Others, however, consider internal displacement to be a much broader concept and to encompass the millions more persons uprooted by natural disasters and development projects. Still others question whether it is useful to single out internally displaced persons, who commonly are referred to as ‘IDPs’, as a category at all (Mooney, 2005)(p.9) .”*

The controversial distinction between internal displacement, and refugees, and those who could be considered an ‘IDP’, arouse the need for a definition in recent years.

According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* section two of its introduction, IDPs are defined as follows;

“Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border (OCHA, 1998)(p.1).”

The above definition did not separate persons fleeing from conflict nor those forced to move as a result of natural, but it rather provided a clear distinction of IDPs from refugees. It is important to note two key elements when discussing IDPs. First, the fact that the people are forcefully moved from their habitual residents, and secondly, that this movement takes place within their country's borders.

Contrary to refugees who have fled and crossed international borders and were under international protection, IDPs, fleeing for the same reasons as refugees, stayed under their country's jurisdiction and their governments were expected to oversee their safety and wellbeing (Cohen & Deng, 2012). However, such is not always the case especially with people displaced involuntarily due to political conflicts¹. Rather, these people are being ignored and neglected by their governments who classified them as 'migrants' or 'terrorists' and provide them with no assistance.

With the end of the cold war era, interstate wars were increasingly dominated by internal conflict causing rapid growth of internally displaced persons and raising concerns at both the international and humanitarian level. Internal conflicts worldwide and around, 1993 and 1994 caused an estimated number of 10000 persons a day to flee their homes either internationally or nationally (Cohen & Deng, 2012). In 2015, 65.3 million people were displaced globally with an increase of 12.4 million displaced persons, than the previous year. Among the people displaced out of these 65.3 million people were, 40.8 million were internally displaced as compared to 21.3 million people under the refugees status and, the remaining 3.2 million people were asylum seekers (Landau & Achiume, 2017 p:6). One of the affected areas with these increased displacements of people was the African Continent, particularly the Sub-Sahara Africa, which had an estimated amount of 11million IDPs in the year 2014 especially in countries such as; Central Republic, Nigeria, South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia (Abebe, 2016 p:1&2). Displacement in these countries is mostly caused by political conflict, making people wander from rural areas to urban cities in search of safety and better opportunities yet are ignored by government authorities and service providers.

Cameroon has recently been one of those countries facing displacement issues resulting mostly from conflict. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), Cameroon's

¹ Political conflict is often made up of matters concerning public properties are values like constitutional rights, national borders, and also monopoly over decision making. The incompatibilities of interest in these public properties between at least two or more parties with divergent positions in any given state, are the results of political conflict. See (Pfetsch, 2007:17).

historical displacement of people because of conflict, was that which occurred in the Far North region of Cameroon caused by Boko Haram insurgency from Nigeria. Their operations, coupled with the military's intervention against it, caused a lot of insecurities. Since the year 2014, many displaced persons have been recorded each year in the country (IDMC, 2019). However, this has not been the only cause of displacement in Cameroon. The recent crisis in the North West (NW) and South West (SW) region, which started in 2016, often referred to as the *Anglophone Crisis*, has caused a ceaseless displacement of people from one place to another. People have been forced from their once known stable environment and home to unknown destinations in search of safety and better living conditions. While some seek safety in remote areas or rural camps, others make their way to urban areas in search of better opportunities. According to (GRID, 2019), IDPs are often considered the most vulnerable *set of people*, with no legal protection, yet they can sometimes make their way into the urban areas through the use of their social network, jobs, and services in cities to overcome their challenges. The varying resources and economic situation of displaced persons in the cities has an impact on how fast they can adapt to new environments. Many scholars have mentioned social capital as one possible asset that can aid the adaptability process of IDPs. (Uzelac, Meester, Goransson, & van den Berg, 2018), refers to social capital as the resources embedded in social networks, and as a form of capital that can be easily created even in vulnerable circumstances.

Conflict and any form of forced migration or displacement have negative outcomes on the livelihood of the displaced persons (Ejang & Sarah Okite, 2020 October p:164), not only are they forced to move from their once known *comfortable zones*, but most often, they leave without their families, and properties, and are always uncertain of their next destinations. One example, whereby many people lost their social networks such as friends, families, colleagues, and even their friendly or casual social support mechanism as a result of violence, was mentioned by (Kinyeki, 2018 p:120)p in his article on "Community resilience and social capital in the reconstruction and recovery process for post-election violence victims in Kenya". According to (Keho, 2009), the prosperity of a country is not only determined by customary economic factors. Recently, great academic interest has been directed towards social bonding elements in the fabric of a society, conceptualized as social capital. The importance of social networks and the benefits obtained from them can be very essential and useful for people who have fled from conflict zones and are trying to resettle in a new environment. However, it is not only about the social network, but also the quality of the social network and the importance of the resources exchanged in that network. This study focuses on exploring the role of social

capital in the adaptability process of displaced persons from the Anglophone regions and living in the Capital city of Cameroon. By ‘role’, the study focuses on the factors distinguishing their level of social capital in terms of the quality of their networks and the resources influencing the network.

1.1 Problem Statement

In this paper, the term “Urban IDPs” applies to those internally displaced persons, who have left the crisis zone particularly from the NW and SW regions of Cameroon to find safety in the political and economic regions of Cameroon, Yaoundé and Douala. The NW and SW regions are the two out of ten regions of Cameroon that feel marginalized by the majority regions. These majority regions are made up of the French-speaking people, commonly referred to as the *Francophones*. The Anglophone crisis also named *the cry of the people*, has caused the displacements of several people from both the NW and SW regions from 2016 to the present date. Those who were forced to leave their homes to these political and economic regions of Cameroon in search of safety had different reasons and different means of surviving. Given that Yaounde and Douala are regarded as the two most industrious and administrative regions of Cameroon, IDPs tend to move there with the hope for better sustainable opportunities. However, things do not always seem to turn around as planned for everyone, and many must struggle to survive depending on the resources they have. This research sets in to find out how social capital plays a role in their adaption and survival process and how this creates a distinction in terms of their needs and challenges after displacement.

1.2 Research Objectives

The idea for this thesis is based on my past observations and readings on the surviving and adaptation mechanisms of IDPs, and the opportunity to have exchanged a few conversations with IDPs who fled from the anglophone crisis before embarking on these studies. My overarching objective on which this thesis is grounded, is to explore the extent to which social capital plays a role in the adaptation process of Urban IDPs, and how this sociability can help stabilize the livelihood of IDPs in each community.

- My sub-objectives are to first, identify the individual determinants of social capital that are necessary for the adaptation process of Urban IDPs from the NW and SW regions.
- Secondly, to find out the challenges these Urban IDPs experience with regards to their level of social capital.

- Thirdly, to understand and compare the perspectives of their social capital, before and after displacement.

1.3 Research Questions

To attain the objectives of this research project, the following questions were used as a route map to administer the questionnaires and explore the role social capital can play in the adaptation process of Urban IDPs.

- What are the individual indicators of social capital that are necessary for the adaptation process of Urban IDPs?
- What challenges do Urban IDPs experience with regards to their level of social capital?
- What perspectives do Urban IDPs have, about their social capital before and after displacement?

1.4 Motivation and Relevance to Peace and Conflict Studies:

Being, myself, a Cameroonian by origin and from the NW region of Cameroon, my motivation for this topic was drawn from personal experience and from listening to people's challenges as a result of displacement due to the violent political conflict. In this recent era, whereby the world is becoming increasingly urban, many people are leaving from rural areas to the cities, or from one urban area to another, in search of better opportunities and development. Whatever the reasons or conditions, forcefully or wilfully, the population of the receiving areas increases, and this might lead to future economic and political crises. These economic and political crises might be in terms of unemployment, lack of basic needs and services, grievances pertaining to ethnic diversity, or government, which might all lead to tense environments or conflicts. In line with the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for providing a better future for all, there is a need for these challenges to be identified and addressed, in order to prevent future conflicts. This is relevant also to maintain peace between those formally living in the urban areas and the IDPs, who moved there due to the insecurities caused in their habitual residence. This research will also serve as a guideline to government authorities, international organizations, and peace researchers, regarding the issues to consider when identifying Urban IDPs and their challenges. These may be the level of their social capital, how that is influencing their adaptability process, and whether Urban IDP is in urgent need of assistance. This will

help to reduce further violence and criminal activities that people carry out just to make ends meet.

1.5 Limitations of this research

IDPs are often considered the most vulnerable people in their society, both in terms of emotional breakdown and finances. Notably, this vulnerability varies from one person to another. It is also, a matter of time, as most people use their resources, to seize every available opportunity to improve their living conditions. Many, however, yearn for a possibility to return home because of the unending difficulties they encounter in their new location. This study does not give a generalized situation of all Urban IDPs living in the Capital city of Cameroon but is limited to those identified during the period of this research. That is, from December 2020 to July 2021. Furthermore, the study does not conclude on a definite situation from its findings, rather, it acknowledges the fact that the social aspect of humans changes with time and experience. Therefore, the study limits itself only to the adaptation process of IDPs living in the Capital city of Yaounde at the time the study was conducted.

1.6 Structure of This Thesis

From the above chapter one, the following chapters are a continuation of the structure of this dissertation.

Chapter Two will consist of an elaboration of the relevant historical and political background of Cameroon and its connection to the “Anglophone Crisis”. The chapter will also include Cameroon maps and discussions of the internal displacement situation of Cameroon due to the crisis.

Chapter Three will provide a detailed discussion on the different approaches to Urban IDPs, and social capital. Also, the chapter will include the relevant related literature and the conceptual approach to the study.

Chapter Four will give an explicit elaboration of the methodology and methods employed in the data collection process of the thesis.

Chapter Five introduces and discusses the data, based on the research objectives.

Chapter Six will consist of the general summary and concluding remarks on the overall study.

Chapter 2: Background Study of the “Anglophone Crisis” of 2016

“When elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers.” African proverb meaning the weak and innocent get hurt in conflicts between the powerful.

2.1 Introduction

The second chapter of this thesis is structured in two parts. The first provides a historical overview of Cameroon’s background from the pre-colonial periods to the colonial and post-colonial periods. This context is important in understanding the root problem of the crisis in the English-speaking parts of Cameroon and how that led to the anglophone protest.

The succeeding part of the chapter gives an empirical overview discussion on the existing literature of the “*Anglophone Crisis*” and its consequences on the civilians resident in the NW and SW regions. Discussion on this part of the study is important in providing an understanding not only of the escalating nature of the crisis but also, of the causes of displacement of the anglophone civilians into other non-conflict regions in Cameroon for safety and better opportunities.

2.2 Cameroon During the Pre-colonial Period

Very little is known about the early settlers or origins of the people who made up the population of Cameroon. This is due to the lack of written history on these early settlers in the area. However, archaeological evidence has proven the existence of human settlers in the Cameroonian area². The lack of written history on these early settlers and the countless migration in search of land and food have made it impossible to determine the pre-colonial history of Cameroon. Some historians have written about the Baka (Pygmies) to have been the earliest inhabitants in Cameroon, with other groups such as the Bantu people from the highlands of Cameroon, who happened to have left the area, before the arrival of other invaders. The Mandara kingdom in the Mandara Mountains also occupied a secured part of the Cameroon territory and was found around 1500BCE³. According to (Songhikenjou, 2014,

² Globalsecurity.org/military/world/Africa/cm-history-01.htm

³ Cameroonembassyusa.org/mainFolder/history.html. BCE, meaning before the common era.

September 24), the traces and inhabitation of the Bantu, the Baka, and the Mandara ethnic groups can be found right back to about 8000BC. Three main language groups existed during the pre-colonial period that is; the Bantu-speaking people of the south, people who spoke semi-Bantu in the west, and those speaking Sudanic who resided in the North⁴. Although little is known about these early inhabitants of Cameroon lands, archaeological evidence has attested to the existence of humans in the land, through found polished stone objects almost everywhere on its land⁵. However, traces of this history are still also found in the dense forests of Cameroon's Southern and Eastern regions whereby, some Bakas people still live there and try to maintain their ancestral culture.

According to (Benneh & DeLancey, 2020 April 2), more recent times have shown existing evidence of important kingdoms and states like Sao, that existing around Lake Chad in the 5th century CE. This kingdom extended right from the 9th Century (C) to the 15th C whereby, it was conquered and defeated by another state called the Kotoko state. The Kotoko state spread towards a large part of Northern Cameroon and Nigeria and later towards the late 19th C, the Kotoko state became engulfed into the Bornu empire, converting its people into Muslims (Benneh & DeLancey, 2020 April 2). Written history indicates that the Bornu empire was founded and ruled by an exiled king of another empire called the Kanem empire, located just to the east of Lake Chad in Central Africa. The reign of the Kanem dynasty that had imposed itself on the Bornu empire, although unclear by written history on how that happened, assimilated the Kanuri language and culture into the Bornu empire and formed what was sometimes known as the Kanem-Bornu empire (Cartwright, 2019, April 23). The Kanem-Bornu empire, expanded right towards the east and west part of Lake Chad, eventually taking over the old Kanem territory around the 16th C (Cartwright, 2019, April 23). According to (Todd, 1982), its boundaries extended to the Northern parts of Cameroon from Lake Chad towards the South of the Adama Plateau. The Kanem-Bornu empire experienced a series of civil wars that almost caused its decline. One of the wars included the holy war led by Muslim Othman dan Fodio, which sought to forcefully convert people to strict Islam practices⁶. Although Emperor Ali succeeded to re-establish peace during the period of the war, the assassination of Idris III in the northern part of Cameroon caused the decline of the long-existing Kanem-Bornu empire (Todd, 1982).

⁴ Camerooninsummary.weebly.com/pre-colonial-period.html

⁵ Globalsecurity.org/military/world/Africa/cm-history-01.htm

⁶ Globalsecurity.org/military/world/Africa/cm-history-01.htm

Meanwhile, the Fulani people continued to conquer kingdoms and spread Islam. They succeeded to conquer the Hausa kingdoms of Northern Nigeria, and later took over the Northern grasslands of what was later on known as Cameroon. The Fulani people extended their Islamic religion during the 18th C, right towards the south of Ngaoundere and Fumban, until the late 19th C when they were defeated by European traders (Todd, 1982).

The Portuguese explorers on the other hand were the first Europeans to settle along the banks of the River Wouri in 1472, presently known as the Southwestern part of Cameroon (Longley, 2020, September 14). They arrived in Cameroon under the navigation of Fernando Gomez during a period of abundant shrimps along the river Wouri. Fascinated by the multitudinous presence of shrimps in the river, they named the river “*Rio des Cameroes*” (meaning River of Prawns) (Ngoh, 1979 p:1), and that is how Cameroon derived its name from ‘*Cameroes*’. According to (Todd, 1982 p:6), other explorers like the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English traders, who visited Cameroon mostly for trade, did not build any permanent European establishment there in Cameroon during the periods of 15th and the 19th C. This was probably due to the presence of malaria and other tropical diseases that limited most of the Europeans in the 16th C from exploring the coastal regions and colonizing Cameroon. However, in the late 1870s when the malaria treatment (quinine) became available, the African-Euro trade increased in the Coastal Kingdoms (Songhikenjou, 2014, September 24). The Coastal regions and the Fulani stronghold at that time were considered the most powerful kingdoms in Cameroon, until when ‘*the scramble for African*’ began with Cameroon included. One remarkable fact about the pre-colonial periods of Cameroon, even though with little documentation, is the long existence of ethnic diversity of the early inhabitants of the land.

2.3 Cameroon During the Colonial Period

2.3.1 The German Regime

Between November 1884 to February 1885, the Berlin Conference internationally acknowledged the acquisition of African territories by European Powers (Ngoh, 1979). Although the British had dominant control over the coastal areas of Cameroon and were even asked by the coastal chiefs to annex them in the year 1850s, their vacillation to do so gave way to the Germans to annex Cameroon on July 12, 1884 (Todd, 1982 p:6). This coincidentally happened when the Great Britains had made up their minds to annex Cameroon but the late arrival of the British Consul Edward Hyde Hewett, made Kamerun (the German spelling) a German empire (Todd, 1982). When the Germans took over the Cameroon territory, they

negotiated and signed their first international protectorate treaties between the Douala Chiefs that is, Chief Akwa and Bell, and the German traders on 12 July 1884 (Lekane & Asuelime, 2017 p:135). Two days later under the confirmation of the Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885, Kamerun was officially known as a German colony (Lekane & Asuelime, 2017).

The German administration depended on the help of Chiefs and well-known indigenous administrations since they were ignorant of the African environment and lacked sufficient personnel to achieved and accomplished their ruling control over the areas and their economic interests (Lekane & Asuelime, 2017). (Ngoh, 1979) contends that, the primary interest of the Germans, was economic through the utilization of the country's natural resources. Despite this primary interest, the Germans also contributed to a lot of development in the territory. That is, many plantations were established as an addition to the natives' original palm oil and palm kernel cultivation. Also, under the German regime, a progressive strategy of scientific methods and technical experts was implemented for agricultural development. Other developments and investments that took place under the German administration were road constructions, plantations, communication, and transportation facilities. However, all these projects competed for labor force, which was limited and making voluntary labor to be dominated by forced labor. Force labor started when the Germans conquered the native groups who were resisting their rule and working conditions and later, it was well implemented through the labor tax system imposed on the local authorities which required them to present certain hours per year worked by a person⁷. The German forced labor system was widely used in plantations and many were force to move long distances on foot, leaving their families behind. These made many natives unhappy and lonely and some even died because of tropical diseases (Ngoh, 1979).

Kamerun was governed under the German regime between 1884 to early 1914, until the outbreak of World War I in 1914, which changed the situation. According to (Ngoh, 1979 p:25), during this First World War outbreak between the Allies and the Central Powers, Britain and France battled with Germany in Cameroon and captured Douala on September 27th, 1914. By March 4, 1916, when Germany was defeated, Cameroon was taken from the Germans and divided between Britain and France. This division whereby Cameroon was mandated to Britain and France, was arranged and confirmed by the Treaty of Versailles and under the supervision of the League of Nations (Lee & Schultz, 2011). Given no formal way of colonial

⁷ <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/africa/cm-history-03.htm>

administration by the League of Nations, Britain ruled Cameroon as part of British Nigeria and French Cameroon was ruled as part of the French colonial empire (Lekane & Asuelime, 2017).

2.3.2 The British and French Rule

Britain divided their part of the territory into the Northern and Southern Cameroons whereby, the Northern and Southern territory was ruled as an integral part of Nigeria's northern and eastern regions respectively. The Southern territory was, however, transformed into a full region of the Nigerian Federation in 1959 (Chem-Langhëë, 1995 p:17) . The British applied an indirect way of administration on their colonies, thereby allowing the local chiefs to carry out the executive and judicial functions themselves (Lee & Schultz, 2011). Chiefs and sub-chiefs were given the power and authority to collect tax revenue within their jurisdictions, to be used as instructed by their British Administrators.

On the other hand, French Cameroon was ruled in association with the French Equatorial African colonies. (Ngoh, 1979 p:30) argues that The French policy was administered by "the French general principles of subordination, centralization and uniformity" which was either 'assimilation' or 'association.' 'Assimilation' had negative repercussions since it ignored and suppressed the Cameroon political structure which was mostly of the African culture and replaced it with the French colonial structures and education (Ngoh, 1979). This was considered a direct way of ruling by the French people who were much focused on integrated their colonies into the French systems. According to (Lee & Schultz, 2011 p:9), "...Africans who had received a western education (évolués) were granted French citizenship and the legal rights of Frenchmen, including participation in elections to urban councils and the French parliament." However, as argued by (Ngoh, 1979), most of these legal rights were given to Africans and the manner of functioning of the French legal system was structured in favor of the Europeans rather than a fair trade between Africans and the European people.

This, therefore, means that there were a lot of differences during these colonial periods, from the German forced labor system to the French and English direct rule and indirect rule system respectively.

France took over the greater part of the former German colony, which was formally called East Cameroon, while former West Cameroon also known as British Cameroon was handed over to Britain (One World Nations Online, 2021). According to (Lekane & Asuelime, 2017), Britain was contented with getting only 20% of the Cameroon territory, as they feared the costs entailed

in managing a new colony. Britain was far more interested in protecting and developing its Nigerian colony.

2.3.3 The East and West Cameroon Walk Towards Independence and Reunification.

The request from political parties which emanated during the colonial periods such as the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (UPC) for the French and British Cameroons to become a single independent country, made France ban the party in 1955. The Union of the People, known in French as Union des Populations Camerounaises (UPC), was the first nationalist party to stand up for separation from the French government (Benneh & DeLancey, 2020 April 2). This led to a rebellion where many lives were lost and on the other hand, leading to Cameroon gaining its independence (Longley, 2020, September 14). On January 1st1960, French Cameroon obtained full independence as the Republic of Cameroon and Ahmadou Ahidjo, leader of the Union Camerounaise, was elected as the country's first President (Lunn & Brooke-Holland, 2019 p:6) . This happened during the time of decolonization of the African continent, driven by both external factors (Britain and France being exhausted by WWII) and internal protests and nationalist movements. Many of the states gained independence in 1960



Figure 1: Cameroon – British Cameroons and The Republic of Cameroon. Source: Global Security.org

The following year, due to the anxiety of Southern Cameroons (former name used before being replaced to West Cameroon) for independence, the British Cameroons officials debated on whether to remain united with Nigeria or to join the newly created Republic of Cameroon who had just acquired their independence. Understanding this debate on the issue of integration is not seen only from the Northern and Southern Cameroons perspective, but also with regards to some Southern Cameroons officials who wanted to stay as an integral part of Nigeria. On February 11th, 1961 a plebiscite was organized by the United Nations in the British Southern and Northern Cameroons. The British Southern Cameroons, had profound electoral votes for reunification with 233,511 votes, against only 97,741 choosing the Nigerian option, while in British Northern Cameroons the majority instead opted to remain in Nigeria (Awasom, 2000 p111). (Ayim, 2010 p:2) argues that the plebiscite had only two options open for independence which was to be done either by joining the independent Federal Republic of Nigeria or the

Independent Republic of Cameroon. This, therefore, means that no territory was given a privilege option to be an independent territory of its own, and “at the end of the day, in 1961, the reunified Republic of Cameroon came into being. It was the first state in Africa with a separate, common, and colonial British, French, and German past (Ayim, 2010 p:111) .” This means, the majority votes in Southern Cameroons, united them to the Independent Republic of Cameroon, while the dominant votes in Northern Cameroon joined the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

2.4 Cameroon on Becoming “One and Indivisible Country”

Southern Cameroon on its unification with the Republic of Cameroon did so as a Federation, with the Republic of Cameroon as the East and the Southern Cameroon as the West Cameroon (Okereke, 2018 p:8) . However, in 1972, President Amadou Ahidjo, changed the structure of the union from a federation state into a unitary state called the United Republic of Cameroon. Notwithstanding, these changes were not indissoluble as by the year 1984 when the name was changed to La Republic du Cameroun under the leadership of President Paul Biya (Okereke, 2018). Since its independence in the 1960s, Cameroon was known for its stable governance and development as well as profitable agricultural and petroleum industries (Longley, 2020, September 14). Nonetheless, one of the dominant problems in Cameroon’s politics since the 1990s is the lingering constitutional disputes amongst the English-speaking minority and the French-speaking majority, and as the Anglophone minority, yearn for a return to being two federated regions (Gascoigne, from 2001 ongoing).

