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EXPERIENCES OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN URBAN COMMUNITIES IN POST-COLONIAL AFRICA: A CASE OF ANGLOPHONE IDPs IN YAOUNDÉ, CAMEROON

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULLFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR A MASTERS OF ARTS DEGREE IN MIGRATION AND DISPLACEMENT

by

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I am grateful to my family for prayers and patience during several months away from home to complete research related tasks.

Declaration

I, Becky Niba state that this dissertation, submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of a Masters of Arts Degree in Migration and Displacement is composed solely by me. I have credited and acknowledged all sources of information. The dissertation is not submitted for a degree at other academic institutions. I consent that a copy of my dissertation when deposited at the WITS University Library be made available for loan via the University's eSpace.

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Date: 30 May 2022……

Abstract

The prevalence of intrastate conflicts in post-colonial Africa promote internal displacement of persons from mainly rural to urban communities. The conflict in Anglophone Regions of Cameroon is no exception. Minimal information is available about the experiences of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in urban communities considered enemy territories. Data about social, cultural, and political factors that shape IDPs' integration and belonging is vague. Available information is sketchy, mainly showing trends and distributions of the number and location of IDPs. Research about the lived experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé contributes to the literature aiming to address the paucity of knowledge in the area. The theory of Locality guides the framwework for this research. Central to its tenets, place–space nexus influence the meaning and interpretation of IDPs' lived experiences in enemy territories. For this research, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 15 research participants. Key findings show that in/visibility, hyper-precarity, and dilemmas of integration are significant markers of IDPs' lived experiences. In addition to contributing to scholarly literature, this research amplifies the need for a pragmatic integrated approach towards the governance of internal displacement. The approach departs from normative 'soft laws' and frameworks.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACLED: Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project

DID: Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlment

IDMC: Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre

IOM: International Organization for Migration

LCB: Lake Chad Basin

LRC: La République du Cameroun

NWR: North West Region

OCHA: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

SWR: South West Region

UNHCR: United Nations Human Rights Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

WHO: World Health Organization

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Setting the Scene

Numerous geopolitical changes, national, and international responses to various forms and experiences of displacement continue to shape patterns of migration (Bloch and Diona, 2018). Cameroon is no different. Historical geopolitical factors [re]shape human mobility among the heterogenous Anglophones and Francophone populations. This research investigated the experiences of internally displaced persons living in Yaoundé. Violent conflicts between separatists and state military in the North West and South West (Anglophone Regions) of Cameroon forced migration to Francophone parts, into the bush, or to neighbouring countries such as Nigeria (International Crisis Group, 2020). Anglophone IDPs from the North West Region (NWR) living in Yaoundé must find their niche and interact with indigenous diverse populations (Collado, 2019) in the potentially volatile city. In general, the experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé remain underinvestigated by researchers. The invisibility of the migrant group prevents knowledge production, protection, and humanitarian assistance (Orendain and Djalante, 2021). The politicisation of the conflict further obstructs attention towards the vulnerable population. This research therefore aims to address the paucity of knowledge about the experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. The research further contributes to academic knowledge about the experiences of IDPs in urban communities considered enemy territories (Orendain and Djalante, 2021; Walicki, 2008). I glean from historical and contemporary data about Cameroon to connect the now christened Anglophone crisis (Nonkeu, 2020) to the lived experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. An investigation of Anglophone IDPs in Cameroon attempts to illustrate the experiences of minority migrant populations in Africa (Davies, 2012). Following from a combination of the ideas above, this research answers the following key questions.

1.2. Key Research Questions

- What are the experiences of IDPs in urban communities?
- What are the factors that shape the experiences of IDPs in urban communities?
- What are the outcomes of social interactions between IDPs and hosts regarding social relations, integration and belonging in urban communities?

1.3 Rationale

The research builds on the notion that broadly, social, cultural, and political factors significantly shape the experiences of IDPs from minority populations living in African cities considered enemy territories (see Crisp, 2012; Schroeter and James, 2015; Adepoju, 2019). The concept of enemy territories is akin to barometers of geopolitics, human displacement generated by war, and natural factors (earthquakes and floods), including territorial containment practices (Hyndman, 2012). Tsoukala (2017) defines ‘‘*enemy territories*’’ as a social construct of migrants who are perceived by locals as enemies or threats. The definition leans towards the geopolitics of territorialisation. The main feature of enemy territories —an area of land that belongs to, or is controlled by the enemy hinges on power relations that render persons as objects of surveillance and discipline (Hyndman, 2012). According to Dieng (2017), enemy territories represent centres of fear of repercussions particularly during intrastate armed conflict. In Africa, enemy territories often possess hegemonic power (military/economic supremacy). These often initiate violent intra-state conflict in response to demands from grassroot populations (Deng, 2006). The political nature of intra-state conflicts threaten security in enemy territories by increasing perceptions among the host populations that IDPs from conflict zones are dissidents to national unity. Such perceptions dissuade various forms of integration and belonging. Simultaneously, IDPs in enemy territories may lack necessary support from their governments (Deng, 2006). Enemy territories often compromise the rights to protection and freedom of movement (Dieng, 2017). In the case of Cameroon, Samah and Tata (2021) iterate that for two consecutive years, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC, 2019; 2020) classified the Anglophone conflict as the most neglected human displacement crisis in the World. The effects of the [ongoing] crisis from 2016 are yet to attract sufficient attention from either researchers, or Cameroon’s government.

Available information is too sketchy or inadequately explained for easy comprehension (Borel-Saladin, 2017; Crush and Battersby, 2016). This research aims to close the knowledge gap and the dearth in literature about internal displacement of Anglophones from the North West Region to Yaoundé, a major city in Cameroon (see Adepoju, 2019; Chukudi and Chukuma, 2020). Previous studies (Safotso, 2020; Bang and Balgah; 2022; UNHCR, 2019) about internal displacement in Cameroon are too general focusing on IDPs from the Far North Region, refugee camping, and humanitarian challenges of Anglophones in the conflict zones. The focus of these studies shows distribution and trends of movement from the predominantly Muslim Northern sections towards the Christian South (IDMC, 2019). The concentration on refugees and camp experiences, policy frameworks and proposed interventions in scholarly literature

overlooks pragmatic responses to IDPs vulnerable to migration challenges (see Owino and Weber, 2020; Labys et al. 2017). By extension, insufficient data about the experiences of Anlophone IDPs in Yaoundé impedes contextual response from the state and humanitarian actors (Baal and Ronkainen, 2017).

This research adds to the clarion call for increased humanitarian assistance (Adewale, 2016), and protection to IDPs living in enemy territories (Caplan and Curry, 2015; Fagen, 2011). The view supports one of the key tenets of the Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement (1998:5) which stipulates that "… every IDP has the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his or her residence, and should receive equal treatment wherever they choose to live..."

1.4 Definition of Terms

1.4.1 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

For this research, the term internally displaced persons refers to migrants internally displaced persons obliged to flee their homes or places of habitual residence to avoid the adverse effects of violent armed conflict, violations of human rights, and natural disasters (UNHCR, 2019). According to Jacobs and Paviotti (2017) IDPs are forced to flee their homes as individuals or groups within the same country of residence, unlike refugees who cross international borders. The latter group are entitled to protection and assistance from the states into which they move into and from the international community.

Generally, it is a challenge to trace IDPs in urban settings without formal registration. Internally Displaced Persons often live with friends or relatives until they find their niche in cities, and experience protracted displacement (Nunnez-Ferrara et al. 2020). As Deng (2006) indicates, the majority of IDPs are women, children, and the elderly. Internally displaced persons are a microcosm of the wider population affected by internal war, denied safety, dignity, and deprived of the essentials of life including shelter, food and healthcare.

1.4.2 Anglophone IDPs

The term Anglophone is used interchangeably with the term Francophone. Accoridng to Keating (2014) Francophone connotes French-speaking persons. Francophone may be used as a noun, or an adjective referring to places or institutions where French is the official or dominant language. Simila to the term Frabcophone, Anglophone refers to English speaking persons. The term Anglophone IDPs used in this study refers to Cameroonians from the North West Region, where English is the common language in the Region (Nyamnjoh, 2002).

Anglophones constitute 20% of Cameroon's population living in the French-dominated city of Yaoundé (Anyangwe, 2009).

1.4.3 Enemy Territories

Newcomers may differ in culture and language with hosts populations. However, both share national territory and history (Jakobsen, 2014). However, enemy territories are often perceived as the initiators of violent intra-state conflict with hegemonic power (Deng, 2006). Dieng (2017) opines that the political nature of intrastate conflict encourages perceptions of IDPs as dissidents to national unity and produces various forms of discrimination or prejudice. These perceptions create fear of repercussion and threaten security for newcomers in enemy territories (Walicki, 2008). Yaoundé, the study area for this research, is the seat of political power and the NWR is one of the conflict regions in Cameroon.

1.4.4 Forced Migration

The concept of forced migration is awkward but gaining traction in migration studies. Methodological and ethical concerns pose challenges to define forced migrants. According to Turton (2003) methodological concerns arise from challenges with applying the term forced to the real world in a way that enables the separation of a set of migrants. The term forced suggests external influence on migration decisions. By implication, migration is a reactive rather than a proactive action. However, the role of migrants' agency cannot be overlooked as as they make the ultimate decision to move. I use the term forced migration because internal displacement is a combination of two composites—coercion and choice (freedom). Agency and uncontrolled forces work in synergy to propel migration. The Use of forced migration is supported by UNHCR (2020) arguments that human, and natural-human factors drive forced migration. These include the effects of unexpected circumstances of violent armed conflict, famine, and earthquakes. Examples of forced migrants include refugees and asylum seekers who cross state boundaries (Tazreiter and Metcalfe, 2021), internally displaced persons (IDPs) who move within countries of origin (Aleinikoff, 2021), and persons of concern, and stateless persons in protracted refugee situations (UNHCR, 2019).

1.5 Theoretical Framework: Theory of Locality

The Theory of Locality propounded by the Chicago School of Sociology provides a theoretical foundation for this research. The theory offers a plausible framework of how urban processes shape social life (Williamson et al. 2021). In addition, the theory shifts from the concentration

of integration theories that focus on migrant incorporation in new communities (Schiller and Çağlar, 2008).

Central to its tenets, the theory of locality hypothesises that social and cultural dynamics in specific places shape human experiences (Levitt, 2012). Neighbourhoods in localities of urban communities are recipients of newcomers. Localities are places of the convergence of cultural and social dynamics that influence migrants' experiences in hosts communities (Schiller and Çağlar, 2008). Levitt (2012) iterates that the theory of Locality emphasises the role of human agency and how it shapes daily life in local settings. Agency comprises of opinions about what people make of their immediate environment and how people within specific locales construct their lives during specific circumstances where they find themselves.

The concept of space pivots the discourse about the theory of locality. Lefebvre's ideology on space provides a workable foundation. Using Lefebvre's spatial dialectic on the concept of space, Merrifield (1993) opines that people give meaning to different spaces depending on [re] interpretation of everyday life experiences**.** Interpretations of locality consist of the way experiences are lived and acted out in space, and how these relate to and are embedded in social and cultural practices over broader spatial scales. Human activity links perceptions of, and interactions in spaces. Place exists as a physical and philosophical ideology. However, place is not *a prior* produced by human activity (Falzon, 2017). Instead, Appadurai (2003) argues that contradictions, fragility, and nuances of locality affect social life. The social construct of lived experiences within particular spaces depend largely on interactions with local persons during specific periods.