2.4.1 The Study Area Context

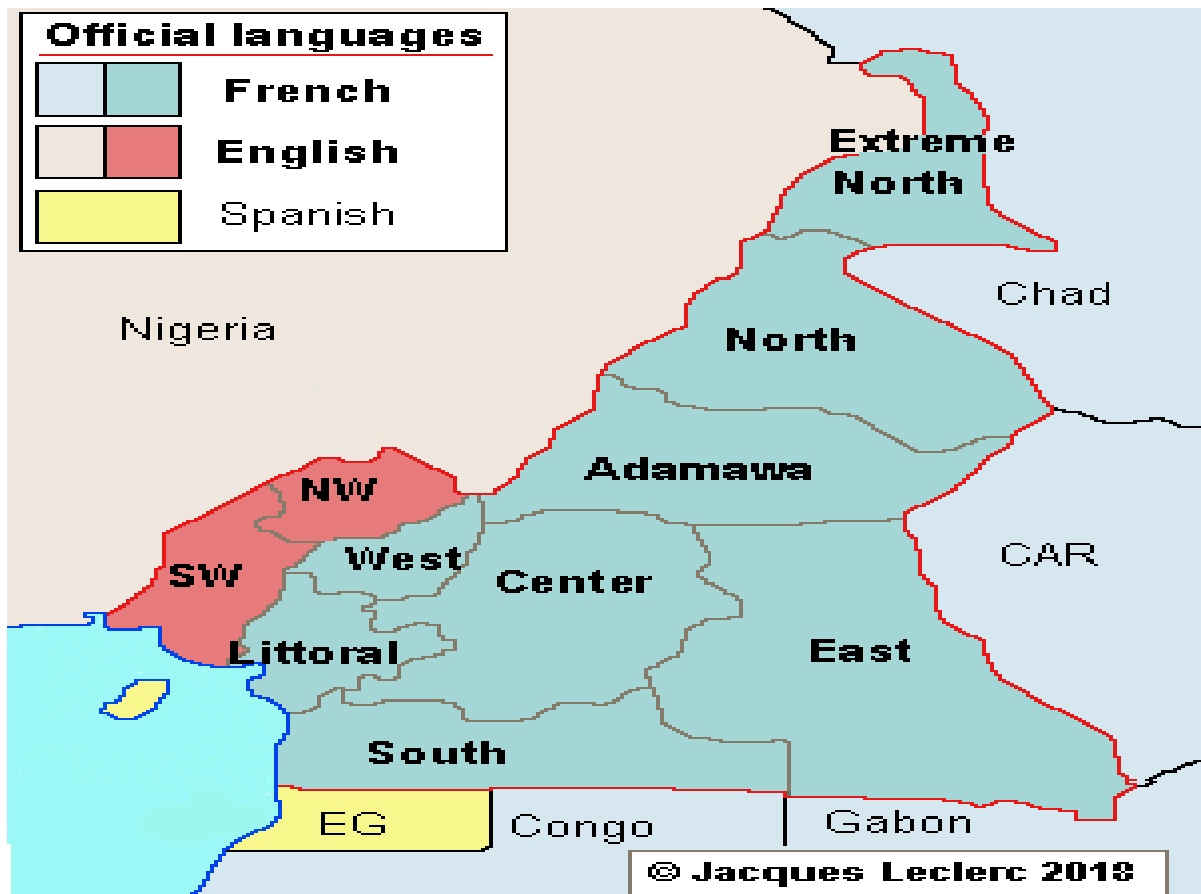


Figure 2: The Map of Cameroon Showing the ten regions.

Source: Compendium of Language Management in Canada (CLMC).

Cameroon today, lies at the junction of Western and Central Africa. It is bordered by Nigeria on the Northwest, with the Atlantic Ocean in the Southwest, and to the South, is Equatorial Guinea and Gabon. It is also bordered by Chad to the Northeast, towards the East by the Central African Republic, and the Republic of Congo to the Southwest (Benneh & DeLancey, 2020 April 2). The country is made of ten regions with several major towns. The Centre region Yaounde is the political capital with about one million inhabitants, and the economic capital also considered as the largest city with more than two million inhabitants is known as the littoral region (Douala) (PRC.CM Online, 2021). French and English are the two official languages in Cameroon. The French language is the dominant language in most parts of the eight regions, and English is more spoken in the South West (NW) and North West (NW) regions. Cameroon is home to 250 ethnic groups and, not only is it rich in ethnic diversity and indigenous culture but also in its geographical resources (IPSS, 2020, March).

The Anglophone area on the Cameroon map is made of the NW and SW regions, out of the country's ten regions. The two regions occupy around 16,364 sq. km, out of the country's total area of 475,442 sq. km, and its inhabitants make up about 5 million of Cameroon's 24 million inhabitants (International Crisis Group, 2017, August 2). The anglophone regions are known for their economic importance in the diverse agricultural and commercial areas. Also, Most of Cameroon's oil is from the coasts of the Anglophone region, making almost one-twelfth of the Country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (International Crisis Group, 2017, August 2).

2.4.2 The “Anglophone Crisis”; One Country with Two Different Colonial History

The unitary state, dominated by a Francophone elite, caused many Anglophones, occupying just two out of ten regions of Cameroon, to feel political, economically, and linguistically marginalized. These feelings and long-time complaints have escalated tension and violent conflict between the armed separatist groups and government military forces since October 2016 to the present date, with many human rights being violated by both groups (Lunn & Brooke-Holland, 2019). The subsequent paragraph will present a detailed picture of what spiked up the *anglophone crisis* of October 2016 until the present date.

What was supposed to appear as a big victory for Southern Cameroon towards expanding their self-governance from a federal state into a unitary state during its periods of independence turned out to be a *trap* for them. The reunification process and conditions for reunification did not last long. During the reunification campaign, certain promises were made, which convinced most people of Southern Cameroons to join the Independent Republic of Cameroon. According to (Ayim, 2010 p:5), Amadou Ahidjo, leader of the French Delegation in 1960 and 1961, had publicly promised: “a flexible and federal form of the state” to the people of Southern Cameroons. However, this merging rather paved the way but for a transitional process of high integration and a centralized unitary state which still made them feel dominated by the French-speaking population (Agwanda, Nyadera, & Asal). This feeling of being marginalized, assimilated, and exploited by the French majority in the unitary state, began to gradually create an awareness to the anglophones especially, (Achu, 2020) with the change of the nation's name from the United Republic of Cameroon to ‘The Republic of Cameroon’, and also, a change in the flag and state symbols in the year 1984. Several other reasons and changes emanated right from when a new President, Paul Biya, took over in 1982 such as; critics of the centralized states, most decision-making centers transferred to Yaounde, failure to respect equality in

institutional, legal, and administrative cultures, traditional backgrounds and not respecting agreement made during the referendum campaigns (Okereke, 2018). Most of these critics were not publicly spoken about, until when President Paul Biya had taken overpower and made more visible changes. The lack of togetherness among the anglophone people and severe subjection from the dominant government prevented most anglophone leaders, from publicly complaining (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997).

The compilation of these protracted causes or what was formerly known as the anglophone problems created a sense of awareness, that dates right from the colonial periods as seen in the explanation above. This shows a route from a federated state into a unitary state, to The Republic of Cameroon, and felt nowadays as a *disappeared state*. According to (Agwanda et al.), this marginalization and discrimination, seen in all aspects by anglophones as a “systematic marginalization” led to a visible demonstration of these long-term grievances, with the strike and protests of October 2016. However, according to the hegemonic Francophone government, these anglophone complaints are like those of any other region in Cameroon as well as the problem of marginalization and underdevelopment. They claim, it is found in all the other regions in Cameroon and the NW and SW regions are not under any form of marginalization. Hence, giving no keen attention to it but rather, convincing and portraying the anglophone protesters to the media and the francophone population as *senseless political agitators* and *trouble makers* who deserve nothing but harsh treatment that can make them come back to their senses (Awasom, 2020 p: 265-266).

The protests of October 2016, started, with lawyers and teachers who were tired of the French-speaking people and Francophone laws implemented in anglophone regions. The anglophone lawyers, on their part, were protesting based on the grounds that the government was posting jurists who were only familiar with the French laws rather than the applicable common law in the anglophone region. The teachers, on the other hand, were protesting about the French-speaking government teachers, who were inarticulate in English but posted to teach in the anglophone regions.

By November 8th, 2016, a crowd was mobilized by lawyers for a peaceful march in Bamenda, the Capital city of the NW region which ended up with a violent response from the part of the gendarmes, who tried to disperse the crowd by molesting some lawyers and arresting commercial motorbike riders (International Crisis Group, 2017, August 2). This only escalated and spread the situation further, from the NW region to the SW region. Other demonstrators

such as students, motorbike riders, and other activists began to join what was commonly known as the “Anglophone Struggle”. The complaints were extended not only at the legal and educational marginalization level but also, about the underdevelopment situations in the anglophone regions. Most anglophones complain of poor road infrastructures, the lack of jobs for young anglophone graduates, and the dominating occupation of public positions by the francophones. These were enough reasons for many civilians to join the struggle and for the demonstrations to become acute like never before. Instead of addressing the issue or engaging in negotiable terms with the peaceful protesters through dialogues, the Cameroon Government was reported to have responded but with harsh suppressive methods which led to an escalation of tension and further clashes into 2017, resulting in many deaths and the destruction of numerous government and civilian properties (Faculty of Law & University of Oxford, 2019, October 30 p:19). Some of the Government’s crackdown on the strike and demonstrations by the anglophone people in the anglophone regions included seizing of the internet in the NW and SW regions, arresting some activists, and the killing of some civilians partaking in the demonstration process. (Pommerolle & Heungoup, 2017 p:526) argues on how the crisis led to a standstill in both regions through *ghost towns*⁸ involving all towns, cities, and even villages. Schools, markets, banks were lockdown, and even taxis were not running. Also, the drastic reaction of the government, seizing down access to the internet in the anglophone regions from January to April 2017, drew attention all over the world.

One nation, different colonial experiences, identity, and cultural heritage have been a long-term source of grievances particularly for the English-speaking parts of Cameroon who have long felt marginalized by most French-speaking people. Nonetheless, in every conflict, different actors emerge, with different motives which can be beneficial to the fighting population at large or to the individual actors. (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004 p:564) argues this on the political science and economic approach to rebellion. According to him, the political science motive for rebellion is when grievances are acute, and people tend to engage in violent demonstrations. Whereas, with the economic approach, the motive behind rebellious acts is greed, as profit is generated from looting so that “the insurgents are distinguishable from bandits or pirates.” The preceding situation can be contextualized with the anglophone crisis of January 2017, though contradicting the fact that insurgents are distinguished from pirates and bandits. In the case of Cameroon, when the government banned the Cameroon Anglophone

⁸ Days when all streets, social and economic activities are halted. See source: <https://www.africanews.com/2018/07/23>

Civil Society Consortium (CACSC) movement formed in 2016 with the motive of peacefully advocating for the rights of the anglophone minorities in Cameroon (IPSS, 2020, March p:7). This organization demanded for federations on the negotiation grounds and the government's dismissive response to this demand further escalated the violence in the English-speaking regions of Cameroon during 2017. This led to the creation of another non-state armed separatist group called the Ambazonia Defense Forces (ADF). These secessionist groups, shifted their demand from a federated state to an independent state referred to as *Ambazonia* and stood on their grounds, though with the support of Cameroonians from the diaspora who have continued to play an influential role in the emergence, escalation, and maintenance of the current Anglophone crisis (IPSS, 2020, March p:8). The situation of the secessionists (Ambazonians) in the anglophone struggle is seen to be taking a different turn. This is because many of them are now being accused not only of terrorizing and killing the people they set out to fight for but also, they have been constantly accused of stealing from the people and abducting some for ransom. These acts from the Ambazonians, turns the peoples' interest of the struggle, into their personal interests and benefits.

These tensions of the *anglophone crisis* only grew wild, especially with the existence of the non-state armed separatist groups, and their unilateral declaration of independence on the anglophone territories on the 1st of October 2017. This action was demonstrated on this date, to significance the historical date when these territories obtained their independence during the colonial periods on the 1st of October 1961 (Lunn & Brooke-Holland, 2019). This created massive chaos between the armed separatist groups and the security forces and around 17 people according to Amnesty International were reported killed during the clash (Lunn & Brooke-Holland, 2019).

The unrest in these regions has led to the displacement of many people in the anglophone regions whose houses and properties have been burnt, whose children are out of schools, who have lost their jobs, and who face everyday insecurities, through theft, gunshots, and even abduction of loved ones for ransom. Both the government military and the anglophone separatists stand accused of most of the human rights abuses committed in these regions. The brutality committed in these regions on civilians by both the separatists and the government military has left many with no choice but to flee to places of safety. While others flee from remote or sub-division places in the NW and SW regions to the main city centers of the same regions, others are seen fleeing from these city centers in the anglophone regions to the francophone regions.

2.4.3 The internal displacement situation in Cameroon

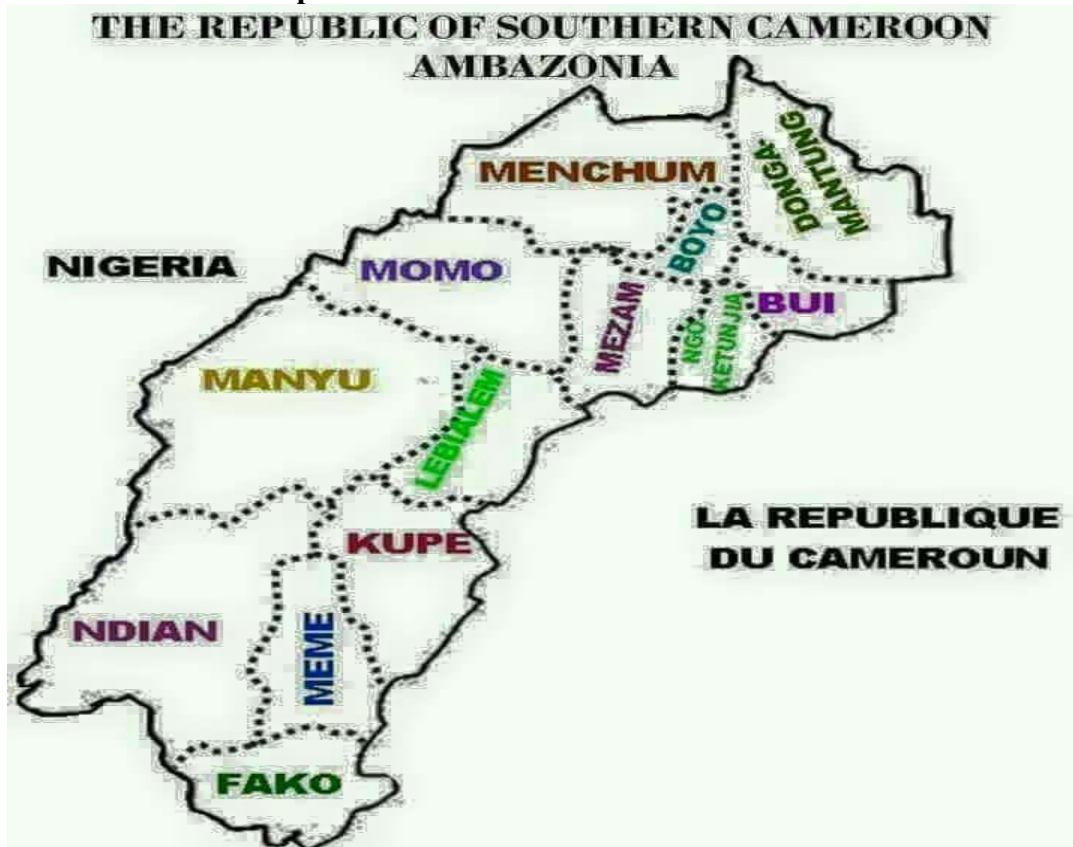


Figure 3: The Map of Cameroon showing the Divisions found in the NW and SW regions of Cameroon. Source: scaaa.org.au/ambazonia

The dilemma of whether to leave or not and where to go to is always the preoccupation of everyone living in an area with an ongoing violent conflict or crisis. While some can be contemplating these choices, other civilians, are left with just the option of fleeing to a safe place especially when their loved ones have been killed, kidnapped, and their homes burnt. Most tend to flee without a destination in their mind nor properties of any sort, abandoning their livelihoods, their roots, and are often separated from their families and their communities.

According to (International Crisis Group, 2019, May 2), not only has the *anglophone crisis* spread towards the Western part of the Francophone and Littoral region, but it has also claimed the lives of over 1,850 people since September 2017, destroyed about 170 villages, and about 530,000 people displaced internally, with 35,000 seeking refuge in Nigeria.

The anglophone crisis in the NW and SW regions of Cameroon has significantly caused the internal displacements of many into the francophone city centers, interior parts of the country, and along the Cameroon-Nigeria border. As reported by (Fonkeng, 2019 p:16) over 160.000 people were internally displaced in the anglophone regions, with the SW region containing

over 90 percent of these internally displaced persons. Meme Division as seen in the map above, contained about 135.000 IDPs, and Manyu Division had about 15.000 IDPs, while the remaining 10.000 IDPs, were in the NW region. Also, around August 2018, the estimated number of IDPs by OCHA in the anglophone regions had reached 211,000, while on October 9th 2018, it had increased to 437,000 (UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency, 2019). Furthermore, (Humanitarian Programme Cycle, 2020 March p:11) indicates the need for humanitarian aid to about 600,000 IDPs from the NW and SW regions, including members of host communities in the West, Central, and Littoral regions. Other statistics about the number of displaced IDPs from the anglophone regions was carried out by a Multi-Sectoral Needs Assessment (MSNA) which was completed in September 2019, with a total of 465,909 IDPs displaced in the NW and SW regions in addition to another 200,189 IDPs displaced in the Littoral and West regions and, 44,247 registered by UNCHR in Nigeria as refugees seekers. This levels it to a total of over 700,000 people out of over 4million people of the population before conflict who have been displaced persons from the NW and SW regions (OCHA, 2019 October 31st p: 2)

The statistics of IDPs keeps increasing every day over the past three years. Not only are people internally displaced in both regions of the crisis, moving from rural (Sub-Divisions) to urban (Division) cities in the NW and SW region, but they are also in need of assistance. However, some of the IDPs have been able to receive humanitarian assistance from International bodies and Non-Governmental Organisations. Base on the (UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency, 2019) report, the UNHCR, has been able to reach out to only about 8% of the affected population. This means that the majority of the IDPs in the anglophone regions are still living in unsuitable conditions due to overpopulation in some specific areas of the regions considered partially safe for them.

No matter the aid received by some IDPs, or the places considered partially safe for them, the devastating consequences of every conflict, be it political, social, or economically is always felt by the entire country, particularly by the affected zones. While some struggle to contain the increasing insecurities in both the NW and SW regions because of lack of means to move out of these regions, fear of abandoning their homes, families, and properties, or holding up their hopes for a better tomorrow. Others find hope and safety in exploring places out of the anglophone regions and move to bigger regions such as the political and economic capitals, Yaounde and Douala respectively.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has provided and explained an orderly historical background of what originated the *anglophone crisis*. It starts by explaining the history of Cameroon, right from its pre-colonial period, to the colonial period, and the movement of Cameroon towards independence and reunification. This part of the study shows the differences that existed in Cameroon right from its time of pre colonialism. It gives an understanding of how the existing differences in language and colonial rule, shaped up Cameroon and leading to the arising anglophone problems, which later resulted in the anglophone crisis.

Chapter 3: Approaches on Urban IDPs and Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

Internal Displacement is not a new phenomenon anywhere in the world and Cameroon is not an exception to these happenings. The recent displacement of people within Cameroon has been related to the Boko Haram outbreak crisis in the Far North and, that of the Anglophone crisis in the North West and South West regions. Recently, internal displacement started with the Boko Haram regional insurgency attack in the Far North region (Maroua) between July 2015 and July 2016, with over 200 attacks including 38 suicide bombings, and with about 470 people killed (Rackley, 2017 p:2). The previous chapter of this study gave an overview literature of the historical causes that have led to the *Anglophone crisis*, that has caused the internal displacement of many civilians. However, this chapter will look at the relevant literature surrounding the dynamics and complexities of conflict-induced internally displaced persons living in urban areas and referred to in this study as ‘Urban IDPs’ and the role of *social capital* in their adaptability process in a new environment. The chapter will be divided into two sections, one section will elaborate on the increased interest of displaced persons in urban areas, the difficulties surrounding the profiling process of Urban IDPs, and some of the identified challenges of IDPs living in cities. The subsequent discussion will be looking at the different approaches of social capital and how this concept, is contextualized vis-à-vis its role in the adaptation process of Urban IDPs.

3.2 The Rush to Urban Cities

The historic change of movement towards the city experienced in 2008, recorded about 50 percent of the world’s population living in cities (Crisp, Morris, & Refstie, 2012). Most of the world’s population is already settled in towns and cities with about 1.5 billion living in informal unsafe and slum settlements (Tibaijuka, 2010 p:4). Climate change, natural disasters, global food crisis, economic migration just to name a few, have been some of the reasons behind the rapid growth in urbanization. Recently, while some studies have attempted to analyze urban sustenance and governance, there is little knowledge about how displaced people navigate their way to urban cities and towns, and about their coping mechanisms both as individuals, and with their host communities and government institutions (Haysom, 2013 p:1).