The theory of locality hypothesize that place and spaces are inextricably intertwined. Arias (2010:21) alludes that; "…place and space appear as both matter and meaning simultaneously tangible and intangible, as a set of social circumstances and physical landscapes…" The statement suggest that space includes the social, inhabited areas with constructed buildings interacting with each other to produce specific outcomes. Guest (2012) therefore adds that **s**pace consists of material objects including humans. Spaces possess two sources of latent power for humans. First, it contains material power essential to sustain human life on earth. Second, space is a source of emotional power (Penrose, 2002), for example, love, hatred, and everything in-between. Emotions connect people to social, cultural, and political life. Locality perceived as beautiful, it moves us, perceived as threatening, it frightens (Penrose, 2002). Perceived as powerful we respect it. The theory of locality suggests that some form of consciousness, feelings, and thoughts in daily experiences (McIntosh and Wright, 2018).

The theory of Locality possesses significant flaws. Levitt (2012) notes that the theory's parochial focus on place produces the danger of defining a locality in isolation. Broadly, global processes such as politics and culture shapes place-making in daily lives at the locale, including how the actions of persons at local levels potentially engage global processes. Arguments in the literature suggest that the theory's methodology centres on description instead of explanation. To mitigate against descriptive analyses, Levitt (2012) argues for various forms of inquiry, including in-depth description. Such forms of analysis may facilitate the interpretation of complex phenomena and incorporate a better understanding of reality within spaces. Phenomenological inquiry allows for the unearthing of phenomena from the perspective of how people interpret and attribute meaning to their existence. The philosophical background of the approach makes it challenging for researchers to operationalise the method (Frechette et al. 2020). Despite its flaws, the theory of locality is appropriate for application in this research.

It enables a detail investigation of the experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. I conceptualize locality as spaces of identity reconfigurations, of sameness and difference in national territories. These aspects influence place-making practices and interpretations in the daily lives of Anglophone IDPs from the NWR Region of Cameroon.

1.6.1 Locality and Identity Reconfigurations: Place-Space of Sameness and Difference

Locality is directly lived space-the space of everyday life. Locality is space experienced through the complex symbols and images of different inhabitants and users engaged in activities such as work and education (Hölzel and de Vries, 2021). Space is physical space-including the symbolic use of its objects linked to social life. Hondagneu-Sotelo (2017) notes that lived space is alive, embraces passion and action. It involves time, direction, situation, and relations. Space is qualitative, fluid, and dynamic. Power relations influence experiences and conceptions of spaces. A combination of the factors shape identities in specific spaces. Urban communities represent spaces of inclusion and exclusion for newcomers (Sandberg, 2016). According to Landau and Freemantle (2016) multi-ethnic groups, and inequalities in cosmopolitan cities in Africa provides the plaftform for inclusion and exclusion practices. The historical evolution of cities is a major contributing factor to diversity. Using the example of Cameroon, Socpa (2010) explains that at the beginning of the 1990s, democratization in sub-Saharan African countries birthed new forms of urban conflict between autochthones and migrants. For Cameroon, the political events in the early 1990s, including the transition from a one-party system to multi-partyism unfolded against a backdrop of ethnic differentiation and conflicts. Prominent areas of tension include Yaoundé (the melting pot of cultures) and the

Logone-Chari district in the Far North Region. The locale includes notions of territorial boundedness, and membership in a national, ethnic or religious group (Levitt, 2012). Analysis of territorial boundedness goes beyond the interest of this research. Instead, I focus on social and cultural factors that significantly influence membership and belonging in localities. According to Schiller and Çağlar (2008) social and cultural differences may produce tensions and craters between natives assumed to share homogenous identities and social norms unlike newcomers perceived as intruders and threats to indigenous populations and spaces. Panos et al. (2016) notes that perceptions of threats may promote exclusionary practices that position migrants at crossroads of belonging and integration. The engineering of political mobilisations through ethno cultural otherness at national levels further entrench notions of difference (Williamson et al. 2021). As Falcon (2017) notes, fragmented postmodern urban landscape featuring diversity, mixture, and hybridity influence perceptions of migrants as the other. In response to othering processes, migrants tend to cluster in specific geographies (Panos et al 2016), as urban localities become centres of uncertainty and temporality (International Crisis Group, 2020).

1.7 Summary of Key Arguments and Findings

Broadly, political, social, and cultural factors shape the overall lived experiences of IDPs in enemy territories. At local levels, empirical data supports Schultz et al. (2014) arguments that intrastate conflict displace persons to cities. IDPs form part of the urban poor and are not exempt from urbanisation challenges. This research reveals the following findings.

First, in/visibility marks a significant aspect of IDPs experiences in cities. Hidden-in-plain sights, Anglophone IDPs living in Yaoundé are hard to reach. Failed democratisation evident in a Machiavellian system of government in Cameroon threatens freedom of speech among Anglophones IDPs perceived as dissidents to national unity. At one end-point, invisibility emerges from security concerns that threaten movement and normal life. Invisibility impedes protection. On the other hand, visibility is strategic for humanitarian assistance.

Second, hyper-precarity manifest in outstanding markers of lived experiences. These include challenges of work and living conditions that reflect exploitation of labour, limited access to basic services, and devaluation of lifestyle. Futhermore, inadequate financial resources due to loss of property and sources of income in place of origin translate into some degree of dependency on family and friends for basic needs. Unfreedoms− participation in menial jobs for lack of choice and options to secure standard employment in the labour market- manifest in casual work with insecure employment conditions. Meagre incomes limit access to choice

accommodation and healthcare services. Trauma, stress, and anxiety types of mental illness contribute to precarious work and lives among Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé.

Third, Anglophone IDPs experience dilemmas of integration and belonging in Yaoundé, an enemy territory with hegemonic political power. The category of migrants must choose to either remain and integrate in Yaoundé, or return to the NWR. Social factors (receptions and interactions), perceptions among Anglophone IDPs that Francophones consider Anglophones from the NWR as dissidents, cultural differences (lifestyle, language proficiency, behaviour, and attitudes), and political factors (democratization) significantly contribute to dilemmas of integration and belonging. Contrary to popular notions in the literature that integration is the desired outcome, findings in this research shows that integration is undesirable among Anglophone IDPs. This group of migrants share a common passion to return to the NWR should the conflict cease. Protracted displacement that emanate from safety concerns due to continuous fighting in the NWR place Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé at crossroads.

The study argues that the politicisation of migration at regional and national levels translate into complex governance of internal displacement. These have far-reaching effects on the IDPs' lived experiences. The research reiterates the importance of a collaborative approach to the governance of internal displacement at national, regional, and global levels. A review of government and humanitarian responses may alleviate the challenges that IDPs encounter in urban communities (UNHCR, 2019).

1.7 Structure of the Report

The remainder of this report contains six chapters; Chapter 2 outlines research methods focusing on constructive research paradigms, purposive and respondent-driven sampling methods, sample size, positionality, reflexivity and ethical considerations. Chapter 3 provides a review of the literature underlining the general trends and causes of internal displacement in Africa. It proceeds with a focus on the nature of internal displacement in Cameroon. The chapter further identifies knowledge gaps about IDPs experiences the new research intends to fill. Chapter 4 expands on in/visibility paradox. The discussion connects historical factors-failed reunification, and democratization as major factors that threaten the security and deepen the invisibility of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. This chapter later outlines the effects of in/visibility on protection and assistance. Chapter 5 presents the discussion on hyper-precarity and its key markers (poverty, unemployment, and casualization of labour) as a significant experience among Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. Casual work impedes access to proper accommodation and utilisation of healthcare services. These contribute to hyper-precarious

lives. In Chapter 6, the discussion focuses on dilemmas of Integration. It emphasises social factors−reception and interactions, cultural—identity difference, and political factors (citizenship, membership and belonging) that explain the dilemmas. Finally, Chapter 7 outlines concluding remarks and provides an overview of this research. It further elucidates pragmatic response to IDPs in cities considered enemy territories.

Chapter 2: Research Methods

2.1 Research Design and Methods: Qualitative Approach

I use qualitative approach in this research. According to Oyegoke's (2011), unlike quantitative approach that provide complementary data to knowledge, qualitative methods encourages pluralism. The latter provides multiple explanations for social phenomena and legitimises contextual inquiry in social sciences. Qualitative approaches enable the collection of primary data from persons experiencing the phenomenon under investigation (Bradshaw et al. 2017). The application of qualitative approaches contribute to the collection of in-depth information about daily experiences in urban (Reis et al. 2014).

2.2 Research Paradigm: Constructivism

This research draws from the constructivist paradigm. Constructivism is a pragmatic approach to epistemic knowledge. I use constructivist approach in this research to agree with Fosnot (2013) claims that knowledge production emanates from social reality. Furthermore, the application of social constructivist approach follows from Ronkainen and Wiltshire (2021) ontological arguments that truth is relative and contains multiple perspectives. Based on the outline above, I consciously subject epistemic narratives about the experiences of Anglophone IDPs to an unbiased interrogation. The constructivist approach seamlessly connects the theory of locality and place-making lived experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. The constructivist paradigm allows me to me capture complex structural and social determinants that shape individual stories and experiences (Collins, 2015). Social constructivism opens avenues for intersectionality. According to Aliyu et al. (2014) intersectionality shifts from the positivist paradigm rooted in ontological principles that truth and reality are independent of the observer. Intersectionality locates social phenomena laden with power imbalances that influence migrants' lived experiences (Kassam et al. 2020). Constructing the social reality of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé from an intersectional angle, unearths processes of power, privilege, and disadvantage among the heterogeneous populations −Anglophones and Francophones living in Yaoundé.

The constructivist approach promotes self-reflexivity on my positionality and how I interpret the experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. According to Duffy et al. (2020), a researcher's ability to reflect on social and relational context of self during the process of knowledge production guides the investigator to design relevant questions for empirical data collection. Frequent reflections on self at the beginning, during, and towards the end of this research process guarded against deviations and minimised the ambiguity of the research findings.

The constructivist approach is flawed in its epistemology. Constructivism could misrepresent the views of research participants. Constructive knowledge offers no guidance or equilibrium between theory and sequencing of content during the research process (Osborne, 1996). The interview guide (Appendix 4), designed in a thematic manner used in this research. The interview guide enabled the sequence of information during data collection. The constructivist approach allows the use of cases. Drawing from Spenser et al. (2014) cases provide deductive rather than inductive insight and logic into social phenomena. Without generalizing, the case of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé provides insight into the experiences of IDPs in enemy territories on a broader spectrum in Africa and beyond. Case study research provides in-depth information about complex real-life experiences from multiple perspectives. Knowledge production using constructivist approach therefore required creativity, intuition, and ingenuity to understand the lived experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé (Fearon et al. 2021). I employ the three aspects in this research in as a conduit for continuous knowledge production. The constructive approach unlike the positivist approaches is suitable for this study. It provides epistemic rigour and satisfies the requirements of applied research such as migration studies (Oyegoke, 2011). Other benefits of the constructivist approach is its ability to solve problems. The constructivist approach relies on different research tools such as interpretive epistemology, and empiricism. The question-driven research design provides logical sequence that connects empirical data to this study's initial research questions and conclusions. The constructivist paradigm connects theoretical and practical solutions to social problems.