According to Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM, 2019 May p:3), the year 2014 recorded an estimate of 54 percent of the world’s population living in urban areas, with a projected increase to 66 percent urban population by the year 2050. Also, the United Nation’s projections of

urbanization show the gradual shift in residence from rural to urban areas of the human population, and with an overall growth of the world's population combined, 2.5 billion people could add to urban areas by 2050. Additionally, about 90% of this increase according to the United Nations' data is happening in Asia and Africa (United Nations, 2018 May). Moreover, as the world is growing urban, so too is displacement. By 2015, while increasing conflict and violence in urban areas, had affected about 50 million people, 40.8 million people in that same year were also internally displaced (DTM, 2019 May). Most cities are, considered as hotspots for greater opportunities and development, especially for many low and middle-income countries. This factor creates attraction to many people, including refugees, IDPs, and economic migrants. For forcibly displaced persons, urban cities are a place of unlimited opportunities for growth and prosperity as compared to camp places where all their movements and opportunities are limited based on what is provided to them. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC, 2018 February p:2), camps setting are apparently not effective options for people living in low and middle-income countries. This is because of its limited opportunities for education, employment health services, and moral support. Cities, on the contrary, provide vast access to all these opportunities. As mentioned by (Landau, 2014), reports from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees stipulate that almost half of the world's refugees and displaced people who are of concern to the organisation, to be found now in urban areas.

Some displaced persons, visualize urban cities as a site where they can feel independence and secured as against camps (Crisp et al., 2012). Conversely, although urban areas and cities might sound like the *key route* of many opportunities for the adaptation and subsistence of involuntary migrants, many are still left vulnerable, marginalized, and brutalized by the formal urban population who regard them as newcomers with no knowledge about their area of settlement.

3.2.1 The Complexities of Identifying Urban IDPs

Contrary to refugees who have fled and crossed international borders and are under international protection, IDPs, fleeing for the same reasons as refugees, stayed under their country's jurisdiction and their governments were expected to oversee their safety and wellbeing. This is not always the case, especially for people displaced involuntarily due to political conflicts.

Most often, they are been ignored and neglected by their governments who rather, and classified them as 'migrants' or 'terrorists', and sometimes because of their religion, ethnicity,

or political groups, they are regarded as criminal groups (Cotroneo, 2017). Generally, IDPs who choose urban areas as their place of settlement during displacement, are considered capable of taking care of themselves, and in need of no special assistance from their government authorities. However, many IDPs end up in penury, coupled with urban insecurities and violence than their former status, and the risk of facing another displacement which might be voluntary or involuntary. (Cotroneo, 2017) argues that, a significant number of IDPs who “flee to, between or within urban areas”, tend to live in private houses, uncompleted buildings, with host families, while some end up in informal settlements that they find preferable to living in camps.

Many of these IDPs have different expectations and various reasons for settling in cities. Most of them believe they can obtain better security prospects, economic, educational, humanitarian assistance, and also stay unidentifiable (Cotroneo, 2017). That notwithstanding, not all IDPs displaced by conflict and living in urban areas are vulnerable. Some might have built a good socioeconomic status from their former habitual area of residence before displacement, which helps them to navigate and adapt easily as compared to others with none. As supported by (Jacobsen & Cardona, 2014) findings, situations of displaced people vary from city to city and from one neighbourhood to another. Furthermore, just like any other migrants, displaced people also bring in special skills and experiences, as well as networks that can be beneficial to them and their host families or communities.

Documenting or identifying Urban IDPs and the challenges they experience in new environments, has always been an ambiguous situation but has recently gained ground with most humanitarian organizations trying to carry out humanitarian services to displaced people in need. Besides the interest and concerns of humanitarian services by most scholars, a lot of documentation has equally been made on the host government, who fear the impacts of this growing rate of urbanization triggered by internal displacement. Hence, as stated by (Cotroneo, 2017 p:285) a shift in humanitarian actions from rural camp settings to urban areas is of great essence in responding to displacement crisis. An example from the (IDMC, 2018 February) report, analysis, the significant growth of one of Kenya’s largest informal settlements, named *Kibera*, whose growth was caused by the stable inflow of displaced rural populations migrants and even pastoralists into the city of Nairobi. Furthermore, the competitive nature of basic needs and facilities for livelihood in urban cities can be attributed to its diversity as a result of urbanisation.

As argued by (Earle, Aubrey, Nuñez Ferrera, & Loose, 2020 May p:2), it is quite certain that governments and Humanitarian actors are heedful of the outcomes of displaced people in urban areas, and attempts made to keep displaced persons in camps, have seemed unsuccessful due to the increase in displacement crisis, rendering camps more problematic. Therefore, there is a need for a dynamic urban response strategy to displacement. A strategy whereby, local authorities, institutions, basic service provisions, networks, and humanitarian aids, can provide habitable environments for migrants, rather than preventing movement (Earle et al., 2020 May p:2). However, there are rare or not well-documented policies, to effectively address the impacts of displaced persons in urban areas and their challenges (Kirbyshire, Wilkinson, Le Masson, & Batra, 2017 p:18). This is mostly because of the invisibility of Urban IDPs to policy-makers, and the assumptions made by host authorities, who believe displaced people are just temporal migrants (Kirbyshire et al., 2017 p:18). Most urban IDPs, fleeing from political conflict choose to stay neutral on their arrival to cities, for fear of discrimination or stigmatization from the host communities who might often attribute them as *problem causers* fleeing away from their own problems and bringing in their terroristic traits in a stable environment. Hence, staying anonymous is an easy strategy for them to integrate locally into their new milieu. In addition, some of the existing challenges in approaching urban displaced persons and their inhomogeneous characteristics as addressed by (Haysom, 2013 p:6) includes; their different types of skills, assets, educational level, the wealthy or poor arrival of some, and the fact that others might be familiar with their new environment whereas others are just novices. Also, it is difficult to distinguish displaced persons from the existing population living in poor and vulnerable areas, where some tend to also settle. All these aspects make it difficult to target Urban IDPs and provide them with assistance. However, (Bjarnesen & Turner, 2020 p:2) argues that, although invisibility can be perceived as a coping strategic choice made voluntary or intentionally, some displacement experiences also involve circumstances where people are being made invisible against their will. In some low and middle-income countries lack of knowledge procedures and information about humanitarian or Non-Governmental Organisational assistances, prevent many IDPs from receiving help. Government authorities on the other hand, can be selective ethnically, politically, and religiously on whom to make visible for assistances and which IDPs to ignore during political conflicts.

3.2.2 General Challenges Faced by Urban IDPs

The means of survival or livelihood varies depending on an individual's area of location. While some cities may be considered as having low or moderate living standards, others' costs of

living are viewed as high. Therefore, a change of place can either be beneficial or challenging for an individual. Nevertheless, challenges for most Urban IDPs, who have fled from political conflict zones are practically the same.

According to the Global Report on Internal Displacement (GRID, 2019), the influx of IDPs in urban cities is not a challenging issue felt only by IDPs, but also to the communities at large. This is caused by the increased competition in the livelihood domain such as work, accommodation, healthcare services, educational facilities, and other services by both IDPs and those already settled in cities.

(Haysom, 2013 p:21) study on urban displacement and vulnerability points out that, one of the main problems faced by IDPs on their arrival to a new location, is finding a job. Finding a job for subsistence is a daily struggle for them and many without skills. Most opportunities often tend to present themselves but in informal sectors, with no job guarantee, and with frequently faced exploitation.

Among the challenges of Urban IDPs deliberated by (Kirbyshire et al., 2017), some remarkable ones to this study are the absence of suitable shelter and protection, as most IDPs tend to live in uncompleted buildings or slum areas due to unaffordable means for accommodation at their arrival. Nevertheless, this phenomenon does not apply to all IDPs, as some upon their arrival, have host families to live with and others are already capable of renting their place. Furthermore, another problem Urban IDPs are often confronted with is that of urban violence, both from the host communities and with the authorities (Kirbyshire et al., 2017). Most at times, displaced persons are easily agitated because of their past grievances associated with the loss of loved ones during crisis or separation from family, which causes them to easily get into fights. IDPs living in cities, especially the youths, are often indicted by community authorities for the violence and theft offenses happening in their milieu. As claimed by (Crisp et al., 2012), ethnic differences are some of the reasons for this increased violence and tension that usually arouse between newly settled IDPs and the original residents of the region or town.

According to (Crisp et al., 2012), Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) are often experienced by refugee women and internally displaced women. Most find themselves sexually harassed and intimidated wherever they go, especially when trying to survive during the search for formal or informal jobs. However, less understanding and attention is paid in the situation of urban harassment since the victims hardly speak out knowing that they will not be heard by the authorities.

The challenges and vulnerabilities faced by conflict-induced internal displaced persons both rural and urban are practically the same everywhere irrespective of their country or causes of the conflict. Notwithstanding, the resources and economic situations of IDPs, especially those settled in cities vary significantly. Those having access to good family relationships, remittances, income, savings, and social networks tend to adapt easily to their new locations and have better opportunities of achieving durable solutions. Hence, as noted by (GRID, 2019 p:89), certain factors such as ethnicity, gender, economic resources, cultural and social networks before and after displacement, influence IDPs' experiences and adaptability. In the following section of this chapter, social capital is conceptualized as one of the adaptive strategies used by Urban IDPs to survive in Urban cities.

3.3 Different Approaches to Social Capital.

Social capital was developed in Sociology in the 1980s, and it is a concept that cut across other social science disciplines. It is also applied in Political and Economics Science (Eloire, 2018 p:1). Social capital is a ubiquitous concept, yet difficult to pin down. Social capital can be reckoned as almost self-explanatory and easily understood or interpreted but on the contrary, the concept is very broad and ambiguous. Its applicability to different sorts of problems with the use of variant theories and units of analysis brings in several arguments about the concept (Portes, 2000 p:2). However, despite the different conceptualization of the term social capital by different scholars, (Van Oorschot, Arts, & Gelissen, 2006 p:150) argues on the commonality of these controversial views. According to him, most emphasis by different scholars is clearly made on “the importance of first; social relations within families, communities, friendship networks, and voluntary associations, and second, civic morality, or shared values, norms and habits, and finally, trust in institutions and generalized trust in other people (Van Oorschot et al., 2006 p:150)”. Key theoretical contributions by scholars, such as Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, Robert Putnam, and Nan Lin, share a common view on the fact social capital is deep-seated in social relationships, but not on the use of social capital (Guðmundsson & Mikiewicz, 2012 p:57). Coleman and Putnam whose theories developed from the American School of Sociology focused more on the importance and benefits of social capital to the society. Whereas Bourdieu with his European perspective, was more concerned about the limitation of social capital to a particular social class as a result of societal structures (Asquith, 2019 p:28).

According to Bourdieu, the concept of social capital rotates around cultural, material, and symbolic status that portrays the background or resources of the individual and their family towards their involvement with their community, certain cultural activities, and economic

affairs (Asquith, 2019). Unlike Bourdieu who limited his conception and analysis of social capital to people of class because of the different societal structures, Coleman in contradiction to Bourdieu's class conception of social argued on the limitations of social capital to those of power. According to him, social capital can also be utilized by poor persons and marginalized communities to ameliorate their situations (Asquith, 2019). Coleman believed that the existence of community ties were essential social capital benefits for the individuals as it could guarantee their security (Portes, 2000). (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015) study on Community resilience, for example, underpins Coleman's approach by describing the importance of the collective ability of a neighbourhood to efficiently handle stressors and maintain daily life routine through cooperation. Coleman argues that social capital is defined by its function as a variety of separate entities and not a single entity consisting of two common elements. That is, certain features of social structures and how these features, aid actions of individual actors or corporate actors inside the structure (Coleman, 1988 p:98). For Coleman, the existence of social capital was because of the changes in actions and relations among people. Base on the claims of (Whiteley, Van Deth, Maraffi, Newton, & Whiteley, 1999), the three recognized constructs of social capital by Coleman were: obligations and expectations, information channels, and social norms.

Putnam on the other hand did not shift far from Coleman's approach of social and individual mobilization of social capital in social connections. However, his focus on social capital was on the social life characteristics that enable collective operations, and which make up part of the social structure (Guðmundsson & Mikiewicz, 2012 p:60). Putnam, in his study of regional government in Italy during the 1993s, came up with his first debates on social capital. According to (Field, 2003 p:31), he defined social capital in the 1993s as,

“features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.”

Putnam focused on the broader aspect of social capital and how those aspects of social capital could contribute to greater positive solutions in changing the world. According to (Smart, 2008)p.411), his notion or theories of social capital on “societies” and “communities”, was of great interest to policymakers. (Van Oorschot et al., 2006), argues on the fact that, reciprocity in collective actions cannot just occur on mere grounds or logic but must be tied with mutual generalized trust and regulations. However, Putnam's recognition on the effects that can be produced by high levels of trust and solidarity are not perfectly situated (Smart, 2008), leading

to the distinction of other forms of social capital, such as bonding and bridging social capital, which are helpful in the realization of divergent needs (Field, 2003 p:32). Resource accessibility by similar members within social groups, was categorized under bonding capital, whereas bridging capital represented the accessibility of resources by individuals or groups with dissimilar characteristics such as ethnicity, class, or any social identity (Kawachi, Subramanian, & Kim, 2008 p:5).

One alternative definition used mostly in the public domain by many scholars is that of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). According to (Brian, 2007 p:103), social capital is defined by the OECD as “networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups”. Network here can be linked to any relationship between individuals or a group of people such as between friends, family, former or recent colleagues. On the other hand, the morals, standards, or rules that dignify these network relations can be viewed as the norms and values that make up the trust for these relationships.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Bourdieu and Coleman’s theories of social capital were constructed at the individual level. According to them, it is vital to note that social capital was social in character. Meaning that social capital was not an inborn possession in individuals but rather, emanated from the relations or interactions with other individuals. Hence, social capital was summarised here as the resources individuals can gain from, because of their alike institutionalized status (Van Oorschot et al., 2006 p:150). As argued by (Westphaln, Fry-Bowers, & Georges, 2020 p:81), while social capital was visualized as entailing resources for individuals and communities by Bourdieu and Coleman, Putnam on the other hand, saw social capital at the macro level, including resources from the society, whereby political and social commitment benefits, were enacted at the community level. (Eloire, 2018 p:2), in his part, argues and details differently the evolving levels of the social capital concept. That is, from Bourdieu’s micro-level conception, which orientates social capital as a property to individuals and social groups, acquired through personal relations, network, and status level, to Coleman’s meso-social level which focuses on individual’s action and lastly, Putnam’s attributions of the concept at the macro level, in the aspect of the social organization of a community.

The study of (Beugelsdijk, 2009), pinpoints the indefinite and confusions found at the different levels of analysis of social capital which might result in wrong or incomplete conclusions. That is, the author denotes the varying usage or role of network by different scholars at different

levels of social capital. For example, the fact that network is used at the aggregate level by some scholars to signify the value of activities in associations to societies. While at the individual level, the concept of network, is used to refer to the accessibility and inaccessibility of resources that might be profitable or limited to individuals directly or indirectly (Beugelsdijk, 2009 p:66). Several controversies by different scholars from different field of discipline, on the evolution of the social capital concept, has been on whether to conceptualize the concept at an individual context or a group level. However, contemporary literature or knowledge supports attributes to both individual persons and groups of people (Westphaln et al., 2020). (Van Oorschot et al., 2006) assent on the several levels of analysis of social capital. That is, from the micro-level made up of individuals and small groups, to the meso level analysis of communities and associations, and lastly, the multi-national or international macro level. However, he argues in his findings, on the arising difficulties in distinguishing between the correlation of individual indicators and that at the aggregate levels.

Acknowledging these different levels of social capital and the challenges established around distinguishing the indicators of the various levels, I shall be conceptualizing the concept of social capital at the individual level, also considered as the micro-level of social capital. I acknowledge that the concept can be studied at both the individual level and collective level depending on the research context. While acknowledging the different approaches of social capital by different authors in the literature, my focus will be situated on capturing how an individual's status or resources can influence their social network. More so, focusing on the individual level I will provide for this study an insight into how individual social capital aids the adaptation process of Urban IDPs coupled with their invisibility in these urban cities and, also their challenges faced due to their different level of access to social capital.

To sum it all for a clear picture (Guðmundsson & Mikiewicz, 2012), elaborates on the different uses of social capital by different scholars. They argue that Coleman concentrated on the use of social capital for individual and educational purposes, irrespective of the individual's social status or class, while Bourdieu's use for social capital was limited to individuals from a specific hierarchical social group. Furthermore, Lin and Bourdieu also highlighted the role of social capital in job search and businesses opportunities, and the need for social belonging. Putnam on his side concentrated on the use of social capital for communal purposes.

3.4 Social Capital as an Adaptive Strategy to Urban IDPs

(Kiboro, 2017 p:272), study in Kenya on the influence of social capital on the livelihood outcomes for IDPs in Kenya, shows that the welfare of most of the households was improved because of their group membership status. The study shows that, although people's reasons and motives for belonging in groups might vary accordingly, the interactions found in these social networks and groups, provided beneficial outcomes to the individuals both directly and indirectly. Another research conducted in Cote d'Ivoire on the impact of conflict on family livelihood and their social capital, produced a juxtaposition results of contrasting effects as the crisis rather paved ways for people's increased interest in associations. Hence, trust and social participation were pinpointed as elements of social capital (Keho, 2009). Membership associations based on this study included social participation in political, professional, religious organizations, sports clubs, youth, and cultural activities. Furthermore (Keho, 2009 p:168), in his study, highlighted some independent variables such as gender, age, marital status, education, occupational and religious status to affect social capital. According to him, education was one of those variables that could increase a person's social capital. That is, the more a person was educated, the more the person is considered to be socially inclined and trustworthy and the more likely the person is to associate with people of the same calibre. This studies also shows that, trust can be easily built within associations of homogeneous members as compared to members with dissimilar characteristics.

(Kiboro, 2017) also supports the view that education holds a strong probability for belonging in group membership and to a greater extent, individuals who are educated tend to possess good communication skills which makes it easier for them to interact and create contacts. Creating contacts may also indicate a good level of social capital which can create opportunities for lucrative jobs in new environments and easy adaptability thereby improving IDPs' living standards. However, a high level of literacy does not always guarantee employment opportunities in the formal sector for IDPs as noted by (Kiboro, 2017) in his studies.

Concentrating on the survival of female refugees in Ghana (Boateng, 2010) highlighted the use of social capital in refugee camps. In his study, he focused on the various types of social capital such as bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. While bonding social capital was generated in the camp through direct family and close friends' relations, bridging and linking social capital was created from relations with the community people of Ghana and with organizations or external people out of Ghana respectively (Boateng, 2010 p:389). The study shows the importance and extensive use of bonding social capital by the refugee women through participation in church associations and the "Women of Liberia Progressive Network"

associations as a survival means for these refugee women living in camps. Women have often been considered as main caretakers and caregivers of most households who practically manage how money is been spent on the daily maintenance of most households. Hence, they are always in search of the fastest means to sustain the wellbeing of their households. Whereas, bridging and linking social capital comprised mostly of contacts from the developed countries which benefited very few women in the refugee camps of Ghana (Boateng, 2010). One of the hindrances of bridging and linking social capital can be due to language or differences in culture and ethnicity. The language barrier can hinder communication and understanding among people, making it difficult for them to interact and benefit from each other. For example, in the search for jobs in some countries, language is a priority trait that can guarantee an individual's chances of obtaining the job. Additionally, the diversity of languages in a person's social network, can advantageously also serve as a platform for learning other languages and linking with other people's different networks for future purposes. However, no matter how expanding or diversified an individual's network can be, some scholars still argue on the fact that some social networks can deprive others of opportunities while rendering some with support (Hanses, 2014 p:37). Besides, social network associations and support might appear very demanding in terms of obligations and reciprocity, and of which, not everyone can afford to meet up with these obligations. Therefore, disagreements and resentment between the affluent and the needy can lead to stress and discomfort of belonging, especially for conflict-induced people who are still trying to stabilize their lives.

For the past years, age has also been noted as one significant determinant of social capital in the lives of displaced persons. (Navarra, Niehof, & van der Vaart, 2013 p:146) comments that, age played a role in shaping the social network size between refugees in Canada. According to him, older generations, settled in regions or areas where their children had already settled, depicting family as their first social support for their adaptability. Also, other examples of countries where the social network was influenced by age are countries like Rwandese, Congolese, and Burundese refugees in Dar es Salaam. There, close relations were seen but among the young age group from below 26 years old and the older age group, implying a high level of dependency rate from the part of the young ones. While those between 26 to 35 years old, had more ties with their peers or younger age group (Navarra et al., 2013). Notwithstanding, none of the social ties of these age groups can be more conclusive than the order in terms of the quality of their social relations. This is because, peers of the same young age group, can instead spend most of their time for leisure activities rather than exchanging

information about job opportunities which might help ease their adaptation process in a new environment, especially after displacement. Contrary to the younger age group who depend on the older ones, these group might be present with better future opportunities as they grow to help them easily adapt in a new location, since old people are considered to have better life experiences and extended social networks or contacts that can be useful for future purposes.

Most scholars have focused on the determinants that influence the role of social capital on refugee resettlement. Ethnicity, which is one of them, is considered a key factor that helps refugees adapt easily to their economic situations when they arrive in a new location. Ethnic group networks as well as kinship connections, help in providing refugees and immigrants with jobs information, accommodation, friendship, and other community benefits that they can profit from when they arrive (Lamba & Krahn, 2003 p:339). (Uzelac et al., 2018 p:28), findings on the importance of social capital in protracted displacement, suggest that refugees in Lebanon, were able to expand and utilize their former social networks in Lebanon to facilitate their choice of location. This is so because, choosing an area characterized by strong ethnic or kinship, also proves a guarantee of good social and economic support. According to (Uzelac et al., 2018p :28) and contrary to Bourdieu's class perspective of social capital, studies in Lebanon indicated that "... social capital appears to be the only capital that can be created even in situations of relative vulnerability, and then exchanged for access to livelihoods or used in cost-saving measures or as a form of basic social insurance." This implies that not only the influential and wealthy people benefit from social capital, since the impoverished also use it as a tool for surviving in moments of their plights. Notwithstanding, competition in the long run among displaced persons can lead to a status distinction. According to (Uzelac et al., 2018), competition among impoverished refugees in Lebanon, tends to reduce their social network bond and support for each other, as many tend to hide from information sharing on job opportunities and chose their associates or friends of the same status to interact with.