2.3 The Study Area

This research was conducted in Yaoundé, the administrative capital of Cameroon. It is the second-largest city after Douala−the economic hub of the country (Figure 1). Yaoundé is located 750 m above sea level (Njunda et al. 2016). According to Oben and Ndi (2014) the city is located in the south-central region between latitudes 3º47' and 3º56' north of the Equator, and longitudes 11º10' and 11º45' east of the Greenwich Meridian. In 2014, the population of Yaoundé was approximately 2.5 million (Njunda et al. 2016). Between 1990 and 2016, Yaoundé's population increased from 39.7% to 55.1%. Predictions suggest that in 2030, the population of Yaoundé is likely to increase by 70% percent (Mbella et al. 2019). Ngom and Siegmund (2015) claim that the multi-nuclei model of expansion contributes to the uneven population distribution in Yaoundé. The central business districts (CBD) are areas of population densities. Indigenuous populations represent 20% of the total urban population. Urban residents, and translocal migrants occupy areas with little or no city planning. Backyard dwellings, slums, and shanty neighbourhoods are rampant. The majority of urban residents in Yaoundé engage in informal income generating activities. Street trading and agricultural activities are dominant forms for livelihood.

This research focused on the urban communities of Obili, Biyem-Assi, and Mendong. The majority of Anglophone IDPs appear to converge in in these communities. Informal conversations with long-term residents in Yaoundé suggest a growing trend of movement to the city. Respondents confirmed my perceptions in the field. Respondents indicated there are many Anglophone IDPs in their communities. General observation and informal conversations with friends and family living in Yaoundé justifies the choice of the research sites.

Figure 1: Location of Yaoundé (Adapted from Google Maps).



2.4 Positionality

I occupy a hybrid (insider−outsider) position in the research process (Pechurina, 2014). The hybrid position is impartial, locatable, and flexible (Foorte and Bartell, 2011). Myinsider position is locatable as an Anglophone female, born, and lived in Yaoundé to migrant parents from the North West Region. Residence in South Africa for over a decade place me in an outsider impartial position. The hybrid position influenced the research process in significant ways. Insider characteristics enabled me to investigate the target population from which I share similarities (Carling et al. 2014). Fluency in English and French (the official languages of Cameroon gave me access into the research community. Switching to English, French, and Pidgin English (the lingua franca among Anglophones) helped to build some degree of trust among Anglophone IDPs who perceived me to be sympathetic to their plight. The insider−outsider positionality enabled me switch positions as either an Anglophone or an Anglophone from outside Cameroon (Wiederhold, 2015). Switching positions safeguarded against conversations that veered off the objective of the research. Flexibility helped me to avoid the trap of familiarity with the general experiences of Anglophones in Yaoundé. The flexible position guarded against compromising valid empirical findings (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009).The hybrid position did not completely guarantee ease of entry into the research community. I experienced resistance in the field despite initial agreements for interviews. The awkwardness of speaking with strangers, and security threats for fear of apprehension by the state forces disguised as civilians contributed to refusals of potential research participants (Berger, 2015). Anglophone IDPs perceived me as as an outsider instead of an insider. My lack of experience (not a victim of the conflict) appeared to increase scepticism from the research community (Bourke, 2014). Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé wanted reassurance that the research is genuine. Disclosing my identity somewhat abated fears. The distribution of the participant information sheet (PIS-Appendix 1) stating the purpose of the research convinced Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé that the research is genuine. The outsider position persuaded the research participants to share their lived experiences with me. Paarticipants who believed that my study is genuine mentioned that they granted interviews only because I am "…coming from outside Cameroon…" (see Comfort, 39; Constance, 40).

2.5 Target Population

Anglophone IDPs from the North West Region (NWR) between the age of 21 and 65, living in Yaoundé from 2016 to 2019 constitute the target population for this research. Unlike IDPs settled in camps, Anglophone IDPs consulted for this research include individually settled persons, and those residing with family and friends. Inadequate financial resources particularly at the early stages of arrivalcause IDPs to squat with friends and relatives before settling temporally or permanently in different parts of the city (Salukvadze et al. 2014). Anglophone IDPs share similar characteristics with IDPs elsewhere. IDPs often residing at inner-citywithout proper housing facilities. The discussion about the lived experiences of individually settled Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé contributes to knowledge production on the subject.

2. 6 Sample Size and Demographic Characteristics

In general, minimal published documents about the population of IDPs in Yaoundé or Anglophone IDPs in particular caused me to rely on respondents willingness and availability to participate in the research. Initially, 20 (10 men and 10 women) research participants showed interests. However, 5 turned down requests to grant interviews. Respondents' ill health and frequent translocal movements explain the reduced sample size. Attempts to contact other participants to reachthe required sample size proved a challenge. Contact persons in Yaoundé indicated that security concerns discouraged commitment to participate in the research. . The political nature of the violent intrastate conflict produce suspicion while cementing fear of state officials among Anglophone IDPs. The stigma attached to IDPs status further discouraged participation in this research (Kim et al. 2019). It appears that revealing my identity as an Anglophone from the NWRliving outside Cameroon reduced fear of reprisal. In total, 15 participants (9 women and 6 men) between the ages of 21 and 54 years consented to the interviews.