3.5 Conceptual Approach to the Study

This section of the chapter aims at presenting a conceptual approach on which this study holds its grounds. The discussion begins by conceptualizing social capital at the micro-level to give the study more light on the different accessibility levels of social capital by individuals. This study at the micro-level focuses on Bourdieu's class perspective of social capital and Nan Lin's resource perspective of social capital as detailed later in the work. While earlier discussions on the empirical literature provided determinants such as age, gender, education, language, ethnicity, and employment to be influencing the formation of people's social capital, the

conceptual framework is out to describe how these determinants can distinguish the quality of an individual's social capital, that contributes to their adaptability after a Conflict-induced displacement.

3.6 The Micro/Individual Level of Social Capital

In this study, social capital is conceptualized at the micro-level. Pierre Bourdieu was one of the earliest scholars to use social capital to understand the individual effect of social capital. According to (Membiela-Pollán & Pena-López, 2017), the micro perspective of social capital, analyzed social capital as an individual resource, whereby the individual uses his network relations to attain a personal goal in terms of welfare and wealth. Other scholars too like Becker (1996), Erickson (2004), Yang (2007), Lin (2001), analyzed social capital at the micro-level as the property of the individual (Claridge, 2018 April 20). These scholars including Flap (1999, 2002), tilted their interest in social capital as an additional source of resources which the individual can use or need, for purposes or goals (Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2004)p 154).

3.6.1 Bourdieu's Class Perspective of Individual Social Capital

(Eloire, 2018 p:3), argues on the evolutionary school of thought of Bourdieu, which goes from his structuralism perception to a relational way of thinking. Meaning that relations are essential components of the social world. In defining social capital, Pierre Bourdieu considers first other forms of capital such as Economic capital and Cultural capital. He defines social capital as,

“the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or in other words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of collectively owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word”
(Bourdieu & Richardson, 1986 p:21).

Bourdieu's definition demonstrated the intentions for which people build relationships and the benefits expected from such relations (Portes, 2000 p:2). (Eklinder-Frick, Eriksson, & Hallén, 2015 p:3) further argues that, Bourdieu's concept of social capital, depicts social capital as a “resource of individuals and families inherent in their network of relationships and capable of being transformed into economic and cultural forms of capital”. (Guðmundsson & Mikiewicz, 2012 p:58), argues that the sociological theories of Bourdieu on the social capital concept reproduces class inequalities and hierarchies as he emphasizes the link between social capital with cultural and economic capital. Conversely, as claimed by (Navarra et al., 2013) most

studies of social capital are associated with poverty indicators and considered as a relief resource among the poor in the absence of other forms of capital.

According to (Flap & Völker, 2008), cultural resources or capital here will constitute skills like language, knowledge of arts, history, artistic capabilities, creative spirit, and science. While on the other hand, economic resources consisted of wealth, income, trade and economic knowledge, entrepreneurial and commercial skills. Bourdieu portrays a situation where social capital is not only a property to the individual but also, one gotten based on the individual's social status and position. (Yang, 2007 p:21) on the other hand, derives "individual social capital" from the work of Bourdieu and defines it as, "the amount of collective resources that are obtained and put to use by any individual member of a social group." According to him, Bourdieu does not necessarily look at networks of social capital like Putnam, but instead as a means through which social capital is acquired by social actors. Moreover, it will be irrational to conclude that equal access to social capital, can be provided to all the members of a harmonious community and equal deprivation of social capital to a less harmonious community (Berry & Rickwood, 2000). He continues by claiming that it is essential to recognize the different levels of individual social capital referred to by him as 'Personal Social Capital.' Meaning that the amount or quantity of an individual's social capital is more valuable than the sources of social support. (Berry & Rickwood, 2000), supports Bourdieu's notion of inequality in the acquisition of social capital but explores the concept from three different angles on how individuals can relate through community participation, social support, and trust with other members in their community. (Gauntlett, 2011) on the other hand, argues that Bourdieu's conception of social capital explains a situation of social hierarchies, where those at the top hierarchy still hold strongly to their position because of their resource. Hence, as noted by (Membriela-Pollán & Pena-López, 2017), Bourdieu's class position perspective of social capital at the individual level is depicted on the fact that a person's social capital, is determined by the quality or usefulness of their network connections, and the quantity of cultural (symbolic) and economic capital obtained from such a network.

3.6.2 Nan Lin's Resource Perspective of Individual Social Capital

Focused on the access and utilization of resources, Lin's approach and analysis of social capital identified two types of resources accessed and beneficial to the individual. That is, personal resources and social resources. Whereby, personal resources consisted of material and symbolic resources, possessed, and owned by the individual such as degrees, diplomas, skills,

and talents. While social resources, on the other hand, were resources achieved through social networks (Lin, 2002 p:21). In operationalizing the concept of social capital, Lin's short and straightforward definition of social capital was,

“ as the resources embedded in social networks accessed and used by actors for actions ” (Lin, 2002 p:25).

Information, social support, or ideas as claimed by Lin, Burt, and Portes referred to some of the social resources pick up by individuals by virtue of their connections with others. One major point stressed out in this angle is the importance of the structure of any type of network (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones, & Woolcock, 2004 p:3). Hence, the people interacting in a network, the frequency of interaction, and the terms of interaction were very essential considerations of any given relationship.

Two of the most noted axioms formulated by Lin which are of interest to this study and from his resource perspective are the Interaction and the Network axiom. According to (Häuberer, 2011p:122), Lin's interaction axiom, proposes the similarities of resources and lifestyle among actors. That is, *who you are* and *what you have*, facilitates interactions. Two types of interaction can be identified here, the *homophilous* and the *heterophilous* interactions. Where the former signifies interactions between actors of similar status, educational background, lifestyle, and socioeconomic characteristics, and the latter, denotes actors of different backgrounds and lifestyles. The network axiom is all about the varying resources of actors interacting directly or indirectly in social networks. While some of these resources are personal resources or possession, most are acquired through social relations. Here, networks develop either naturally or it is socially build depending on whom the actor is in contact with. Hence, boundaries, locations, positions, participants, and even rules and procedures are collectively and persuasively with authority by anyone, decided upon by the actors of the network (Häuberer, 2011 p:123).

Although Lin's resource approach portrays some similarities with Bourdieu's class approach of inequality in social capital. However, it can be presumed that Lin's resource approach creates room not only for bonding but also bridging and linking among various actors of social networks. Whereby, similarities must not be 100% accurate for interaction to occur nor for a network to be naturally or constructively built since actors can still decide base on the adage of *who are you and what can you offer*.

3.7 Operationalization of Concepts

This section of the study aims at elaborating and operationalizing the relevant concepts that are applicable to the study objectives. These concepts are deduced from Lin's resource perspective of individual social capital, which although incorporated with Bourdieu's class perspective of social capital, Lin provides a more actionable analysis of the use of social capital by individuals (Lin, 1999). That is, how an individual's accessibility and usability of resources embedded in their social networks, can help produce profitable returns such as good jobs and better life opportunities. Furthermore, (Lin, 2008) claims that, the theory of human capital indicates that economic benefits are outcomes of investments in certain human resources such as knowledge and skills of an individual. Hence, likewise, the theory of social capital which captures investment in social relations as a bonus for a quality social network.

3.7.1 Social Inequality in Interactions

The concept of social inequality is literally known as the unequal distribution of resources and opportunities within any society. Societies are made of different sorts of people, and according to (Hoffmann, 2008), those aspects of life such as resources, or highly demanded goods in the society that differentiate or influence people's social position is denoted as social inequality. As noted by (Hoffmann, 2008), social inequality was summarised and defined by Hadril as "Social inequality exists when people frequently receive more of a society's 'valuable goods' than others owing to their position in the social network of relationships (Hradil 2001:30)." Most scholars concerned with the concept of social inequality, focus their attention on the inequalities involved in social stratification such as class, power, status lifestyle, and money (Lambert & Blackburn, 2008). However, the concept of social inequality is a diverse one that varies logically according to the context for which it is being used. That is to say, the term *inequality* in itself, is usually applied to other social basis concepts which are not necessary inequalities themselves but can be the cause or consequences of inequalities (Lambert & Blackburn, 2008). That is, gender, age, occupation, ethnicity, and education can cause separation and classification of people into different social groups which can result in inequalities in the society due to the social status owing to the different group categories. In addition, the definition of (Habibis & Walter, 2009) on social inequality entailed the hierarchical distribution order of resources that are political, economic, social and cultural resources in a hierarchical order. Therefore, a person's political position, wealth, and origin naturally creates their environment and how they interact with people in the society.

The concept of social inequality also causes separation in the level of interaction and for social capital to exist and be understood irrespective of its level of usage, there must be an interaction between individuals or social groups of individuals with the intention to access and mobilize resources for the benefit of its members. Although, not every individual or social group can equally acquire social capital or enjoy the benefits of it (Lin, 2000). Furthermore, (Lin, 2000) contends that, some social groups or individuals are more socioeconomically privileged than others in the society, thereby causing division between the haves and the have not at the level of interaction. As argued by (Field, 2003), people with high financial and cultural capital, tend to be highly connected, since dealings and interactions are often with people of the same portfolio who are also having a stronger connection platform. Social capital is concerned with the ways people interact and benefit from each other. No individual is an island, people need each other either formally or informally to survive, adapt and succeed. Interaction and collaboration with others, permits the flow of information, opportunities, and resources that can easily help individuals to adapt to a new environment and life challenges.

3.8 Summary

This chapter of this study has provided an explicit discussion on the various approaches to Urban IDPs, and Social capital. The chapter begins by providing an understanding to the increased urbanization situation all over the world, in order to situate the case of Urban IDPs. Further into the chapter, this study expatiates on the complexities surrounding IDPs found in urban areas, and the challenges they experience as a result of displacement and keeping their status invisible. The next part of the study discusses with details, the various approaches to social capital by different scholars, and specifically, on how Pierre Bourdieu Class perspective and Na Lin's Resource perspective of social capital were framed and operationalized at the conceptual framework of this study. The concepts of personal resources, social resources, and social inequality have also been discussed based on how they apply to this study.

Chapter 4. Methodology and Method

4.1 Introduction

This chapter of the study describes the various methodological approach and methods that were applied for the achievement of the research objectives. However, the section begins with a preliminary phase to the research study and prior methodological consideration which led to the chosen applied methodology. The section further presents and discusses the chosen research approach and philosophical assumptions used for conducting this research and also, the appropriate methods and sampling techniques employed for data collection. While discussing the above methodological framework, justifications for every chosen method, reflections on my positionality as a researcher, challenges and limitations of the adopted research method will be incorporated.

4.2 Preliminary Phase to the Research Study and Prior Methodological Consideration to the Study.

By preliminary phase to the research study, I mean the preparatory stages and interest, that led to the existence of this study. Initially, this preliminary phase of the study can also be formally considered as a pilot study. According to (Lowe, 2019 p:117), “a pilot study is a small feasibility study designed to test various aspects of the methods planned for a larger, more rigorous, or confirmatory investigation.” This, in other words, means understanding the relevance of a phenomenon and the need for further conceptualization and scientific research either through qualitative or quantitative means. Generally, most researchers, use pilot studies, to weigh the efficacy of their planned methodological procedures (Lowe, 2019). Deducing from this point, this study can be said to have gained its ground from the benefits of the preliminary phase or pilot study on how Urban IDPs make their way and adapt to new changes after a conflict-induced displacement, although without bearing in mind an intended methodological framework during the pilot study. The pilot study was conducted in the form of observations, informal interviews, and working in collaboration with a church committee to assist some of the identified IDPs living in the city centers of Yaounde. With the acquired information from the pilot study (about a year ago before the start of this study), I initially planned on carrying out a case study research design and with the use of qualitative data. However, being unable to be present in the study area due to challenges detailed later in this chapter and based on David de Vaus’ approach of a case study research, which is also explained in the subsequent paragraph, this study took on a different approached.

A case study according to (Neuman, 2014 p:42) is a research in which many other features of a few cases such as; individuals, groups events, a small geographical area or organization are studied with data that is detailed, varied, and extensive. Also, (Yin, 2003 p:13) provides a technical definition of a case study as *“an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.”* Inferring from these definitions, a case study approach, would have provided a platform to analyze other features relating to the livelihoods of Urban IDPs during the research fieldwork. Also, as argued by (De Vaus, 2001 p:231), with a case study approach, the researcher aims to construct a detailed picture of a case with the context and subunits of the case inclusively, which limits the applicability of this design to this study. Not being able to initially carry out fieldwork as planned to acquire recent information, but considering the information gathered from the pilot study. Also, because of the invisibility and complexities involved in identifying conflict-induced Urban IDPs locating in the capital city of Cameroon, this study builds on an exploratory research design as explained later in the chapter. Also, the invisibility and complexities involved in identifying conflict-induced Urban IDPs locating in the capital city of Cameroon.

4.3 Applied Methodological Framework and Philosophical Assumptions

This study follows a qualitative approach. According to (Kothari, 2004 p:5), there exist basically two types of approaches in research that is, quantitative and qualitative approaches. The characteristics and definition of qualitative research lie in that kind of approach in which data is not quantified but the emphasis is laid on words in data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2016 p:33). *“Words refer to reality.”* It creates a chance for people to apprehend chaos and the complexities surrounding the world (Reiter, 2013). This means that qualitative research is concerned with the subjective appraisal of attitudes, behavior, and people’s perspective (Kothari, 2004).

Qualitative research is not concerned with presenting numeric figures or testing a theory but can either formulate one through the understanding of people’s perception regarding a chosen researched phenomenon or can create room for further quantified research. Furthermore, the exploratory nature in qualitative research is mostly conducted when an issue or problem with little or no knowledge needs to be explored and provided with a detailed understanding of the central phenomenon (John W. Creswell, 2002). This aligns and applies well with this research project. As earlier detailed in chapter three’s review on Urban IDPs, it is apparent that most of them are distinct from other displaced persons settling in camps or rural areas. Furthermore,

for some reasons such as insecurity issues, stigmatization, fear of discrimination from the Urban French-speaking majority, IDPs from the English-speaking regions choose to remain invisible and move on with their lives normally. This study aims at exploring a deeper understanding of their perspectives and accessibility to social capital and the benefit of it to their livelihood.

During the exploration process, a mixture of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods was implored to grasp other features including how these Urban IDPs from the Anglophone regions, perceive and understand social capital while living in the French-speaking regions. (Stake, 2010), indicates interviews and observation as some of the multiple methods used in qualitative research. This research includes both semi-structured interviews, prior observations, and a close-ended questionnaire to obtain an in-depth understanding of the circumstances surrounding these displaced persons living in the city of Yaounde. A close-ended questionnaire should not be mistaken here for a qualitative method of data collection as it is mostly applicable but in quantitative research. However, (Maxwell, 2008 p:236) claimed that “qualitative studies generally rely on the integration of data from a variety of methods and sources of information, a general principle known as triangulation.” Inferring from this, the chosen methods which will be detailed later in this section was incorporated in this study to cover a reasonable number of identified IDPs for the validity of this research.

Everyone is entitled to their opinions and experiences which might relate or differ individually. Qualitative research takes a naturalistic form, as the study situates itself with the real happenings of the world and the researcher allows the phenomenon of interest to unfold naturally (Quinn Patton, 2002 p:39). According to (Johnson & Christensen, 2000 p:111), different realities or opinions in qualitative research are constructed differently by different sets of people, and this social construction affects how they view and understand or react to what they consider normal or abnormal in their world.

(John W. Creswell, 2007) on this, notes and acknowledges the naturalistic assumptions of qualitative research and, argues also on the philosophical assumptions made in qualitative research. He talks about the ontological and epistemological inquiries made by the researcher when carrying out qualitative research. That is, how the nature of reality and knowledge about reality when conducting research is seen and interpreted by the researcher, using the philosophical paradigm of constructivism and interpretivism (John W Creswell & Poth, 2016).

Decerning from this philosophical framework stance of qualitative research inquiry, this study is ontologically constructed on the fact that the many ways through which different realities and truths about how a concept or situation is socially constructed differ individually and those realities are not stagnant but change, depending on the varying nature of every individual. On an epistemological level of how knowledge is constructed (Neuman, 2014), the study considers how reality is understood from the way knowledge is constructed and interpreted through social interactions and experiences. This contradicts the epistemological objectivism which holds on the independent existence of reality through a positivist paradigm of dealing with facts and not value (Gray, 2004).

4.4 Study Area

The targeted area of purpose for this study was the Capital region of Cameroon, commonly known as Yaounde. This Capital region of Cameroon is considered the second largest region, after its economic region (Douala). It has a population of over 2,272,259 inhabitants and a surface area of 68,953 km² (PRC.CM Online, 2021). Yaounde is located on the hills of a forested plateau, and in between the River Nyong and River Sanaga found in the South-central part of Cameroon (Britannica, 2019 February 25). Yaounde the Capital city of Cameroon is causally known for its political-administrative structure which mostly consists of civil servants and diplomatic services. Hence, this results in a high cost of living, as compared to other regions. On the other hand, the economic region known as Douala is mostly known as a town with *the possibility of any kind of commercial business*. Nonetheless, people still choose and consider the capital region to be more secured and with a moderate climatic condition than the other parts of Cameroon. Also, although Cameroon is known for its Multi-ethnic languages, its official language as mentioned earlier in chapter two are English and French. Yaounde on this basis is dominated by the French-speaking majority.

The rationale behind this choice as a researcher was due to the familiarity of the place and in terms of its living standard as the capital city. This is a town where I have lived and where I was able to carry out my prior observations on conflict induce IDPs from the English-speaking regions, as previously mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Also, informal conversations with young universities graduates involved in hawking activities settled in the cities of this capital region, arouse my interest and curiosity about Urban IDPs. My utmost concern during these causal conversations was centred on how they cope without jobs and with the language barrier between them as English-speaking displaced persons and the dominant French-speaking

civilians. However, not being able to return home to carry out fieldwork that would have included other regions like Douala, where, many other IDPs had to flee to, Yaounde became the only preferred option that could suit the purposes of this study.

4.5 Informant Selection.

Acknowledging the complexities involved in identifying Urban IDPs and particularly those who are willing to participate brings into action, a selection technique known as the *snowball selection method*. A snowball selection approach according to (Bryman, 2012 p:202) is one of the non-probability sampling methods whereby, the researcher gets in touch with an available number of people or informants who are of relevance to their research purpose and uses them as a contacting means of locating other informants. In simple terms, informants are identified through the help or recommendation of other informants. This recommendation by the informants to the researcher is usually done during informal conversations or interviews during the research process (John W. Creswell, 2002). This study followed this structure of snowball technique to identify the Urban IDPs from 20 years upward, who had fled from the crisis in both the North West (the regional Capital of Bamenda) and South West (the regional Capital of Buea) regions and were living in the cities of Yaounde.

It should be noted amongst these internally displaced Anglophones living in the French-speaking regions, many French-speaking civilians, who were initially settled in the English-speaking regions as of result of their jobs were also displaced. However, despite their longevity in those regions, this study did not categorize them as IDPs, but rather simply as ‘returnees’ who were familiar with their previous environment and would thus not be stigmatized upon returning from the conflict zones.

Taking into consideration these factors, I focus solely on having IDPs who were English-speaking from the conflict zones. Two methods were employed using this snowball technique of informant selection. The first identification process of Anglophone IDPs from conflict areas was done in collaboration with a *gatekeeper*, a person who acted as an instrument for the collection of data in this study by reaching out and distributing questionnaires to other recommended Urban IDPs during data collection. The role of a gatekeeper in this research tights up with (John W. Creswell, 2002 p:219)’s definition of a gatekeeper. According to him, a gatekeeper can be an individual with an official or unofficial duty to play at the site of the research and can assist researchers to identify participants relevant to the study. The second method or means in which participants were identified for this study was through the help of a

family friend (also considered as a gatekeeper in this research) working in collaboration with a church committee in Yaounde, to assist some IDPs in their church. Going in for this method, was for me to purposely get in touch with IDPs who were willing to talk and express their perceptions about their coping strategies with respect to social capital in their new environment.

It is important for me here clearly distinguished the main reasons why and how the snowball method is employed through the assistance of two gatekeepers, in recruiting the participants for this study. Considering the vast nature of the capital city, the first strategy with the assistance of a gatekeeper was targeted to capture the perspectives of IDPs from the Northwest and Southwest regions living in the gatekeeper's neighborhood, and with the use of close-ended questionnaires. While the assistance of a family member (gatekeeper) was to target IDPs using unstructured interviews living in my neighborhood back in my home country and where previous observation was informally conducted. The details of the data collection methods and techniques will be clearly discussed in the subsequent section.

4.6 Sources of Data Collection

One primary goal in qualitative research is to get a deeper meaning of a certain phenomenon by either describing or interpreting systematically, the issues of the said phenomenon from the individual's point of view or a targeted population being studied (Mohajan, 2018). As earlier mentioned in this chapter, this study follows an exploratory nature where little, or no knowledge has been previously researched upon. However, according to (Kumar, 2018), when conducting a study, there are situations whereby the required information is collected by the researcher, or sometimes, the researcher just extracts from the already available information. This means that, in the case of this study, with no or little previous study to lean on, there may still be some available secondary sources, relevant for the study. Therefore, data collection for this research can be classified under primary or secondary data collection approach (Kumar, 2018).

4.6.1 Primary Sources

Primary data are often known as 'first-hand' data which has not yet been published and can be sometimes more authentic and reliable (Kabir, 2016 July). Fine-tuning it to this qualitative study, primary techniques such as interviews and questionnaires were employed to permit the exploration and grabbing of the diverse perspectives of informants. A total number of 20 questionnaires were returned with answers from the identified Urban IDPs through snowball

techniques and, an additional successful interview session was performed individually with another 4 identified Urban IDPs.

4.6.2 Secondary Sources

According to (Kabir, 2016 July), secondary data is existing data published in any form by someone else base on their research purposes and used by another researcher in his/her own work-frame. Secondary data in this study was obtained by reviewing relevant journals, books, online reports, and other student's written projects relating to this topic. All these sources were purposely used for contextualizing relevant literature concerning the role of social capital in the adaptability process of Urban IDPs and the challenges encountered in their livelihood in cities after being displaced from their habitual homes. The essentiality of secondary data in this study also formed the basis upon which research questions and objectives were formulated.

The techniques employed for the collection of primary data chosen for this study are as discussed below.