The case of the experiences of Anglophone IDPs and the relevance of the population rather than the representativeness of the sample size minimize the downsides of a reduced sample (Hargittai, 2015). The constructivist approach applied in this research provides sufficient in-depth information about the lived experiences of persons experiencing the phenomenon under investigation (Shorten and Moorley, 2014). The reduced sample size produced valid results and answered all research questions. Primary data validates the research. The credibility of the findings elucidates social experiences (Palinkas et al. 2013).

2.7 Sampling Techniques: Purposive Snowball and Respondent-Driven Sampling

For sampling respondents, I used two male contact persons persons aged 23, and 25 years, resident in Yaounde, outside the research community. The contact persons assisted in selecting the research participants. Cell phone conversations between contact persons and I eased interpersonal connections between the research participants and I. Contact persons facilitated the selection process. Contact. Unknown to each other contact persons via telephone separately approached long-term Anglophone residents in Obili, Biyem-Assi, and Mendong to request for referrals of Anglophone IDPs. Email conversations with contact persons enabled the exchange of information between the respondents, and I. Bi-weekly conversations with the contact persons ensured that they adhere to the criteria to select research participants. Research participants referred other potential participants in the research community to contact persons who meet the criteria for selection (rubric 2.5).

Purposive snowball sampling reduced the challenge of the inaccessibility of research participants. it was costly to reach out to research participants who meet the relevant criteria (Andrade, 2021). Telephone conversations were alternatives to online communication. Purposive sampling applied in this research relied on selection bias (Ankrah and Kwapong, 2021). According to Brown (2005) a biased sample excludes potential respondents from the research process. Time and costs constraints in the field hindered the recruitment of every Anglophone IDP living in the study area. However, the sample selected provides clarity about the experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé.

Snowball techniques proved a challenge for sourcing research participants in the field. Some research participants turned down interviews and declined to refer potential participants. To mitigate against a reduced sample, I applied respondent-driven sampling techniques (RDS). The technique is similar to snowballing. It involves a chain-referral procedure. Initial participants referred other potential participants in the research community with similar characteristics to me (Heckathorn, 2014). Following Goel and Saglanik (2010) arguments, the RDS technique require that each participant suggest a maximum of three persons to participate in the research. However, this was not feasible in the field.Ten research participants who consented to interviews suggested 5 other Anglophone IDPs suitable to participate in the research. The initial respondents were able to mention nicknames and provide contacts for me to reach out to the suggested persons.

2.8 Data Collection: Instruments and Analytical Techniques

2.8.1 In-depth Interviews

Recorded audio transcripts and verbal interviews between October and November 2019with consenting participantswere [re]scheduled at convenient dates, times, and places between participants and I. Face-to-face interviews were ideal for data collection rather than telephone conversations for sensitive topics such as lived experiences in enemy territories (Dempsey et al. 2016). Interviews were financially demandingand time consuming. Repeating or rephrasing questions increased fatigue, emotional, and mental strain (Cox, 2021). However, face-to-face interviews minimised the uneasiness of participants discussing their experiences to a stranger on telephone. interface meetings built trust between the research participants and I (Vogel, 2013). Unlike telephone conversations, interviews enabled research participants and I to communicate directly using non-verbal signals and gestures (Arndt, 2011). Interface conversations completed the formulation of ideas that often require clarity (Irvine et al. 2012).

Semi-structured,open-ended questions in the interview guide (Appendix 4) provided flexibility during conversations and follow-up questions during interview sessions. Flexibility opened avenues to veer off the topic under investigation (DeJonckheere and Vaughn, 2019). Frequent consultations of the interview guide redirected the conversation to its intended objectives. Interviews with research participants continued for approximately 35 to 60 minutes. The manner and pace at which participants engaged in conversations determined the duration of the interviews. Constant [re]routing of conversations to the topic under investigation further explains variations in the duration of interviews. I used numerical codes and pseudonyms to label each transcribed interview for analysis (McMullin, 2021). Transcription after coding facilitated the process of listening to conversations repeatedly and write responses accurately.

2.8.2 Observation

Observation techniques allowed me to pay attention to respondents' gestures and facial expressions while taking notes (Seim, 2021). The behaviour of participants including body language, and facial expressions during interviews helped me to pick up emotional indicators of sadness, calmness, and anger (Whitehead, 2005). Non-verbal forms of communication were pointers for me to pause, stop, or continue with conversations with participants' consent. Interludes avoided re-traumatizing participants.

2.8.3 Analytical Approach: Thematic Discussions

Thematic discussions in this research in the form of narrative data provide valid empirical conclusions about the experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. Narrative data contribute to knowledge production about the experiences of IDPs in urban communities (Squire et al. 2019). I draw from Guest et al (2014) arguments that thematic discussions required that I immerse myself in the interpretation of data. I identified implicit and explicit ideas in the transcribed data, and underlined common themes in each conversation as summary markers for analysis. The analysis did not include comparing the frequency of occurrence of highlighted sections. Instead, I grouped common to constitute an aspect of the discussion. I systematically and read notes from participants who avoided audio recordings after conversations to complete gaps during notes taking. The remaining gaps in the notes do not compromise the reliability of data and validity of the results. The themes identified in the transcribed document are developed from primary data (Ager and Strang, 2008). Key themes in this research—invisibility paradox, hyper-precarity, and dilemmas of integration are different domains of the findings.

2.8.4 Limitations of the Study

The data collection for this study was done within a limited time towards October and November 2019). Inadeqaute financial resources significantly reduced the sample size. Concerning time frames, rumours of the Covid-19 pandemic threatened a prolonged period for data collection. Information from contacts in Cameroon, and friends in South Africa of indefinite flight cancellation to, and from Cameroon from December 2019 meant that the I had to hasten the process of data collection and return to South Africa in due time. Increased fighting between warring factions posed security threats of travel to, and stay in Cameroon for an extended period. It is possible that an extended stay in Cameroon would have provided me with a complete same size. completed the sample size. Unforeseen gravity of the security threats stemming from the political nature of the conflict rendered Anglophone IDPs difficult to reach. However, a reduced sample size does not compromise the reliability and validity of findings. More data do not necessarily mean good data (Hargittai, 2018). The sample size in this research produced sufficient information to answer all the research questions.

2.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethical principles of anonymity, confidentiality, privacy, informed consent and do no harm guard against this research as an extractive process (Kouritzin and Nakagwa, 2018).

2.9.1 Anonymity

At the initial stages of data collection, the real names and contacts of research participants were necessary to request for interviews. However, research participants chose pseudonyms to conceal their identity before interviews. Records, of dates, time, and place of interviews tells of where and when interviews occurred show minimal information about the identities of Anglophone IDPs living in Yaoundé. Frequent pauses during recording replace sections of the interview with sensitive information.

Some research participants signed consent forms for audio recording. Other participants consented only to verbal interviews. Both groups signed consent forms using pseudonyms of their choice. Discrepancies in the choice of anonymity proved a challenge to balance the principle of doing no harm in the field (Surmiak, 2018). One of the research participants insisted on using his real name to "… share his story with the world..." After clarity about the implications of the decisions, the participant verbally allowed me to use a pseudonym in the consent form.

2.9.2 Privacy

Participants did not share "...personal, secret, or confidential information…" with me (Homan, 1991:41). Thematic disucussions about the lived experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé centres on narratives as they occur from the migrants' perspective (Pardo and Siemens, 2014). Research participants were the gatekeepers of their private domains. They decided what, when, and how to release information during interviews.

2.9.3 Confidentiality

Before interviews, I explained the purpose of the research to participants. The distribution of the participant information sheet (Appendix 1) and consent form (Appendix 2) assured respondents that the information they share will be kept safe in key-locked devices.

2.9.4 Do no harm

According to Dempsey et al. (2016), all research may be sensitive, and some have the potential to elicit more distress than others . I avoided sensitive questions that could potentially open avenues for Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé to relive traumatic conflict experiences in the NWR. I observes during conversations that I the majority of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé looked sad, afraid, and angry. To avoid re-traumatisation, the distress protocol (Appendix 3) referred research participants to professional trauma councillors. To my surprise, many Anglophone IDPs declined to consult wit healthcare providers saying that the questions were not traumatising.

2.9.5 Informed Consent

The distribution of consent forms allowed research participants to read and ask questions for rational judgments before participation in the study. The participant information sheet (PIS, Appendix 1) clarified doubts about the purpose of the research. My contact details and relevant authorities in the PIS, and consent forms minimised suspicion from research participants. The participation of Anglophone IDPs in the research was voluntary and free from coercion. The ethics clearance document from the University of the Witwatersrand Research Ethics Committee with the clearance number H19/08/31 convinced participants that the research is genuine.

2.10 Reflexivity: Digression, Obsession, and Everything in-between

This research began as a digression. It quickly turned into an obsession to contribute to knowledge about the seemingly forgotten case of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé (Brilman, 2019). Investigating the experiences of Anglophone IDPs add to the call for a pragmatic response of protection and humanitarian assistance (Betts, 2013). Research on the topic exposed me to historical−political data that intricately weaves into the experiences of displaced persons in Africa. The current topic discards personal biases from epistemic notions that knowledge is separate from the knower (Duffy et al. 2020). It was necessary for me to conceptualise, imagine and re-imagine what kind of knowledge to produce and its contribution to literature in the near or distant future. Attempts to manage power relations between the research participants and I, produced a consciousness of domination or subjugation of either party. The hybrid positionality gave gave me an advantage over the research participants. Meeting participants at their homes or place of work removed barriers of superiority or inferiority. Drawing from Karnieli-Miller et al. (2009) arguments, efforts to attain power balance encouraged disclosure and authenticity between research participants and I. The consciousness of power balance in this qualitative research departs from quantitative epistemology that the researcher is the ultimate source of authority. Anglophone IDPs had the power to turn down interviews before, during, or after conversations. However, I used my positionality to negotiate access into the research community. As expected, the outsider position prepared me to anticipate that Anglophone IDPs would perceive me as a potential 'saviour'. Anglophone IDPs who participated in the research perceived me to be a humanitarian agent. Without addressing immediate concerns, revealing my identity seem to dampen expectations. The journey towards the realization of this project is a mixed blessing. The recent Covid-19 pandemic and its unforeseen health, and financial effects interrupted the timely completion of this research. Affiliations with the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) as a Master's student exposed me to contemporary migration scholarship necessary for theoretical formulations. A trip to Yaoundé for the first time after a decade for data collection presented me with a new environment. Various perceptions of national identity and belonging in a period of intrastate conflict presented a different perspective of the society I grew up in.

I struggle with inner conflicts. I must choose to pursue either the course of a researcher or seek detour as an advocate for social justice. Adopting the role of a humanitarian screams within. Reading published articles and listening to first-hand accounts about experiences of in/visibility, hyper-precarity, and dilemmas of integration and belonging amongst Anglophone IDPs evoke emotions I suppress for objectivity. I attempt to avoid the common pitfalls of academic knowledge production as an extractive process (Kouritzin and Nakagwa, 2018). I concur with Oyegoke (2011) claims that knowledge production about the experiences of migrants must engage in a reflective manner, and provide practical problem-solving strategies.