4.7 Questionnaire Data.

Questionnaires are one of the most used techniques in collecting primary data. There are the same set of orderly questions shared out for people to respond (Gray, 2004 p:187). Questionnaires are made up of open or closed questions. According to (Bryman, 2012), while an open question permits the respondents to answer as they pleased, close questions limit the respondent with a set of alternative answers, which they have to choose from. Most qualitative research questionnaires are designed in an open-ended manner (Lopez & Whitehead, 2013), thereby, allowing the researcher to capture qualitative data from the wide expression of their informants. However, open-ended questionnaires are time-consuming for both the informants and the researcher which often leads to uncompleted responses. Better still, sometimes participants might go out of context when allowed to express their selves, making it hard for the researcher to capture the right coding relevant for the study objectives. Taking into considerations these factors, and the limited time available for the completion of this study, and not forgetting covid-19 challenges and safety measures, I decided to apply a methodological triangulation in this study as earlier mentioned in the research approach. That is, the collection of data using different methods. Inferring from this approach, I decided to structure my questions in a close-ended questionnaire format. This, however, is one of the structured data collection techniques in quantitative research, in which different perspectives are captured using predetermined answers (Kabir, 2016 July). Also, close-ended questionnaires

were used as an instrument for data collection regarding this study to permit the capturing of a wide range of diverse perspectives on the role of social capital to Urban IDPs. That being said, an understanding of how this method was applied in this study will be discussed subsequently.

4.7.1 Close-ended Questionnaire and its Applicability

Close-ended questionnaires were designed with an inclusion of pre-designed answers using a Web form questionnaire format. The flexibility and design facilities presented in Web-based questionnaires are not available in handwritten paper format questionnaires (Gray, 2004). Deducing from that, I used a Web-based questionnaire design to create different types of questions. The questionnaire designed involved questions designed with responses provided in a listing, ranking, and scale styles. With these formats, participants were permitted to choose multiple answers from a single posed question, rate the satisfaction and dissatisfaction of their situation posed in a question, and rank answers in order of preference or most important. This format was chosen not only to ease answering for my informants but also to capture their varying perspectives in a systematic order, which also ties to the flexibility of a Web-based questionnaire design and the nature of this study.

The questionnaires comprised of three parts with a start-up heading of the research title, objective, and the purpose for which the research was being conducted. The succeeding sections of the questionnaires were made up of unidentifiable demographic features of the respondents, followed by a synopsis section of their displacement status and finally, questions regarding their social capital status. I designed the questionnaires to target informants within the age group of 20 - 70⁺ irrespective of their social background, since that was to be explored during the data collection process.

The designed questionnaires were printed by me, here in Norway and scanned to my gatekeeper resident in Yaounde, who initially volunteer to print and distribute the questionnaires to IDPs living in the city areas of Yaounde. This decision was made because of the impossibilities to access the link I created for responses, by my gatekeeper and the identified IDPs back in my home country. I also took into consideration the poor internet facilities that many would have faced if responding online. Every step that was taken in the identifying process of the IDPs, and the distribution of the questionnaires by the gatekeeper, was done in line with what we were conversing. I first discussed with the gatekeeper in February the ethics of how IDPs were to be approached, in consideration of their security issues and the sensitivity of how certain questions might appear to them. This, however, was an easy discussion for us to agree upon

the terms of approaching IDPs since my gatekeeper is also an academic person concerned with the sustainability projects of school drop-out students due to the *anglophone crisis*. The distribution of 30 printed questionnaires was done throughout March and in late April 2020. Out of the 30 printed questionnaires, 20 collected responded questionnaires from every identified IDP who had voluntarily accepted to participate in the study, were scanned back by my gatekeeper. Although according to (Van Gelder, Bretveld, & Roeleveld, 2010 p:1293), the quality of data collected through Web-based questionnaires is usually ensured since incorporated validation checks notify informants of incomplete answers. In the absence of lack of online accessibility of the questionnaire to effectuate this quality, the gatekeeper took it as a responsibility to crosscheck every questionnaire received from the informants if it was completely answered.

4.7.2 Interviews

Interviews in research are conversations that occur between a researcher and their informants (Gray, 2004). The process of data collection through interviews implies paying attention to the words said by the respondent as answers. The absence of fieldwork and not being able to collect the data myself from the identified respondents prompted my interest in hearing the experiences of Urban IDPs from the English-speaking regions through interviews and from a more academic perspective. The purpose of interviewing other informants after the distribution of questionnaires was to get a deeper meaning and a clear picture of how Urban IDPs have overcome their challenges as *displaced persons* from the English-speaking regions. This connects to (Seidman, 2006 p:9), on the purpose of in-depth interviewing. According to him, the essence is about “... *understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience.*” Unstructured and semi-structured interviews are the two most renowned types of interviews in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012).

A semi-structured interview method was selected to fit the purpose of this study. Semi-structured interviews are made up of pre-prepared questions to be covered that acts as a guide during the interviewing session (Bryman, 2012). Pre-formulated open questions were made ready before I embarked on the interviewing journey with my informants. The questions were not quite different from those distributed as questionnaires to other identified informants. However, it was more informal than the questionnaire setting, to ease flexibility and create room for probing of views and opinions where necessary (Gray, 2004), during the interviewing sessions. This flexibility prompted other further questions that were not prepared in advance.

Questions posed were mostly focused on grabbing the extent to which social capital plays a role in their adaptability process after being displaced. Also, the interview technique extended further to capture the informant's understanding of the concept of social capital concerning their situation.

The technique used for interview data collection was through a telephone. First, accessing my first informants was through the assistance of a family relative, who proposed one of his colleagues from the Banking sector, who had moved from the English-speaking regions (precisely from the Southwest region) due to the crisis. The participation consent of the participant was done by my family relative which upon approval, I was given the participant's contact to call and schedule an interview session. From there, the snowball method was continuously used to identify the remaining three participants. Interviews were conducted individually on phone with each participant scheduled according to their free time. All identified participants were able to express themselves fluently in English language, and this facilitated the noting down of answers from the respondents. As stated (Block & Erskine, 2012), concerns and preoccupations of researchers carrying out interviews over the telephone are practically the same as those conducting them physically. Hence, this telephone tool technique permitted me to at least encounter a *voice experience* with informants in the absence of physical participation with them. Each session, with each participant, was scheduled for 35mins but most lasted for around an hour. Out of the four interview sessions conducted, I had only one that clocked 30mins of our time. According to (John W. Creswell, 2002), physical absence between the researcher and the participant is one of the drawbacks in carrying out telephone interviews as it might limit communication and, the chance of adequately capturing the perspectives of the informants about the researched phenomenon. Contrary, this was not the experience in this study, though flexibility and openness were tied on the one condition of *no recording*. Participants' condition was for me to take down notes, because none wanted their voice recorded, even though they knew it was for academic purposes. These were understood as their measures for security purposes and the lack of complete trust from me researching as an outsider as discussed later in the limitation section of this chapter.

4.8 Ethical considerations

Studies dealing with people's perspectives about their personal experiences can be sensitive especially if it flashes back memories they are trying to forget. Notwithstanding, some are always willing to share their stories, experiences, and challenges, for various purposes. Research in any interdisciplinary context can also play an important role in creating awareness

to the society, or in providing solutions that are beneficial to the society be it directly or indirectly. Therefore, inquiries are acceptable as long as the inquirer has, first of all, obtain the respondent's *informed consent* (Kumar, 2018). That means, the respondent must be informed before the time his/her answers are needed and, it is but appropriate, that they are elucidated on the aim and purpose of the research before participation. Also, according to (Madak, 1994), the concept of *informed consent* and *confidentiality* means that the participants under study, are totally aware of the outcome and understanding of what is expected from them and, they are assured of their right to privacy by the researcher respectively. This does not always mean a guarantee of trust from the participant's side, though it is important for ethical consideration to be put in action by any researcher.

The subject of Urban IDPs is very complex. These are people who want to remain anonymous in their daily lives and activities especially after been displaced because of conflict. Some of them are still in the trauma of losing someone close to them, others are still trying to recover from what they left behind or from what was destroyed when fleeing from the conflict. Not being able to go for fieldwork due to covid-19 challenges, where perhaps, their confidence could have been gained if being physically present, I had to ensure their anonymity right from the start of this study. For those whose data was collected through a questionnaire, the questionnaire itself had mentioned the purpose for which the data was required and the guarantee of their confidentiality in its heading. Furthermore, to ascertain that they clearly understood that the gatekeeper ensured that each respondent was further elaborated on their right to withdraw or refuse to participate if they were not interested. Informed consent for participants who were interviewed was already confirmed when they gave their numbers for me to call. However, during the time scheduling with the participants, they requested no recording and were ready to repeat themselves for as long as I could grab their point. This however was understood and respected because of their security issues and for the fact I was considered as an insider living outside of the country and may not be trusted.

4.9 Insider/Outsider Reflections

An important issue to all qualitative approaches is the relationship the researcher has with the area under study and the role that plays both in the collection of data and during the data analysis (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Recollecting from my background as an anglophone native precisely from the North West region but typically living in the Capital city, and also based on my observations both from the area of the ongoing crisis in the English-speaking (North West

region) to the Capital city where some had fled, my interest on this topic could only arouse my curiosity more and more. Understanding why people flee from conflict zones and how they cope upon their arrival to new locations can only be a medley of opportunities and challenges in their transitional period of adaptation. While others leave from a stage of *better to worse*, for others, it's a great opportunity to better up their lives. Although being a native and identified as an anglophone from the NW region but had lived my entire life in the Francophone region, while studying back in the NW region (Bamenda) during the crisis, it was so impossible to have a peaceful constructive discussion with peers about the ongoing crisis. I was often referred to as an 'outsider' who knew nothing about what the people had been through because of marginalization from the French-speaking regions. Meanwhile, back at home in Yaounde for holidays, I was made fun of and referred to as an IDP fleeing conflict from Bamenda. Sometimes being defensive about the fun, because to me Yaounde was home and I did not look at myself as being vulnerable to any circumstance, but rather living my normal life in a place where I was more familiar with. Perplexed by these reflections and how one's *place of birth* and *hometown* can be intertwined to mean practically the same thing but have different impacts and meanings on a person's identity during political conflicts. I was intrigued about how people fleeing from conflict felt, how these feelings affected their lifestyle, and how they coped knowing their situation, contributed to the preliminary structure of my study. That is, this empirical experience played a subjective part in my topic selection and the structuring of my research objectives and questions. I also acknowledge how my position as an insider could affect my findings as a researcher. Nevertheless, being an insider served as a *vessel* where opinions could be emptied in without restrictions and paving way for an in-depth gathering of data. However, the epistemological nature of this study did not only embody my reflections as an insider but also as an outsider studying peace and conflict transformation abroad. Understanding that the causes of political conflicts are basically the same everywhere and, bearing in mind that my position and approach as an outsider could be regarded as being Eurocentric by those under study, objectivity was required to stay on my study track and also in assimilating informant's varying opinions. This open-minded nature made me understand how social realities and knowledge can be constructed and interpreted differently depending on the individual's experience or situation. Hence, whatever position that is taken in academic social research, depends solely on what or whose voice the researcher wants to represent.

4.10 Limitations During Data Collection

I could prepare myself for contingencies such as financial expenses during fieldwork, refusal of participation from identified participants, and how to keep myself energetic from the stressful up and down movement during fieldwork. However, the outbreak of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) was an unforeseen and unpredictable one beyond my control. The initial research was supposed to undertake a fieldwork experience through observations, physical interactions during focus group discussions, and interviews between the researcher and the participants. Also, the lack of accurate credible online sources on the challenges of Urban IDPs from the Northwest and Southwest regions limited my scope of findings. These methods were not only supposed to increase the credibility of this qualitative study but also, give an in-depth meaning and understanding of the adaptability process of Urban IDPs. Faced with these methods limitations, the study only focused on providing insights on the use of social capital on the adaptability process of Urban IDPs

4.11 Challenges Encountered During Data Collection Process

Challenges on my part can also be viewed as experiences encountered to improve the quality, of making sure that a study is accurately achieved. Having an intermediary when conducting research can be challenging not only for the researcher but also for the person acting as a link between the participants and the researcher, referred to in this study as *gatekeepers*. The challenges faced during this study will be discussed in two phases.

4.11.1 Challenges Faced by the Gatekeeper and the Participants

I thought it wise to mention the challenges encountered by the gatekeeper and participants during questionnaire distribution. We discussed on several occasions these challenges, which for me, was seen as a means of verifying if every procedure we discussed was taken into practice. The conception I had in mind when I set up these feedback conversation moments, was rooted on the grounds that, *no good thing can be easily achieved* especially when dealing with people from a conflict zone. This was also a means of ensuring the credibility of the received questionnaires that it was well administered and verified before being sent back.

Some of these challenges mostly experienced by the gatekeeper with the participants were to gain their trust and time to explain the purpose of the research and ensure their confidentiality during the research. IDPs were identified using the snowball technique and this required the same process for every identified IDP. This process was repetitious and boring for the gatekeeper. Also, when participation approval was granted by the participant, their given time

for questionnaire collection and its verification for completeness was hardly always maintained by the respondents. Hence, there was a need to wait which made it time-consuming too.

4.11.2 Overall Challenges Faced by the Researcher.

The challenges I encountered during the data collection of this study are almost in line with that of the gatekeeper during questionnaire distribution. As earlier mentioned, having an intermediary person during data collection is already in itself a challenging issue. Also, some challenges were experienced when I conducted telephone interviews with other participants in this study.

Time difference between my home country Cameroon and Norway was a problem between me and my research gatekeeper. Cameroon is an hour (GMT+1) behind Norway (GMT+2). Although this seems to be just an hour difference, we both had our busy schedules, and missing upon an agreed time or being late for a scheduled meeting could disrupt personal activities. Furthermore, poor internet facilities obstructed most of our WhatsApp (communication platform) meetings, which also made it time-consuming in securing a more suitable internet modem.

Last but not the least, apart from the exceeding time than the usual set time during the interviewing session with the other informants, most respected their meeting time and easily recommended people to expand my informants. Notwithstanding, all emphasized no interview recording, which made it somehow challenging for me since I had to pay keen attention to the expression of their opinions and take accurate notes.

4.12 Summary

This chapter of the research detailed the rationale of the methodological framework of the entire study right from the prior methodological considerations, to the applied methodology. Also, the flexible nature of qualitative research is widely expatiated on at the level of data collection methods and techniques of this chapter to provide understanding and justifications behind the choices applied in this study.

Chapter 5. Data Presentation and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter of the study presents and discusses the findings and analysis of data collected from questionnaires and interviews according to the research objectives. The overarching objective of this study was to explore how social capital plays a role in the adaptation process of Urban IDPs, thereby providing an understanding of the different factors influencing their adaptability and accessibility to social capital after a conflict-induced displacement. As earlier mentioned in the previous chapters, the study employed two methods for data collection with survey questionnaires, being the major tool for data collection while utilizing semi-structured interviews to capture a deeper understanding of informants' perspectives on their social capital. Whereas data from survey questionnaires were analyzed using a tabulation method (see appendix) to aid words narration and interpretation of findings, a narrative analysis was used to analyzed data collected from interviews in order to capture informants' perspectives in their own voice as detailed later in section 5.6 of the chapter. The chapter is presented in two sections. The first begins with a discussion of the demographic features of informants obtained from the survey questionnaires, which is subsequently followed by a narrative discussion of the findings and in the context of the research questions and purpose for this study. The second phase of this chapter will then present data findings and discussions obtained from the interviews to get an in-depth understanding of individual perspectives of social capital regarding their adaption journey after being displaced due to the Anglophone crisis.

5.2 Demographic Information

The data analyzed in this section was completed from survey questions. Out of the 30 distributed questionnaires to identified Urban IDPs from both the North-West (NW) and South-West (SW) regions, I received 20 questionnaires from IDPs who voluntarily agreed to participate. This study involved people who have been internally displaced from the Anglophone regions as a result of the political crisis which started in 2016 in the NW region (Bamenda) and later extended towards the SW region (Buea). The study did focus on any distinctive group in terms of gender, marital status, region, culture, religion, occupation, and level of education. However, the age category considered for this study was purposely for those from 20years and above. This age category or specifications was considered appropriate for the study because these people are believed to be independently seeking different strategies of surviving after the displacement from their usual or habitual residents. Whereas the majority

of people from below the age group of 20 downwards, are mostly still dependent on the decisions made by their parents, guardians, or sponsors

5.2.1 Age

Most of the participants in this study were aged between 30-39 years, 20-29 years, and 40-49 years with the highest participants coming from an age group of 30-39 years, and which contributed to almost half of the total participants of this study, followed by that of 20-29 and then 40-49 years. On the other hand, very few participants were from the age category of 50 and above, and no participant was from 70 upward.

5.2.2 Gender

This study intended to capture the challenges and perspectives from both the female and male IDPs living in urban cities on the role of social capital in their adaptability process after being displaced internally from their initial residents. This implies that questionnaires were distributed to incorporate both male and female participants during this study and, out of the 20 questionnaires returned, more than half of them were males and the rest accounted for the female participants with just a little gap from the male majority. However, the dominant number of male participants indicates that men are inclined to be displaced during conflict crisis than women. This is because most men are often accused of instigating violence and terrorizing the state's military. Therefore, most flee in search of safety and for a better working environment that can help them protect and provide for their families.

5.2.3 Marital Status

Based on the data collected from the survey questionnaires, most participants in this study were single, making more than half of the total number of participants and the remaining number of them were married. However, two of the participants from the age category of 50-59 and 60-69 were divorced and widowed respectively. Furthermore, one important observation from the data collected portrayed that, most of the single participants were from the 20-29 and 30-39 age category and consisted mostly of males than females. While on the other hand, most of the married participants, were females from the 40-49 age group.

5.2.4 Educational Level

Although participants were selected using a snowball research technique without any specificities of their educational background. Notwithstanding, out of the 20 returned questionnaires, it was observed that all the participants who participated in this study had at least a secondary level of education. In Cameroon, the education system is divided into nursery,

primary, secondary, and higher education. Secondary education is further subdivided into other categories namely, the grammar, technical, and vocational schools (Egbe, 2015). More so, while the French sub-system uses four years at the lower-secondary level and two years at the upper level, the Anglo sub-system takes five years to complete the lower secondary level (Ordinary Level) and two years are needed to complete the upper level (Advanced Level) (Egbe, 2015). However, these education system structures, are considered like the required basics for every individual interested in education but for higher education level, an individual may decide to pursue their studies as further as possible depending on the individual's choice. This, therefore, implies that every participant to this study had a lower secondary level of education.

Another characteristic observed from the educational level is that most participants of this study had the required basic levels of education according to the Cameroon education system structure. Many had at least the upper secondary education, also known as the Advanced Level, some had the bachelor's level of education and a good number had undergone vocational training. Very few of the participants had extended to the master's level of education and this level constituted mostly of the married and from the 40-49 age category. On the other hand, those from the 20-29 age group had mostly Advanced Level and were single. The majority of the participants at the bachelor's and vocational training level of education were from the 30-39 age category and made up of both the married and single participants.

5.2.5 Occupational Status

Many of the respondents who participated in answering the research questionnaires for this study, commonly identified themselves as private workers, self-employed workers, and farmers. Also, about one or two of the respondents were identified under other professions such as public worker, owning a licensed business, housewife, and other unspecified occupations. However, the few unemployed respondents were observed to have just an Advanced Level of education, which perhaps may imply that, they were either students still studying before being displaced because of the crisis or people whose education had ended at the Advanced level and were focusing on other activities other than school. It should be noted here that, this study did not consider being a student as an occupation because it considered participants starting from the age group of 20-29 years as people who were already of the working-age group.

5.2.6 Region and Living Area Before Displacement

Data collected from the questionnaires indicates that a great number of the participants were people displaced from the urban areas of the NW region, followed by those of the rural areas still of the NW region. Fewer people participated from both the urban SW and the rural areas of the SW regions for this study. This implies that, most of the challenges and perspectives obtained from the questionnaires were centered around the surviving strategies and difficulties of IDPs displaced from the urban and rural areas of the NW regions to the Capital city of Cameroon.

5.2.7 Religious Affiliation

Out of the four specified church denominations considered for this study, more than half of the people who participated in the study were from the Catholic and Presbyterian denominations. This dominant number of participants from the Catholic and Presbyterian denomination can also be attested to the fact that about two-fifths of the Cameroon population according to (Benneh & DeLancey, 2020 April 2) is made up of Roman Catholics and with more than a quarter being Protestants.

5.3 Factors Influencing the Social Capital of Urban IDPs in Cameroon

This part of the study represents one of the several sections of data analysis specifically from the research questionnaires, and that is discussed following the study research questions. Based on the various approaches and related literature discussed in chapter three above, one of the necessary conditions for the existence of social capital is human interaction and association. Being able to have people you can support and help and vice versa. The opportunities found in such associations might differ, be it formal or informal associations through which financial, moral, sharing of information or emotional support are being shared, interaction with other people is necessary for the existence of social capital (Downing, 2011). Factors in this context were interpreted and analyzed from the personal resources also considered as the socioeconomic resources of the individual. The personal resources in this study are contextualized under Nan Lin's resource perspective and how that can influence their social capital, necessary for their adaptability. One of the first research questions explored and discussed here with response to the data collected, goes as thus *"What are the individual indicators of social capital that are necessary for the adaptation process of an Urban IDPs?"*

5.3.1 Education and Occupation

Education is regarded as one of those personal resources, that affect an individual's social capital. Individuals tend to invest in social relationships with the expectation of obtaining benefits (Membiela-Pollán & Pena-López, 2017). These investments can be financially, intellectually as well as socially. *Who you are*, eases your connectivity with other people thereby creating accessibility and returns from their resources. Education is one of those intellectual investments that can distinguish an individual's social network or level of interaction. According to (Eckardt Ute & Köln, 2012 June), education in itself creates the resources for employment opportunities, growth in businesses and, the economy as a whole. Individuals consider education as a channel for better earnings and the level of someone's education can also determine both their work and the satisfaction derived from it. Relatively, as earlier mentioned in chapter three, (Kiboro, 2017) points out that, education creates good communication skills which facilitate interaction and the creation of contacts that can offer good job opportunities.

Based on the data collected, I sought to find out how education could easily help and facilitate the livelihood of Urban IDPs through interaction, after a conflict-induced displacement. Inferring from the tabulated data, many informants were seen to have an Advanced level and others attended right up to the Bachelor's level of education. Also, many were noticed to have Vocational training and only very few out of the total participants had a master's level of education. Education can provide good communication skills that can boost up people's self-esteem thereby, enhancing a sociable ground through which people can ask seek information about various opportunities available in that area. Relating their educational level to their occupations before and after displacement, it was noticed that, most participants with an Advanced level of education, were unemployed with one or two being self-employed and the other a farmer before displacement. After displacement, only one self-employed participant was still able to maintain their occupational status of livelihood, while the others were not able to get jobs. On the other hand, those with a bachelor's level of education were all employed even before the crisis. Some were workers in either a private or public sector, one was a farmer by occupation and another a housewife. Furthermore, many of them even after displacement were still able to maintain their occupation or get new jobs in their new locations, for example, the housewife who got a job but after displacement, and the farmer who was still able to farm in the Capital region after displacement. However, farming in the Capital city may not necessarily be in the city centers, but in the outskirts of the Capital city. In this situation, it is possible to conclude that, the level of education of this farmer, may have included programs

adding value to his farming techniques. Participants having a Master's level of education and vocational training, also had the same case scenario as those with the bachelor's level of education. This means that those who were employed either under the public sector, owning a licensed business, or being self-employed before displacement, were still able to maintain their occupational status even after displacement. However, one exception observed in this case shows a participant with a Master's level of education who was unemployed before displacement and remained unemployed also after displacement at the time this survey was carried out. This situation may contradict the claim that higher education will lead to better job opportunities or create good contacts through interactions with beneficial resources that can be exchanged as stipulated by (Eckardt Ute & Köln, 2012 June) and (Kiboro, 2017). Notwithstanding, looking at the responses obtained from the majority of the participants, many of those who were employed before displacement, were still able to either maintain their jobs or get new ones. This could imply a possession of valuable jobs or job positions and education by the participants before displacement which is in great demand in their current location. It can also be concluded that the participants who already had jobs and those who were self-employed, had created a quality social network or connections such as business partners, colleagues, and friends that were useful to them even after displacements as compared to those who were unemployed and having a lower level of education, limiting them from creating contacts and securing better jobs offer. Hence, education and occupation can be seen as one of those intertwined socio-economic resources of an individual that can positively increase an individual's social level of interaction and the creation of useful contacts, necessary and beneficial in times of need.

5.3.2 Employment and Income Status

Employment can simply be understood as someone being paid for the services they render. Being employed by someone or receiving profits from a self-employed activity can help pay bills and create time and money to indulge in other activities that can be politically, economically, and socially beneficial for an individual even after displacement. The type of job an individual has can determine the type of income they receive and how that can ease their adaptability to any environment, especially after being displaced because of a conflict crisis. According to (Kiboro, 2017), unemployed people do not have the money to maintain their participation in group memberships. Also, they consider the time spent in group participation to be more valuable for job search. Furthermore, in the study of (Brehm & Rahn, 1997), they

suggest that unemployment and inequality in income can reduce interpersonal trust. Lack of trust among people can obstruct social interactions and the exchange of resources among people. This, therefore, means that not only does good employment in terms of job position and satisfaction guarantee better income in adapting to any living cost, it also creates trust in group participation for people with such status. Hence, people with better jobs and income will likely associate with individuals of the same caliber whom they know they can easily trust, thereby enriching the quality of their social network.

With respect to this study and looking at the relationship between employment, income, and group participation, it was observed that those who had jobs in their current location and whose income could cover their expenses had many group memberships such as church associations, work organizations, teacher's union associations, farmer's associations, traditional meetings, and other unspecified groups. Whereas those who had jobs but with income that could not cover their expenses belonged only to work organization groups and church associations or traditional meeting groups and others did not even belong to any groups. Belonging to a work organization for most individuals can also be considered as an obligation from the workplace, which is always advantageous for the members of such groups as they tend to receive contributions and financial support when need be. More so, a lot of resources like finance, emotional support, or helpful information that might be beneficial to its members, are always exchanged in such groups. The few participants whose jobs and income could cover more than their expenses either belonged to many groups or none. While some participants with no jobs and income did not belong to any groups and some at least belonged to a student union which is usually less demanding in terms of finance. Participants were asked to indicate their employment and income status in their new location after displacement in terms of a new job or business, the same job or business, no job or business, and others were considered as any unspecified activities of the participants. In regard to income, they were asked to choose from the given options whether they had no income, having an income that does not cover basic expenses, having an income that covers basic expenses, and having an income that covers more than the basic expenses. From the analysis above, it is clear that those who had jobs and whose jobs rewarded them with incomes that could cover their expenses, and even more were members of many local groups because they had the money and time for memberships as compared to those with no jobs and income who could regard membership as financially demanding and time-consuming for them. Most will prefer to take that time to look for the jobs they don't have or save the little money they have for their upkeep. Moreover, people with

better jobs and income use social groups as a platform to perpetuate their status position and add more ranks in such platforms.

5.3.3 Age

Age can influence an individual's social capital, be it at the dependency level or level of connections created through life experiences. According to (McDonald & Mair, 2010), people easily make friends at a younger age. This friendship might either grow as they grow older or might change due to a change of location, school, and as a result of meeting new people with time. This also means that age and gender indicators are connected to network friendship which is necessary for daily life interactions and particularly useful in adapting to a new environment. As noted by (McDonald & Mair, 2010), friendship networks might decrease with aging as experienced individuals with accumulated knowledge and information might find it unnecessary to engage in social groups or interactions for the sake of information sharing. As mentioned earlier in chapter three, (Navarra et al., 2013) mentioned age in relation to place of settlement, dependency rate, and social ties. According to them, older people chose their place of settlement in accordance with where their children had already settled and also, more close social ties existed between younger age group from 26 years downward with older people while others from 26 years upward, had more close ties but with their peers or people around their age group.

Looking at the collected data on the case of Cameroon Urban IDPs, age was compared with the types of social ties an individual felt they belonged to and whether they felt locally integrated or not in their new environment. Without going back to the educational status of participants, it was observed that most participants felt their social ties were made up of both formal and informal categories especially those from the age group of 30-39, which made up the majority of the participants for this study. Those from 20-29 age group, were also having both formal and informal social ties, though with more social ties from the informal category. However, I noticed their social ties were not tied to their age group but more related to their occupational status. Many of the participants from the age group of 20-29 and 30-39 who had both formal and informal social ties were mostly private workers or self-employed workers. As well as those from both age groups who were unemployed frequent but with informal social ties. Furthermore, comparing the social ties category with the level of integration in their new locations, the data presented show that more than half of the total participants felt partially integrated into their new location. Many who felt partially integrated and fully integrated, had

both formal and informal social ties, implying that they had informal social ties of friendship network with peers, which could either be childhood friends, colleagues at work, or friends with the same or different characteristics, and family with whom they shared information regarding daily life activities and opportunities that could benefit each other. Formal social ties on the other hand could represent acquaintances at work, business partners, and family connections. However, participants who felt fully integrated had a probably better quality of friendship networks from both old and new contacts, good jobs, and income facilitating their adaptability in their new environment than those who just felt partially integrated. While those who felt partially integrated irrespective of their social ties might be as a result of still feeling the absence of their previous lifestyle, old friends and jobs or their hometown in general. Finally, a particular observation derived from the data on few people who did not feel integrated at all shows that all were either unemployed with no income or their jobs were not rewarding enough to cover their expenses making it difficult for them to adapt to these new living conditions after being displaced. Therefore collectively, based on the data analysis from the case of Urban IDPs living in the capital city of Cameroon (Yaounde), the age category of the participants did not relatively determine the decline of friendship network nor the types of social ties revolving around them, but rather factors such as distance from old friends, cultural differences, cost of living and occupational status and income, could affect a displaced person's friendship network and the degree to which they feel integrated into an environment by the people surrounding them.

5.3.4 Family Support

Family support is one of those indicators that can influence the adaptability process of displaced persons living in the cities areas of another region. Most scholars talk about family support as the first solace for displaced people. Where they chose to resettle, how they create job contacts, and when where they live before moving into a place of their own is always with the help from families. During times of crisis, individuals believe family members are their immediate available helpers to tend to for support (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015). According to (Navarra et al., 2013), their already settled family members help provide them with emotional and financial support from the traumas and uncertainties enclosed with displacement issues. Also, they can tap from their family network in the given locations for job opportunities and security.

Decerning from this related literature, family support was approached in this study by the remittances participants received from relatives living abroad, why they choose their area of location, their housing status, and how they got their jobs in their current location. Looking at the tabulated data, firstly, participants who had jobs after displacement were either transferred from their formal jobs where they were displaced from or they had assistance from family, friends, or relatives in getting jobs. However, very few had such opportunities. While some had help from family and friends in getting a job, others were transferred from their previous employment, and the rest of the working category, took a very long period to get jobs since they had no help but had to do it themselves. This is an indicator that family support and close friends played huge support in aiding the adaptability process of Urban IDPs after displacement because with jobs they were able to pay their house rents and buy food for themselves which are one of the most challenging problems of urban displaced persons. Meanwhile, looking at the housing situation of most participants, many could afford to rent a house of their own since they had assistance from family and friends in getting jobs, after being displaced. However, those with no jobs and no income depended on the accommodation provided to them by family members since they probably could not afford to pay rent. This does not go without exception as two participants from the age group of 20-29 still lived with relatives, even though they had paid jobs. Such situations can be view as bonding social capital that is, having very strong bonds with close relatives underpinning the importance of similarities as well as, it could be assumed that these participants, being from the youngest age group of the study were too young to live on their own or deciding to live with family to minimize expenses encountered in living in big cities. Lastly, although participants had multi reasons for chosen the Capital region of Cameroon as their place of location, amongst these reasons, many participants indicated the presence of relatives and friends as one of them. However, there is always an exception to every positive situation. For this case, it was observed that for those participants who had relatives living abroad, very few received remittance from them as family support. This means that remittance is not a significant resource for internally displaced people having family or relatives abroad. Conclusively, family support plays an essential role in helping Urban IDPs to adapt to the changes caused by political conflict.

5.4 Different Challenging Problems Faced by Urban IDPs

Towards the beginning of chapter three, a discussion is presented on the general challenges faced by Urban IDPs and the complexities surrounding their identification process. Distinguishing who an Urban IDP is from the urban poor citizen or a business migrant is always a ticklish situation as some Urban IDPs do not even want to be identified as such. (Haysom, 2013) and (Kirbyshire et al., 2017), identified job scarcity and the absence of suitable shelter respectively as being one of the top problems experienced by Urban IDPs after displacement especially for those fleeing from a political conflict-based scenario. Some other challenges identified by other scholars are the problems of violence among the youths and sexual harassment particularly for women in the process of job seeking. However, (Crisp et al., 2012) point out my focus of interest as they suggest that, these challenges for Urban IDPs might vary bases on their resources and economic situations. This takes me to my next research question, which seeks to explore how these challenges vary as regards the individual's level of social capital before and after displacement. The research question explored here goes as follows *“What challenges do Urban IDPs experience with regards to their level of social capital?”*

To find out the challenges of Urban IDPs from the anglophone regions living in the Capital region of Cameroon, participants were asked to rate the issues they found most problematic towards the end of the questionnaires after analyzing their present living conditions towards the beginning of the questionnaires. This structure was applied to capture the different perspectives of individuals, on what seemed most challenging for them despite their educational level, employment status, income, family support, associational level, and other unmentioned factors by the participants.

Participants were asked to rate from the most problematic, more problematic, problematic, less problematic, and neutral from the provided options of challenges assumed to be faced by most Urban IDPs. To facilitate the interpretation of results rather than discussing these challenges per person, I interpreted the results from two angles. That is, the first angle of analysis, looked at the most problematic challenges of those who had jobs after displacement and the second phase analyze the most challenging issues for those who were unemployed after displacement with no income.

5.4.1 Understanding the Challenges of Employed Urban IDPs After Displacement

Employment as earlier discussed in the previous sections can influence an individual's quality of social capital. Remarkably, those employed are often considered to have the possibility of generating income which they can use to influence more social interactions and networks, especially when having a good educational background as a surplus. This, however, does not define the situation of unemployed people to be those with less social capital and more challenges in adapting to a new location after displacement.

Looking at the most problematic challenges of employed people after displacement both for participants with incomes that could cover their expenses and even for those that their income could not cover their expenses, it was observed that their most common problem was housing conditions and missing of family ties/old contacts. Also, majority of the employed participants faced hunger issues. However, it was observed that those who faced hunger issues, were mostly those whose income package, could not cover all their expenses and these participants were mostly female, married, and from the older age group category. This implies that they were people with more responsibilities and more people depending on them like children and relatives who probably, might have moved in with them after displacement. More so, considering the living standards of the capital region, purchasing food might be much more expensive as compared to the NW and SW regions where people cultivate their food or buy at a very cheaper rate. As for the remaining one or two participants who were employed and having income below their expenses, the reason one can pinpoint to be the cause of hunger issues after displacement can be connected to their living with relatives. These were people from the young age group of 20-29, who came to the capital region and squatted with relatives, which it may have been difficult from the part of the relatives to adjust to the changes of having additional people to cater for because of the crisis.

Another challenging issue faced by employed participants was housing conditions and missing of family ties and old contacts. For those people who were renting, they found the housing issues to be a more problematic challenge while others considered it to be just problematic. The meaning here is that, although housing was a challenging issue for these participants, it was not the main or greatest preoccupation in their list of problems, but just one of their second most challenging problems, and while for those that it was problematic, it means it was a normal problem just like any other challenges. The often-informal phrase made by many Cameroonians is that *houses in the capital city are very expensive*. This means that the money

that can afford for an apartment in the anglophone regions can maybe pay for just a one-room house in the Capital city. This insinuates that many displaced persons faced difficulties maintaining their housing standards after displacement, making them uncomfortable with the housing conditions of the Capital region of Cameroon and better still, spending a lot of money to maintain a good accommodation that reflects their status. While for those who did not find housing conditions after displacement to be a problematic issue, either lived with relatives or had a good income from their jobs that could make housing problems, less of an issue to them. For example, people from some private or public sectors who were transferred from former regions to the latter could probably get house subsidies from the organizations or companies they worked for. One interesting point noticed during data analysis is that the issue of missing family ties and old contacts was a challenging problem faced by many employed participants. The anglophone crisis did not completely chase away all the civilians from these regions. However, most were forced to flee from these instabilities because of destroyed homes, life threats, school lockdown for kids, and weekly ghost towns which hindered a lot of business activities. In the course of fleeing, many left their families behind to sort out the unknown awaiting them in these places they were fleeing to and some could not just cope with the high cost of living challenges that they might face in a new location if they were to move alongside with their entire family. These caused many to live their families behind and even with the help and support from other relatives, friends, and newly created contacts in their new location, many participants irrespective of their employment status, indicated the challenge of missing their family ties and old contacts as a problematic issue for them. Some of the participants, who did not indicate the missing of family ties and old contacts as a challenge, were either familiar with their current location or had moved in with their close relatives due to adequate jobs and income standards. Other challenges such as unemployment (that is the quest to change jobs for those who had jobs already), access to education, access to medical facilities, insecurity issues, leisure time, and others were problems less challenging for most employed participants.

5.4.2 Understanding the Challenges of Unemployed Urban IDPs After Displacement

Being unemployed and having no income or salary, can be a burdensome situation especially after fleeing from an armed conflict without anything, or time to prepare for a change of location. Most displaced persons in such situations, find themselves frustrated and unable to provide for their basic needs that can help ease their adaptability into such new environments.

Looking at the case of internally displaced unemployed participants located in the Capital Region of Cameroon, most of them faced common challenges such as hunger/insufficient nutrition, unemployment, access to education, and access to medical services. It was observed that many of the unemployed participants were living with relatives in the Capital Region, who had surely welcomed them and provided them with accommodation after fleeing from the crisis, while the few others rented a place for themselves. In both ways, the increase in the number of individuals in a household especially in times of crisis can affect their feeding rate. As for those renting, paying for high rental bills may contribute to inadequate feeding especially when they have no source of generating income. Moreover, many at times IDPs are exploited by landlords, who because of the high demand for houses from both displaced persons and the actual urban residents, might turn to increase the rents. This leads to another dire situation faced by Urban IDPs, that of housing conditions. Unemployed participants of this study also identified the problem of inadequate housing conditions to be a challenging issue for them. As earlier mention, renting prices might be inflated by landlords due to the increased demand in housing because of the inflow of IDPs as a result of the crisis. Sometimes, these houses do not have good structures or facilities like the one they lived in before displacement which makes it hard for them in accepting these sudden changes. Meanwhile, participants living with relatives did not necessarily find housing conditions as a problem for them, unless for one or two from the age category of 30-39 who identified that as a problem. One significant observation noticed here irrespective of their unemployment status, was the age group categories. Those who were from the age group category of 20-29 living with relatives had no problems with their housing conditions as compared to those of the age group of 30-39 years. Cases like this can be interpreted here as a result of arising disputes or misunderstandings, resulting from increased burdens of the older age group with no jobs nor income to support the household.

Other challenges such as access to education and missing of family ties/old contacts were also problematic to unemployed participants but not for most of them. Whereas access to education was problematic for the younger age group of 20-29 years, who had an Advanced level as their educational status and were probably wishing to continue with their bachelors, those from the older age group of 30-39 did not necessarily find education as a problematic issue. The latter age group doubtlessly will be in greater need of jobs opportunities than access to education immediately after an armed conflict displacement. This makes unemployment issues the most challenging problem for those with no jobs and looking for survival means. Almost all the

unemployed participants indicated the lack of jobs as the most problematic issue for them. However, from the data collected, many who were unemployed, did not have jobs even before displacement and the few that had were either farmers or self-employed people who lost those opportunities after displacement. This situation can perhaps be interpreted as one where the people had few or inefficient contacts and connections to provide useful resources on job opportunities implying low levels of social capital for people with no jobs or influential backgrounds. Knowing a hierarchical person in the society can be a surplus advantage to many individuals needing jobs, irrespective of your educational background, they can connect you to any useful jobs when need be. Also, the lack of further education for these unemployed people might have limited their scope for job openings, and the skills to confidently persuade their entourage for information about some opportunities. Jobs give people the opportunity to meet other people with different social networks, that another individual can tap and benefit from in times of need. This can explain why the lack of quality social networks of the unemployed participants before displacement did not present them with opportunities for jobs after displacement, making it challenging for most of them who must look for those jobs on their own. Furthermore, family ties/old contacts were a problem faced by some of the unemployed participants who were renting or squatting with friends as compared to those living with relatives in their current location. This means those living with relatives especially from the age group of 20-29 years old, already had the family support they could need more than the ones who were renting or living in uncomfortable situations with relatives. Finally, while other challenges such as insecurities, relaxation/entertainment, and others were less problematic, access to medical services was still an issue for most of the unemployed participants.

In a nutshell, social capital is not necessarily about how much financial capital or socio-economic resources an individual has, but how useful these resources can facilitate their social interaction with other people. These interactions create important connections for a quality life. That is, knowing you can have assistance from someone or a group of people when in need, can help you adapt to any uncertainties of life. However, whether relating with family, friends, colleagues, or the community at large, the importance of maintaining such relations through trust and reciprocity guarantees the quality and level of such a network. That is why inferring from the above analysis and discussions, it can be plausibly concluded that some socio-economic characteristics can highly influence an individual's level of social capital or cause social inequality in the acquisition of social capital as affirm by (Lin, 2000 p: 786). He pinpoints out the fact that this inequality in the acquisition of social capital is often based on the

differences in socio-economic positions in the society, and the and general fact that, these differences cause individuals to associate mostly but with people with whom they have similar personal or socioeconomic characteristics.

5.5 Perceptions on Individual Social Capital.

While Bourdieu talks about the usage and benefits of social capital enjoyed by certain privileged class hierarchy, Lin, on the other hand, emphasize the unequal access of social capital. However, people's level of social capital can also change as a result of movement. That is, when people move from one place to another, there is a greater chance of meeting new people and creating new contacts and opportunities that can be more substantial than their previous ones.

This part of the study tries to capture the changes of social capital in an individual's life after being displaced from an armed conflict area and taking into consideration the negative consequences the conflict may have had on them, their search, or need for better safety locations and life opportunities for sustenance. In periods of political crisis, people lose property, love ones, jobs, and even their own lives are at stake. All these can lead to financial breakdown and trust issues in trying to adapt and socialize with new people. The posed question for this objective was structured as follows "*What perspectives do Urban IDPs have, about their social capital before and after displacement?*"

While other's social capital might tend to diversify and expand more in life at the capital city with the creation of new contacts and social networks, others might find themselves in a struggling situation of getting along with people of different cultural backgrounds. In this study, participants were asked about their membership group before and how beneficial these groups were of help to them after displacement. Also, questions regarding their level of trust and comfort between them and those in their current location were asked on a rating scale to signify adaptability and satisfaction to changes. Perspectives of participants were also asked whether they preferred to return to their place of origin or stay at their current location and reasons for their choices were based on some provided options.

5.5.1 Perceptions on Before and After Displacement on Group Membership

Although participants were not asked if they belonged to any groups after displacement, they were asked if the groups they belonged to after displacement, were still of assistance to them. The study focused on local group meetings commonly recognized by many Cameroonians such

as Church Associations (CA) Work Organizations (WO), Teachers' Union Association (TUA), Farmer's Association (FA), Student's Union (SU), Traditional Meetings (TM), and others (unspecified groups) or if they did not belong to any at all. Observing from the tabulated data collected more than half of the participants, at least belong to one or two more groups before displacement. The dominant local groups to which the majority belonged, were groups such as Church Associations, and Traditional Meetings. This may perhaps be interpreted as a high level of the importance of religiosity and ethnicity, especially for Cameroonian people. Most Cameroonians hold strong values to their religion and culture as being an integral part of their identity. This aspect makes them to have strong bonding ties and group associations with people of the same religion and culture than with those of dissimilar features. Very few of the participants who were employed, belonged to Work Organizations, while the remaining few participants, did not belong to any group. As earlier mentioned under the discussion section of employment and income status, participant's membership to groups is positively affected by their jobs and income status. Perhaps this could mean that the better their jobs and income rate, the greater the interest in group membership by some individuals. Turning to the beneficial side of such groups, out of the participants who belonged to some groups, few of them did not find it beneficial while a good number of them found it averagely helpful to them, even after displacement. This implied a good level of social capital from previous group associations before displacement for group members.

5.5.2 Trust and Comfortability After Displacement

Obtaining their perspectives on their social capital at the level of trust and comfortability of the participants concerning their new location and the people around them, their level of trust and comfortability was compared with their feelings on local integration. Looking at the rating scale of their level of trust and comfortability with the people around them and vice versa, half of the participants, felt trusted, and as well as trusting back the people around them, without any attachment to their social status in terms of jobs, education, or income. Out of the other remaining half of the participants, some felt an average level of trust and comfortability around the people that surrounded them, and likewise, around three of them did not even trust nor feel trusted. However, comparing this level of trust, to their feelings of being locally integrated, instead, very few felt truly integrated locally, while the majority of them, just felt partially locally integrated, and for those who did not feel integrated at all, either had earlier indicated no feelings of trust and comfort with the people around them and vice versa or moderately did.

As noted by (Cook, 2005), trust is an important social lubricant that facilitates interaction and cooperation among people at the micro-level. This implies that the lack of trust or reciprocated trust between Urban IDPs and initial residents of the Capital city might hinder social interactions among people, thereby reducing the need for social connections and collaboration. Trust also shapes the quality of relations, this is the reason why most people with homogenous characteristics will easily trust each other than heterogeneous relations.

5.5.3 Perceptions on Preferred Area of Location

Different perspectives often arise from people, when faced with the question of *what is home to you?* While some may say home is where they feel comfortable and safe, others consider home as a place where they are family and friends or where they originate from. Assorted answers to this question might often depend on an individual's present location or circumstances surrounding them. Where people feel at home, depends on what their definition of home is, they try to make themselves comfortable by integrating with the people around them in order to know them better. Relatively, this can apply too to an individual's social capital. That is to say, their level of social capital might increase or decrease depending on their location and how they relate with the people surrounding them. In trying to understand this aspect with regards to the preferred location of participants after displacement, participants were asked if they desired to return home or stay at their current location and, to select among the options provided, the reasons why they wished to return or stay at their current location.

Concerning participants' wish to return home to their habitual area of residence, more than half of the participants indicated the need to return home including those who already had jobs in their current location. Many participants who had jobs and a means of generating income in their current location still wanted to return home. Most of their reasons for desiring to return home were alike such as having family/relatives and friends in their previous location, better economic and social opportunities there, house and properties, and just loving their area and desiring to leave there. Meanwhile for those who had jobs but had neutral feelings about going home or for some who did not even want to return at all, indicated insecurity issues as a reason for not wishing to go back. This analysis for employed participants can be interpreted that, though most of them, choose the Capital region of Cameroon as their place of location because of the opportunities and the presence of relatives/friends they had there, they still missed their formal area of location including the probably closer family members and friends they had in their former location, their properties, and the economic and social opportunities in the former

area than the latter. Moreover, opportunities found in the Capital region were not the reasons why those who were neutral or did not even want to return, preferred the place but rather, because of the security measures. Based on such analysis, it can plausibly be concluded that employed participants in this study, will prefer their former area of the location to the current one, indicating a better level of social capital for them, before displacement. As for the unemployed participants, while half of them wanted to return to their former place of origin, some had neutral feelings on whether to returned or not. However, for those who wanted to return, their main reason was because of the family and friends they had left behind and for the fact that they just love their area of origin. On the other hand, those who had neutral feelings felt unsafe returning to their place of origin and not necessarily because of the opportunities available in their current location after being displaced. This implies their place of origin was still a priority to them, though they were adapting to the changes because of the insecurities surrounding their place of origin. Here, the level of social can be captured and interpreted at the level of close friends and family to a source from which they derive emotional support and not necessarily a platform consisting of useful contacts and exchange of opportunities. Such social interactions are mostly found at the level of young age groups, who lack a good working experience and limit their selves mostly only around the people they are familiar with from their neighbourhood, school mates or childhood friends.

The perceptions of participants about their social capital, before and after displacement, were not accurately captured with specific reasons as to which area of location had provided them with a better level of social capital. Notwithstanding, the criteria on which their social capital was compared and discussed from the tabulated data, indicates that many still felt their social capital before displacement was better up than the one after displacement in terms of group membership for those who belong to them. Also, most of them, irrespective of their jobs, preferred their previous location to their current one, and most indicated family and friends as one of their main reasons for a desire to return. This implies family support as a great social capital for participants before displacement. However, at the level of trust and comfort, although many positively reacted to their feelings of trust and comfort, they still did not feel completely integrated locally in their current area. This could imply a low level of trust as compared to their former location, limited opportunities, and the differences of culture encountered with the people. Hence, mobility alone cannot influence an individuals' level of social capital, but old connections, social status, or personal characteristics of an individual can be of great influence in determining an individual's level of social capital.

5.6 Analyzing Responses of Interviews Using Narrative Analysis

In this study, interviews were conducted as detailed in section 4.7.2, to get an in-depth perspective of how social capital can influence the adaptability process of displaced persons living in the Capital region of Cameroon. Data collected from interviews were transcribed and analyzed using narrative analysis. Narrative analysis refers to “*an approach to the analysis of qualitative data that emphasizes the stories that people employ to account for events* (Bryman, 2012)p 584)”. This method was found appropriate for this study because, the study intended to capture how IDPs, tell their means of adaptability and challenges experienced in the form of stories. According to (Neuman, 2014)p 495), a narrative refers to “*text*” and “*practice*” in social life, whereby the “*narrative text*” represents how raw data is being organized and given meaning and understanding of social life in a “*storylike*” manner. Whereas “*narrative practice is the storylike form through which people subjectively experience and give meaning to their daily lives and their actions.*” Through these narratives, information about events, and daily life experiences, are told and how they flow over time from a particular point of view. In trying to understand the role of social capital from an individualistic angle for those internally displaced after a political crisis, a narrative “*text*” and “*practice*” were employed to get data from the respondents in a storylike manner, and their subjective meaning on the experiences of their adaptability process through the use of social capital. One important aspect of narrative analysis used in this study is that it not only “*giving voice*” to the Urban IDPs to tell their story, but also to I the researcher, my presence, voice, and subjectivity on these stories told (Neuman, 2014 p:496).

How data is analyzed using narrative analysis, can help give an understanding of the structure and presentation of the results. (Neuman, 2014 p:497), suggests various tools of narrative analysis, one of which he mentions that is of great interest in this section of interview analysis, is the ‘*path dependency*’ tool of narrative analysis. This method employed, emphasizes on “*how the choices of one period can limit future options, shape later choices, and even accelerate events toward future crisis in which options may be restricted* (Neuman, 2014 p:497).” Inferring from this perspective and looking at the case of IDPs living in the capital region of Cameroon but displaced from the NW and SW region, the path dependency tool of narrative analysis was deemed appropriate, in analyzing and presenting their stories of how the crisis has positively or negatively affected their social capital. The choice to leave a conflicting zone, where to go, and how to adapt to these transitional phases, is how this study seeks to capture the role of social capital in the lives of Urban IDPs a conflict-induced displacement.

However, only a few interviews were conducted as earlier discussed in chapter four, to support and give more light and detailed perceptions of the role of social capital in adapting to changes.

5.6.1 Profiles of Respondents

The profiles of respondents will be presented in a table. Interviews were conducted individually, and the profile information presented in the table below uses a pseudonym to keep the respondents' identities anonymous. From there, the narratives of respondents will follow chronologically based on the order presented in the table.

Table 1: List of Respondents and their Profile

Names	Age	Gender	Education	Marital Status	Occupation Status Before Displacement	Occupation Status After Displacement	Region
Aba	45	Male	PhD	Married	Magistrate	Magistrate	NW
Clara	35	Female	Vocational Training	Single Mother	Businesswoman	No job	NW
Nesa	30	Male	Masters	Single	Self-employed	Self-employed	NW
Eve	38	Female	Masters	Married	Banker	Banker	SW

The respondents' profile was necessary to apprehend during the interview session, in order to facilitate the understanding of those aspects or characteristics of an individual that influences their access to social capital. From the profile of the respondents, all had jobs before displacement and only one of them (Clara) did not have a job after displacement. Life can change in the “blink of an eye”, and these changes can either affect people positively or negatively. From a socio-economic angle, *who you are* and *who you know*, as earlier mentioned in the previous chapters, can play a role in how an individual adapts to the changes and circumstances of life. The subsequent section presents narratives of how Urban IDPs living in the capital city of Cameroon, try to adapt to the changes caused by a conflict-induced displacement. Narratives were presented in two sections, the first section analyses and present

the narratives of respondents whose life were not affected by their displacement, followed by those affected after being internally displaced because of the crisis.

5.6.2 Narratives of Urban IDPs Who Easily Adapted After Displacement.

Narratives from Aba, and Nesa of age 45 years and 30 years respectively, present the experiences and aspects of social capital of these individuals, that facilitated their adaptability process even after being displaced because of conflict. Analyzing and presenting data from a ‘*path dependency*’ manner, embodies an experience of life before the crisis and the transitional period, during and after displacement. Aba, a native from the NW region, lived in the urban city of the NW region, where he was working before the start of the crisis. Being from the NW region where he worked and reside with his family for a long period before the start of the anglophone crisis, his life has been practically built around family, friends, and colleagues from the NW region and with whom alike characteristics are shared. Aba does not look at life to have changed drastically because of displacement caused by the crisis, but rather, just as a change of location in his country, with his daily routine of going to work, returning to family, and meeting friends, relatives, and colleagues when needed, just like before. In his own words, he pins,

To me, there is no difference in life in the Capital city to that of the NW region. Although I sought for a transfer of office because of the insecurities from the crisis, I still feel and live like a normal transferred person if the crisis had not existed. Besides, my daily life routine has not changed from that when I was leaving in the NW region. I still go to work like I used to do before and return home to my family, that came along with me to the Capital city and some few friends and colleagues around that we interact together.

Aba (2021)

Nesa, a self-employed individual, from the NW region, also feels the same way as Aba after displacement. Nesa sees the Capital city as an area with many opportunities where he can easily sell off his skills and live better than the way he was when living in the regional capital of the NW (Bamenda). He sees Bamenda now as a place limited only by the ‘anglophone people’ of the same mindset and contented with what they have and with no desire or aspirations of exploring other areas. In his words, he recollects,

I might have never thought of leaving Bamenda if not for this crisis. I felt so comfortable with being in the NW region, having people of the same language, culture and that you have known them for long. I looked at the other regions as being expensive and difficult to live in since they

have different cultures and ways of doing things. Do not get me wrong, but that was my mentality before. But after the displacement, I realize things were different and life too in Yaounde can be good and even better than the one in Bamenda. Yaounde is more diverse and understanding people with these differences is interesting to me.

Nesa

Aba and Nesa, find life quite adaptable in the capital city with no significant difference living in the Capital city because they left from a region of crisis. They both saw Yaounde as a place of growth and not to be hindered because they come from a region of crisis with a different culture from that of the French-speaking people.

When talking about the role of social capital in the adaptability process of Urban IDPs in a new environment after displacement, Aba, stresses on his education, job position, and ethnicity as great influence of his social capital before and after displacement. According to him, his education has influenced the type of job position he owes, and even after displacement, his education and previous experiences on the job site, have retained him a good job position after his transfer. This type of job and the position he owns permits him to meet with people, create contacts and maintain good networks. Ethnicity on its part involves the people from his tribe, with whom he shares the same cultural traditions such as, mother tongue, traditional meals, and dance. People always feel like one family, when they are in such traditional meetings as explained earlier in this section. Aba meets occasionally during planned events which means not on regular basis. Notwithstanding, whatever time he dedicates to such meetings, it still shows how important those meetings are to him. Moving to the Capital city because of his job is also an opportunity for widening up his network. Apart from choosing Yaounde the Capital city, as a place to work and where good networks can be created, he talks about climate conditions and the security measures of Yaounde as also some of his important reasons for choosing such a location over the other regions of Cameroon. Being attracted to a particular area for specific reasons can also be seen as a channel for future opportunities and how fast an individual can cope or adapt in such an area, requires other factors or resources from the individual. Aba, in his words, recollects those resources and factors that helped him easily adapt after displacement.

Life in Yaounde is still the same as that of Bamenda. I lived in Yaounde before, so I have friends, some few relatives here, and I know almost everywhere in Yaounde. Socially, I spent most of my time at work, I am very satisfied with my job and I am socially inclined with my

colleagues. Upon arrival at the capital city, based on my educational level, and work experience, I got promoted. I did not expect that, because I felt I was coming to a place with more competent people than I am. But instead, I was promoted based on merit and without discrimination of being an anglophone. My job position has put me on a good income that I cannot really complain about anything. With a satisfying salary, I make time to participate and interact in regular group meetings with colleagues at work, family, and occasionally with my tribe people. This is where my strong support comes from and the people with whom I easily feel comfortable around. I will specifically say, my social interaction revolves mostly around colleagues, family, and occasionally with my tribe people. However, in terms of the trust, we have for each other, I limit that to only my very close colleagues at my working unit, close family members, and my tribe people in Bamenda, not the ones I met in Yaounde. This is because for me trust is not just something you buy with money from the market, but it takes time and patience to learn people's character and see if they can be trusted. So definitely, I take time to trust anyone.

Aba

From Aba's perspective, employment is seen as one of his greatest resources that have influenced his social capital and facilitated his adaptability process in Yaounde. Through his education and experience, he got a good job position that led to satisfactory income status. Also, he talks of his job satisfaction and the fact that his social interaction revolves mostly with colleagues and family, and occasionally around tribe people. This signifies the importance of a good mindset, in acknowledging the availability of your resources and learning to utilize them for a greater purpose. For Aba, it is job satisfaction and daily interactions with colleagues and family. He also emphasizes time as a factor on which trust is built, this means with time, people's network can grow and become reliable.

Nesa on the other hand marks his communication skills and family background as the main possessed resources that influenced his social capital. His communication skills and family relations create opportunities for him. This permits him to have a wide network of friends and resourceful contacts that he can rely on in needy times. He elaborates more on the factors that positively influence his social capital in the followings word,

My specialization in school was in communication. Learning communication in school has not only made me confident and an outgoing person, but it has also facilitated my opportunities in

the job market. Whenever I meet or hear someone with some interesting information, I confidently ask them more on the details about it rather than shying away. Living here in the capital, French is not a barrier for me in pursuing useful information or creating contacts. I believe people like me because I easily get along with anyone. Although I use to be biased about the cultural differences between the French-speaking people and the English-speaking people, coming here after displacement has just made me more diverse and through the connections of my family members who are all working in both the public and private sector, I have been able to create more contacts for myself and profitable opportunities. My family and friends are my greatest social support, and with my outgoing personality, it is easy for us to get along with each other. These things make me feel comfortable and blended into the new environment. Turning to the aspect of trust, I do not consider it as something constant that I can capitalize my relations on, I just need to understand people's personalities and see how I can integrate and interact with them. So as for me, I build my social network on understanding than trust.

Nesa (2021)

According to Nesa, individual traits are important resources in influencing one's social capital. He mentions his outgoing and understanding nature as the resources that are beneficial to him in creating useful contacts and in his social interactions. Trust to him, is something that can change at any time, but learning to understand other people's character facilitates interaction with them. Such traits or personalities can also be derived and build from education and with regards to his educational background, this seems to be a good foundation from where his resources are derived. He also mentions his family background as an extended resource that has influenced the expansion and quality of his social network.

Aba and Nesa's perspective on their adaptability process after a displacement indicates a positive role of social capital in the adaptation process of displaced persons. Their personal resources such as education, employment, skills coupled with the extended ones from family, colleagues, and friends facilitate the creation of a potential network that they can rely on. Aba and Nesa ignored viewing the challenges encountered in the capital city as the outcome of being a displaced person. While Aba looks at it as normal daily challenges that he would have been facing even without displacement, Nesa sees these challenges as being less, compared to the challenges he was facing even without being displaced. Hence, Aba concludes by referring to his social capital in Yaounde as an addition to the already existing social capital he created

while leaving in the NW region. According to him, his connections in Bamenda still linked him up with clients in Yaounde. This indicates a good quality of social capital even before displacement, and a continuation of standards even after displacement. Nesa on his part sees his social capital after displacement as more profitable with potential contacts and benefits than what he had in the NW region.

5.6.3 Narratives from Urban IDPs Who Find it Difficult Adapting After Displacement

Clara is a 35 year old single mother female from the NW region, who owned a food store business before displacement and had no job after displacement. Clara talks about her life experiences as a single mother as one that was satisfying and manageable before displacement. She talks about the connection that she had built already and how her daily routine for livelihood was already under control and aiming for future high prospects. According to her all got destroyed with the crisis and the escalating insecurities that made her abandoned everything for the Capital city. In her words she puts,

I have lost everything during the crisis, the small business that I was managing for the upkeep of myself and my family is all gone. They burnt our stores because of ghost towns, and I lost all my capital. Life here in the Capital city is different, everything is expensive, house, food and even becoming a member of a group is so demanding, and there are no jobs. If not for the insecurities involved in the crisis, I would have stayed back and wait for the crisis to be over because coming here and hoping for a better opportunity seemed unachievable.

Clara (2021)

Clara expresses frustrations of losing everything during the crisis and fleeing to the Capital region because of safety reasons and with hopes of better opportunities in the Capital city. However, life does not seem to be going as she predicted, and she is still without a job. She chooses Yaounde because she has relatives living there already and that could help accommodate her while she finds a job and a place of her own.

When looking at the role of social capital in her life especially on the factors influencing her social capital, Clara talks of family support as her only resource that is helping her, and her children adapt after the displacement. She points out in her words,

I have no one here, most of the people I know and have come across as just acquaintances known through my elder sister whom I live with presently. She owns a restaurant and is doing all the best she can, to help sustain us. I spent most of my time at the restaurant trying to assist

her in serving customers so that she does not employ and incur more expenses paying someone to help her out. Sometimes she can get support from the church to help reduce her burden, but this happens once in a while. As for my own social connections, most were made up of women selling raw foodstuffs in the market just like me, most of us lost our food stores when the market was burnt down. So, they are all like me in their different angles trying to survive too.

Clara starts on her experience of life after displacement with the challenges she is facing after fleeing from the conflict. She finds life more challenging in the Capital city and at the same time, she cannot manage life in the NW region because of the insecurities occurring there. Her only support is her elder sister who owns a restaurant and is the one housing them. This indicates already a limited level of social network that can be of assistance to Clara in getting a job in Yaounde. Their daily interactions are surrounded and limited mostly with people who just come to eat and run back to their homes or jobs, depending on the time they go to the restaurant. *Time is money*, is the famous adage Clara hears from anyone she wants to create contacts with for information concerning jobs. She also mentions her limitations on her educational background and language barrier as factors that limit her opportunities and interactions with other people that she can maybe learn from. Therefore, to a certain extent, her limited social capital or low level of social capital does not really aid her adaptation process at the capital city. Notwithstanding, Clara still chooses her formal social capital of network in the NW region, than the one at Yaounde, since she believes she is more familiar with the places and people in Bamenda than the ones in the Capital region. Moreover, there is no language barrier back in the NW region and business opportunities are flexible than in Yaounde which is known as an administrative region.

Eve, on the other hand, is a 38 years old married woman who worked as a banker before displacement and after displacement, she still maintained her job. Eve's narrative is that which expresses the difficulties encountered due to the changes caused by the crisis but has a neutral feeling on the role of social capital in her adaptability process after being displaced. She comes from the SW region of Cameroon, and according to her, life was much cheaper, and the living standard was affordable in the SW region than it is in Yaounde. In the following words, she expresses her experience;

I am a banker, before displacement, I did not feel any pressure or dissatisfaction, with our living standards. Everything seemed okay for me and our finances were able to sustain our

expenditures and my family, and I will still have some spare change for other activities. I was transferred because of the lockdowns during the crisis and honestly, if I had to choose where to go, I will prefer Douala to Yaounde. Life here in the Capital city is very expensive and I feel like my salary is not enough anymore to sustain us like back then in the SW region. When life changes right before your eyes, and you change your location again, it becomes a whole lot to handle.

Eve (2021)

Eve is a banker who feels her economic situation was balance before displacement. She compares her living standard back in the SW region to that of Yaounde and feels that the low cost of living in the SW region made her life better than her present situation. She did not come to Yaounde by choice, but rather because of work obligations. For her, the Littoral region (Douala) would have been preferable to her because of its economic activities and for the fact that it is a few hours from the SW region where her family and friends are. Leaving her family to work in the Capital city, has made her feel lonely and less socially inclined in the Capital city. Eve wishes every day, she could return to the SW region where she has been living throughout her life and has a good network of family, friends, and colleagues as compared to Yaounde.

Concerning her adaptability process in the Capital city and the factors influencing it especially in terms of her connections and interaction level, Eve feels neutral. Eve does not feel like she has adapted to the lifestyle in the Capital city. She postulates a feeling of discomfort and lack of trust towards the people around her since she believes the francophone people have a different behavioral attitude from the anglophones. She adds language too as a barrier for her in communicating with the people and all these limits her level of interaction and socialization only to the people she knows from work. In her own words, she exclaims,

Presently, I think my job is the only personal resource I have that is connecting me with people. My interaction starts and ends with my colleagues and loosely with the clients I meet at work. I do not belong to any traditional meetings nor do I visit people from my tribe here in Yaounde. I know a few of them, but we do not have a close connection, reasons why we hardly meet or gather for any events. I mostly depend on my colleagues here for any information or assistance, though I still prefer and feel more comfortable with my old contacts, which included colleagues that became like family to me. These are people I have known for a very long time, we share a lot of things in common and we have a bond on which our trust is built.

From Eve's narratives, employment can be seen to have a great influence on an individual's social capital but can also disadvantageously limit their social interactions only to the people that surround them at work. Individuals spent most of their time at work, with little time for other social activities that can expand their network. It is very possible for someone who is not an extrovert, to limit themselves only to the connections created at work, with little or no interest in creating time to meet other people or participate in other social gatherings. From her narratives, she still does not feel comfortable or trust the people around her and adds the reasons to that when she talks about her old contacts before displacement. Eve talks about longevity in interaction as an important aspect of trust and comfortability in relationships. Hence, she stands on a neutral perspective of the role of social capital in her adaptability. According to her, although she has colleagues that she socializes with at work, she still does not feel like she has adapted to the lifestyle in Yaounde and wishes she was back in the SW region, with her family, friends, and old colleagues.

5.7 Summary

This chapter of the study presented the methods I employed in analyzing the data collected from both the questionnaires and interview sessions. The first section of the chapter presented results and discussion from the questionnaires. The data collected from questionnaires were interpreted with the aid of a tabulation method and analyzed base on the research objectives. The presentation and discussion of the results began with the demographic features of the participants. These demographic features were grouped in terms of age category, gender, marital status, education level, occupation status, region, living area before displacement, and religious affiliation. These demographic features were necessary for analyzing the personal and socio-economic resources, influencing their level of social capital after displacement and how this determines the type of challenges they faced in a new environment.

Education, employment, and family support seem to be some of the greatest resources that influence the participants' social capital at the relational level. Another personal resource noticed in interview analyses is the gender factor. Although not being able to capture this aspect in the answers obtained from questionnaires, the voices and perspectives from the participants during the interview session indicate that gender can also influence the social capital of displaced persons. From the four participants' narratives, while the men seem to portray a more adaptable situation irrespective of the location change, the women still felt so attached to their former area and lifestyle before displacement. This can perhaps imply a high social interaction level in the men than the women involved in this study. Also, the study sort to find out the most

challenging problems Urban IDPs faced with respect to their level of social capital, coupled with their before and after displacement perspective on social capital. From the discussion of the findings, the challenges encountered by the participants varied based on their employment status, unemployment status, housing status, family responsibilities, and relations. In trying to interpret their perspectives of preferred social capital before and after displacement, aspects such as group membership, trust and comfortability, and the preferred location were analyzed in comparison to their before and after displacement situation.

The remaining part of the chapter presents the discussions from the interview session which was analyzed using a '*path dependency*' narrative style. That is, presenting data based on past events and the continuous future effects of these events. Through the respondents' narratives, their experiences before and after displacement were captured and understood, based on their adaptability process and even the resources influencing their level of social capital. Their perceptions of social capital were explained according to how they adapted. Those who easily adapted felt their social capital was expanding and growing bigger while those who faced difficulties adapting, still preferred their old network and found it hard creating new contacts. The data collected from the interviews elaborated more on the reasons and feelings of how Urban IDPs viewed life after displacement and the aspects of social capital that hinder or eases their adaptability process.

Chapter 6. General Summary and Concluding Remarks

6.1 Introduction

This part of the chapter provides an empirical overview of the study, by highlighting the research objectives and questions on which the research framework was built. It establishes conclusions based on the findings obtained from the data analyses and in considerations of the research objectives. It should be noted that these conclusions were not only discussed following the research findings and objectives, but it also cuts across the related literature and conceptual framework discussed earlier in this study. Discussions agreeing or disagreeing with the related literature are also mentioned along the line.

6.2 An Empirical Overview of the Study

The overarching objective of the study was to explore how social capital plays a role in the adaptation process of Urban IDPs and how this sociability can help stabilize or destabilize their living conditions in a new environment. The study conceptualizes social capital at the individual level, using Pierre Bourdieu's Class perspective and Nan Lin's Resource perspective of social capital, to understand the different levels in the acquisition of social capital in any given society. However, Lin's Resource perspective is more operationalize at the conceptual level of the framework, in portraying the different levels by which social capital is acquired. Lin's focus on which this study is drawn from, is to explore how the inequalities produced in social capital are determined by an individual's personal and social resources and how these differences affect urban adaptability for displaced persons. The study contextualizes personal resources as those resources under an individual's possession and that which can be utilized or exchanged for social resources. At the analytical level, the study analyses findings based on the research questions of identifying the factors influencing the social capital of Urban IDPs. The study also attempts to understand how the different challenges experienced by Urban IDPs, can vary depending on those factors influencing their social capital. The inequality in the acquisition of social capital determines people's level of social capital in terms of the quality of their social network, information, and social support at the relational level. Perceptions about their before and after social capital were are also captured to understand how a change of location can influence their level of social capital.

Data collected from questionnaires were interpreted with the aid of a tabulation method as seen in the appendix. However, the study did not follow a statistical interpretation of findings, rather

meaning was assigned to the data using words to give knowledge and understanding to the findings.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

Concluding remarks are established in the context of three main objectives and this is done by answering the research questions formulated from the objectives, all as presented in the introductory chapter of this study. I began with the interpretation of findings from the questionnaires, with an explanation of the demographics of participants on their age, gender, marital status, education level, occupational status, region, and living area before displacement, and finally, their religious affiliation. From there, the research questions were analyzed and answered with respect to these demographics features. The first research question begins with: *What are the individual indicators of social capital that are necessary for the adaptation process of Urban IDPs?*

Discussions from findings show that education alone cannot influence an individual's social capital but when connected to their occupation, meaning is deducted from the quality of the education and how this helps create good job opportunities and job satisfaction. Most participants in this study with higher education levels already had stable jobs before displacements and while some were transferred as a result of the crisis. Therefore, they maintained their jobs with no difficulties, others even without transfer, were still able to sort other opportunities after displacement. However, this was not the case with those of lower education as most of them before displacement did not have jobs and the few that were either self-employed lost the jobs after displacement. Notwithstanding, higher education and occupation had an intertwined positive influence on some of the participants' social capital.

This connects to the next factors or resources that are seen to influence the social capital of the displaced persons from the anglophone regions which are, employment and income. Although employment and occupation are interchangeably used in this study, the meaning of the two concepts was used differently. That is, while occupation looked at their main profession before displacement, employment look at their job status after displacement. Meaning professions might have changed or be maintained. In any case, their employment status after displacement was discussed in connection to whether or not, their income could cover their expenses and how this affected their group participation or any other social activity. It was noticed that employment alone, does not guarantee group participation or good connections, but the type of job and the job satisfaction coupled with a good rewarding income created time for group

participation as well as distinguishing the type of group an individual belonged to. This is because people with good jobs and a good income can be easily trusted than those who are merely managing the reward from their jobs. Most often, they will be considered to always be in need or not wanting to return favors because of lack of finance.

Age, on the other hand, was noticed to influence participants' social capital base on their type of social ties and how they felt integrated with their new environment. However, occupation also seemed to play a role in determining social ties. In the case of the participants in this study, while those who had both formal and informal social ties or just formal ties created from friends, colleagues, or both, before and after displacement felt either fully integrated or partially, those with only informal social ties did not feel integrated as well as they did not have jobs before and after displacement to add to their network.

Another important personal resource captured in group participation, that seemed to influence participants' social capital, was their ethnicity and religiosity. Though not well captured in the interviews, analysis from questionnaire data indicates that most participants who belonged to group participation at least belonged to Church Associations or Traditional Meetings or both. Groups like Church Associations, or Traditional Meetings are mostly considered by Cameroonians like a second family place where they can gather and enjoy the values of their culture and identity. These values are often considered as what makes them one and distinct from the other Cameroonians.

Lastly, family/relatives' support was noticed to be of great influence on the participant's social capital, irrespective of their social status or personal resources. Participants all express a huge role of family/relatives in terms of accommodation, gettings jobs, and emotional support before and after displacement to be an easily available form of network for them. Almost all the participants needed and had family support in different ways.

The two last operational questions were on *What challenges do Urban IDPs experience with regards to their level of social capital?* and on *What perspectives do they have, about their social capital before and after displacement?* These two operational questions were answered in reflection of the factors that influenced the social capital of Urban IDPs after displacement. The study confirms that differences in personal resources determine the various challenges faced by Urban IDPs. Most employed IDPs with good or moderate-income worried less about looking for jobs as compared to those unemployed. Few of the participants working in the

private sector or who were self-employed even after displacements with incomes that could not cover their expenses considered job haunting as a most challenging problem for them. On the contrary, while accommodation or paying of rents was not an overly challenging problem for those living with family or relatives after displacement, it was for those employed and renting. Finding adequate housing conditions with affordable prices was one of their most challenging problems after being displaced. This shows that what can seem to be very challenging for displaced persons with an affordable means of surviving, can be less of a problem for those struggling to adapt after displacement and vice versa.

From the discussions relating to the last research questions, it can be seen although some people were able to adapt and even see the Capital city as a place for better opportunities, irrespective of their personal resources, the majority still preferred the previous social capital more than the obtain they were building in the capital city. Reasons were more captured through the conducted interviews, as respondents indicated longevity in old social relations, which has also resulted in more trust from their old contacts than the new ones. The high living cost too in the capital city had reduced most of them their standard of living, thereby changing and reducing their social interaction levels or groups.

Finally, based on the above findings and discussions, obtained from the survey interpretation and respondents' narratives, it is possible to conclude in this study context that, social capital has a positive influence on the adaptation process of Urban IDPs. However, the quality of an individual's social capital will depend on the type of network they create with the use of their personal or socioeconomic resources, and the type of social resources they obtain from these networks.

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Appendix A: Semi-structured Questions for Telephone Interview.

1. I would like to start by asking you to tell me a brief summary of your living experience in the Capital city after displacement?
How can you compare this experience to your living situation before displacement?
2. Why did you choose this region as your choice of location and not other regions?
3. What socioeconomic aspect/ personal resource can you say has contributed to or hindered your adaptation process here in the Capital Region?
How has this contributed to or hindered your adaptation process?
4. Will you say, your new environment has made you more socially inclined or has reduced the level at which you use to interact?
How and why?
5. How can you describe your relationship with the people around you?
How then can you describe your social network?
What are the criteria, of the people that constitute your social network?
6. Do you long to any group?
What type of group do you belong to?
What benefits, do you receive from the group?
7. Do you trust and feel comfortable with the people around you?
Do you think they feel the same way about you?
What grounds do you base your trust and comfortability on, with the people around you?
8. Do you feel locally integrated with your new environment?

How and why?

9. Where does your greatest support come from as far as being displaced is concerned?
10. What challenges do you face, after being displaced from your previous location?
Can you explain further, how these challenges have affected your adaptability process in your current location?
11. Comparing your social network or connections before and after displacement, which will you say is more useful to you and why?

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX B: Responses from Closed-ended Questionnaires

APPENDIX C: Research Questionnaire

An Exploratory Research on the Role of Social Capital as a Coping Mechanism for Urban IDPs

This is an academic research questionnaire. The aim of this research questionn-aire is to find out how people adapt to their daily life activities after being dis- placed from the residential homes/area. This survey is used for academic pur- pose only and all respondents are anonymous at all time.

A. Demographic Information.

- 1. What is your age range?**

20 - 29

30 - 39

40 - 49

50 - 59

60 - 69

70+

2. What gender are you?

Man

Woman

3. What is your marital status?

Single

Married

Divorced

Widowed

Separated

Prefer not to answer

Others

4. What is your Educational Level?(Multiple answers possible)

Primary Level

Secondary Level

Advanced Level

Bachelors

Masters

Doctoral

Vocational Training

Others

5. Where did you live before displacement?(Select region and area)

- North West Region
- South West Region
- Urban area
- Rural area

6. Religious Affiliation?

- Catholic
- Presbyterian
- Baptist
- Muslim
- Others
- Prefer not to specify

7. What is your occupation?(Multiple answers possible)

- Public worker
- Private worker
- Self-employed
- Own a licensed business(for example: a bar, a supermarket, a pharmacy etc)
- Farmer
- Unemployed
- Housewife

Others

B. Preliminary Information

1. Have you ever been displaced before?

Yes

No

2. When did you arrive at your current location? (Please state Year and month)

3. What is your main reason for displacement?(Multiple answers possible)

Destroyed residence

Shutdown of schools

Ghost towns

Life threats

Others

C. Social capital

1. What is your housing Status?(Multiple answers possible)

Renting

Owned House

With relatives

Squatting

Others

2. Do you have any relatives, friends and colleagues living in/close to your current location?

Yes

No

3. Do you have relatives living abroad?

Yes

No

4. If yes, do you receive remittance?

Yes

No

5. What is your current employment status after displacement?

New job/Business

Same job/Business

No job/Business

Others

6. Does your salary cover your basic expenses?

No Salary

Salary does not cover basic expenses

Salary covers basic expenses

Salary covers more than basic expenses

7. When did you become employed after displacement and how?

- Not too long had help from relatives, friends and old colleagues
- Immediately upon arrival, was transferred from previous location
- Very long, looked for a job myself
- Others

8. What language do you speak? (Multiple answers possible)

- English fluently
- French fluently
- English adequately
- French adequately

8b. What is your mother tongue?

9. Why did you choose this town as your location? (Multiple answers possible)

Relatives/Friends

Job opportunities

Climatic conditions

Safety measures

Good infrastructure

Medical facilities

Education

Lived/worked here before

Others

10. As an IDP, have you received assistance from an organisation?(Multiple answers possible)

Yes from an International organisation

Yes from a national organisation

Yes from a local organisation

No

11. What organisation/association did you belong to before displacement? (Multiple answers possible).

- Church associations
- Work organisations
- Teachers' union associations
- Farmers'associations
- Students' union
- Traditional meetings
- Others
- None

12. On the scale of 1(lowest) to 5(highest), how useful are these memberships after displacement?



Value

13. On a scale of 1(lowest) to 5(highest), how would rate your level of trust and comfort between you and the people in your current location?



Value

14. How interested are you in the current affairs in your new location?

- Very interested
- Quite interested
- Hardly interested
- Not at all interested

15. Where does your most relevant information concerning the ongoing activities of your country from?(Multiple answers possible)

- TV/Radio
- Newspapers/Magazines
- Friends/ Relatives/Colleagues
- Internet
- Others

16. How often do you visit relatives/friends/colleagues and vice versa?

- Very often
- Quite often
- Hardly
- Not at all

D. Perceptions/Challenges

1. Rate the below options in order of importance to you. The most important will be 1, 2 more important, 3 important etc.

Return to my place of origin

- 1 Most important
 - 2 More important
 - 3 Important
 - 4 Less important
 - Neutral
-

Stay at my current Location

- 1 Most important
 - 2 More important
 - 3 Important
 - 4 Less important
 - Neutral
-

Relocate to another part of Cameroon

- 1 Most important

- 2 More important
 - 3 Important
 - 4 Less important
 - Neutral
-

Travel abroad

- 1 Most important
 - 2 More important
 - 3 Important
 - 4 Less important
 - Neutral
-

Others

- 1 Most important
- 2 More important
- 3 Important
- 4 Less important



Neutral

2. Rate the below options in order of most problematic to you and your family. Starting with 1 as the most important, 2 more important, etc

Hunger/Insufficient nutrition

- 1. Most problematic
 - 2. More problematic
 - 3. Problematic
 - 4. Less problematic
 - Neutral
-

Access to medicine/drugs

- 1. Most problematic
 - 2. More problematic
 - 3. Problematic
 - 4. Less problematic
 - Neutral
-

Unemployment

- 1. Most problematic

2. More problematic

3. Problematic

4. Less problematic

Neutral

Housing conditions

1. Most problematic

2. More problematic

3. Problematic

4. Less problematic

Neutral

Purchasing food items

1. Most problematic

2. More problematic



3. Problematic



4. Less problematic

Educational Level																					
Primary Level																					
Secondary Level														3							1
Advanced Level	3					3			3					3		3	3				6
Bachelors		3		3	3		3					3						3			6
Masters			3					3					3								3
Doctoral																					
Vocational Training								3		3	3			3					3	3	6
Others																					
Region and area before displacement																					
NW/Urban region		4	4		4			4	4			4		4		4					9
NW/Rural region	4									4	4						4	4	4		6
SW/Urban region				4		4							4							4	3
SW/Rural region							4							4							2
Religious Affiliation																					
Catholic		5			5		5		5						5	5			5	5	8

Current employment status: Where New Job/Business=NJ, Same Job/B=SJ, No Job/B=NOJ and Others= O																					
	SJ	SJ	SJ	NJ	SJ	NOJ	NJ	NOJ	NOJ	SJ	SJ	O	O	O	O	NO J	NO J	NJ	NO J	NO J	
Does salary cover Basic expenses? Where No Salary =NS, Salary does not cover basic expenses= - SCE, Salary covers basic expenses= + SCE, Salary covers more than expenses = SCME																					
	-SCE	+SCE	SCME	-SCE	+SCE	NS	+SCE	NS	NS	-SCE	SCM E	-SCE	-SCE	NS	- SCE	NS	NS	- SCE	NS	NS	
When employed and how after displacement? Where Not too long and through the help of friends/relatives/colleagues= NLH, Immediately upon arrival because of transfer from previous job/location= ITPJ, Very Long by Myself= VLBM and Others = O																					
	VLB M	ITPJ	/	NLH	NLH	O	NLH	O	O	VLB M	NLH	NLH	VLB M	O	VLB M	O	/	ITPJ	O	/	
Language spoken? Where Fluent English= FE, Fluent French= FF, Adequate English= AE, and Adequate French= AF.																					
	AE	FE, AF	FE, AF	FE	FE, AF	AE, AF	FE, AF	FE	FE, AF	FE	FE, AF	AE	FE	FE	AE	FE	FE	FE	FE	FE	
Does your language limits your socialization with the people in your new location? Where Yes =Y and No = N and Sometimes = S																					
	Y	N	N	N	N	S	N	N	Y	S	S	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Mother Tongue?																					
	Oku	Ba- yangi	Lam- nso	Meta	Ba- kossi	Bake - weri	Lam- nso	Lam- nso	Lam- nso	Oku	No- ni	Ndu	Baya ngi	La m- nso	Mo g	No- ni	Me -ta	La m- nso	Ma nko ng	Ba- yan gi	
How close do you bond or interact with people from your ethnic group? Where Very often = Vo, Quite often = Qo, Hardly = H, and Not at all = Noa																					
	Vo	Noa	Vo	Qo	H	H	Vo	Vo	Vo	Qo	H	Qo	Vo	Vo	H	H	Qo	Vo	H	No a	

Interest with current affairs in your new location: Where Very interested= VI, Quite interested= QI, Hardly interested =HI, Not at all interested= NAI																					
	HI	QI	QI	QI	QI	HI	QI	VI	QI	QI	QI	QI	HI	QI	QI	VI	QI	QI	HI	QI	
How can you classify your social interaction patterns with the people around you? Where Mostly formal =MF, Mostly informal = MI, Neutral = N, Both Formal and Informal = BFI, I don't interact with people = DIP																					
	BFI	MF	MF	BFI	BFI	MI	MI	MI	N	BFI	BFI	BFI	BFI	MI	MI	MI	BFI	MI	MI	MI	
Source of relevant information on ongoing activities in your country: Where TV/ Radio= ITVR, Newspapers/Magazines= INM, Friends/Relatives/Colleagues= IFRC, Internet= II, and Others= O																					
	ITVR, IFRC, O.	ITVR, INM, IFRC, II, O.	ITVR, INM, IFRC, II, O.	ITVR, INM, IFRC, II, O.	ITVR, INM, IFRC, II, O.	IFRC, O	ITVR,	ITVR, IFRC, II	ITVR, IFRC,	ITVR, II	ITVR, IFRC	ITVR, IFRC	IFRC	ITV R, II	IFR C.	IFR C, II	II	ITV R	II	ITV R, IN M, II.	
Visiting of relatives/friends/colleagues and vice versa: Where Very often= VO, Quite often= QO, Hardly=H, Not at all= NA																					
	QO	H	QO	H	QO	QO	QO	VO	VO	H	VO	QO	QO	H	QO	H	QO	H	H	H	
Perceptions/Challenges																					
Rating in order of importance: Where 1= Most important, 2=More important, 3= Important, 4= Less important, and 5= Neutral																					
Return to place of origin	1	1	1	2	3	1	3	5	3	3	4	5	1	2	1	5	1	2	1	5	
Stay at current location	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	4	2	3	3	5	2	
Relocate to another part of Cameroon	4	5	4	4	4	3	2	4	5	5	5	5	3	4	5	1	5	5	5	4	
Travel abroad	3	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	5	5	2	4	

Others	5	5	5	5	5	5	/	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	/	/	/	5	5	3	
Rating in order of most problematic to you and your Family: Where 1= Most problematic, 2=More problematic, 3= Problematic, 4= Less problematic, and 5= Neutral																					
Hunger/Insufficient nutrition	1a	3b	4c	2d	4e	1f	1g	1h	1i	1j	4k	4l	1m	4n	4o	1p	3q	4r	3s	3t	
Unemployment	1	5	5	3	5	1	2	1	1	5	4	5	4	5	5	1	1	5	1	1	
Housing conditions	3	4	3	3	5	4	1	2	1	1	3	2	4	4	2	1	4	4	1	1	
Missing family ties/old contacts	1	4	2	3	2	1	3	2	4	2	4	4	2	4	1	2	4	4	4	2	
Access to education	4	5	5	4	4	3	3	4	2	5	5	4	5	4	3	2	3	5	5	4	
Access to medical services	4	4	4	4	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	5	1	5	5	1	3	4	1	5	
Insecurity issues	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	5	5	
Relaxation/Entertainment	4	4	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	4	4	5	3	5	4	5	3	
Others	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	3	
Feeling of being locally integrated: Yes, No and, Partially= P																					
	No	P	P	P	P	No	Yes	P	P	P`	Yes	P	Yes	P	No	No	P	P	No	P	
Necessary conditions to feel integrated: Where Employment/Adequate Job=IEAJ, Livelihood/income= ILI, Security= IS, Housing= IH, Education=IE, Medical Services=IMS, Not seen as a stranger in my current location= INSL, If having friends and acquaintances in current location=IFAL and Others=0																					
	IEAJ	IS, INSL,	IS, INSL,	IEAJ, ILI,	IEAJ, ILI,	IEAJ, ILI,	IMS	O	IFAL,	INSL, O	IFAL	IFAL	IMS	IEA J,	IEA J,	IH, IE,	ILI, IS,	IEA J	IEA, ILI,	ILI	

	IS INSL, IFEAL , O	IFAL, O	IFAL, O	IH, IMS, INSL, IFAL, O	IS, IH, IMS, INSL, IFAL, O	IH, IMS, INSL, IFAL, O								ILI.	IH, IFA L.	IMS , INS L.	IFA L.		IE		
Desires to return home: Where there is Yes, No and, Neutral= N																					
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N	N	N	NO	N	NO	Yes	N	Yes	N	Yes	N	Yes	Yes	
Reasons for wanting to return: Where because of House and property=RHP, Family/Relatives and Friends= RFRF, Better economic and social opportunities= RESO, Graves of relatives= RGR, Just love area of origin= RJLAO and Others= O																					
	RFRF , RESO , RJLA O	RFRF , RESO , RJLA O, O	RHP, RFRF, RESO, RJLAO, O	RFRF , RESO , RJLA O, O	RHP, RFRF RESO RJLA O O	RHP, RFRF , RESO , RJLA O O	RFRF	O	O		O		RESO	O	RH P, RES O, RJL AO.	RFR F, RJL AO.	RFR F.	RH P	RES O, RG R.	RFR F	
Reasons for not wanting to return: Where lost all belongings of Land, job, home, and Family=NLAB, Security issues=NSI, All family and friends are here= NAFFH, Better opportunities here= NBOH, Not loving the area of origin anymore= NLAOA, Others= O and, No reasons = NNO.																					
							NSI	NSI	NSI	NSI	NSI	NBO H	NNO	NSI	NL AB, NB OH.			NSI			