Chapter 3

Internal Displacement in Africa: Trends, Causes and Lived Experiences

3.1 Introduction

This chapter draws from existing literature to discuss internal displacement in Africa. The chapter begins with an overview of internal displacement trends. It proceeds with a brief outlook of human, and natural causes of internal displacement. Later, I provide an outline of the nature of internal displacement in Cameroon. I conclude the chapter with a discussion about the experiences of IDPs in Cameroon, while identifying knowledge gaps the study intends to fill.

3.2 Internal Displacement in Post-colonial Africa: An Overview of Trends

Africa is no exception to increasing migration. General trends show circular, regional movements (Cordell et al. 2020). Refugees and IDPs constitute the dominant categories of migrants across the continent. According to the Interational Organization for Migration IOM (2020) report, globally, at the end of 2018, the number of IDPs increased from approximately 40 to 41.3 million. In 2018, Ethiopia topped the list, recording approximately 2.9 million IDPs compared to 725,000 in 2017. The Democratic Republic of Congo was second with over 1.8 million IDPs. Sudan recorded the second highest proportion (18%) followed by the Central African Republic with over 10% of the IDPs population. Cameroon follows with over 1 million IDPs between 2019 and 2020 (UHNCR, 2021). Significant factors contribute to increasing migration trends in Africa and elsewhere. Particularly in Africa, ccording to Bello-Schünemann et al. (2017) socio-political, demographic, economic, and technological transitions potentially shape the future of Africa towards improved livelihood. However, national and regional disparities produce spatial experiences with improved living conditions for selected persons and countries.. The Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED, 2020) suggests that bad governance in the form of authoritarianism, and cronyism rather than merit contribute to disparities in overall positive experiences. State impunity generates mass protests and unrest among civilians at interstate levels (ACLED, 2020). States often retaliate with military and paramilitary strategies including imprisonments and detention of political prisoners to quell resistance (Norman, 2021). The escalation of violent conflicts between state military and opposition expose inhabitants to some degree of vulnerability and deprivation. In response, populations in conflict zones. Residents in conflict zones escape to

other places for safety (Bello-Schünemann et al. 2017).) The majority of displaced persons are often women, youth, and children separated from their families, sometimes forever (Lawson et al. 2020).

Internal displacement is a recurrent crisis in many parts of the world. Statistics from UNHCR (2021) report suggests that on a global scale, persecution, violent conflict, human rights violations displaced approximately 82.4 million persons at the end of 2020. Approximately 48.0 million are IDPs. Refugees consist about 26.4 million. Violent conflict and natural disasters are major contributors to internal displacement. An IDMC (2021) report further shows that in 2021, 25 African countries top the list of prominent countries with new displacements. The Democratic Republic of Congo recorded 2 209 000 IDPs from violent conflict. Disasters caused over 279 000 internal displacements. Violent clashes, and disasters caused between 1 692 and 664 000 IDPs relocations in Ethiopia. Mozambique, formerly a relatively peaceful country hosts 592 000 IDPs from violent conflict, and 25 000 displaced due to disasters. Nigeria recorded 279000 IDPs from violent conflict and 169 000 IDPs from disasters. Niger recorded 136 000 IDPs from violent conflict and approximately 276 000 IDPs from natural disasters.

3.3 Causes of Internal Displacement: Brief Analysis

Internal displacement is a multi-causal phenomenon (Goodwin-Gill and McAdam, 2017), from a convergence of underlying human and natural factors (Mbuagbo and Orock, 2012). The discourse about the causes of internal displacement appreciates recognizes a continuum and grey zone between the two broad categories (Kolmannskog and Trebbi, 2010). For this analysis, I provide separate discussions of the several factors that cause internal displacement

3.3.1 Human Contributors to Internal Displacement

3.3.1.1 Violent Conflict

Violent conflict significantly contributes to internal displacement in Africa. Prominent forms of violent conflict include ethnic infighting, political violence, and religious wars at the local, national, and interstate levels (ACLED, 2020). Persistent intrastate violent conflicts in Africa often occur between opposition leaders and state agents over political exclusion in national administration, and the suppression of democratic ideals such as freedom of speech (Etzold et al. 2019). Displacement becomes inevitable during violent clashes (Osagioduwa and Oluwakorede, 2016).

According to IDMC (2019) report, violent conflicts often degenerate into rape, destruction of lives, and property. Hotspots of violent clashes include. the Sahel (North Africa), West Africa, East Africa, and the Great Lakes regions.(Bello-Schünemann et al. 2017). Djigsa (2018) notes that violent conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa displaced over 12.5 million persons in 2016. The Democratic Republic of Congo recorded 4.4 million, Somalia hosted 2.1 million IDPs, Sudan2.0 million , South Sudan-1.9 million, and Ethiopia (1.4 million). The ACLED (2020) report further shows that Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger recorded the most violent conflicts in 2019 compared to 2018. Similarly, Ogu (2019) reports that Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Nigeria experienced persistent conflictswhich displaced Muslims towards the predominantly Christian South. Violent conflicts may continue partly because past conflict is one of the predictors of future conflict (Bello-Schünemann et al. 2017).

Ethnic conflicts in Africa often occur over natural resources such as land and water. A continuum of historical factors rooted in colonial legacies accounts for ethnic conflicts in post-colonial Africa. Garba et al. (2018) suggests that the partition of Africa created artificial territorial boundaries that murky existing ethnicity. Artificial territorial boundaries consist of cultural affinities in heterogeneous societies (Aremu, 2010). In Hanafi's (2014) article *Effects of Identity Formation in Africa*, ethnic differences birthed inclusionary and exclusionary tendencies. The politicisation of ethnicity and citizenship using autochthones−allogènes practices morphed into strategies of marginalization that appear to secure legitimate belonging among the citizenry. Prominent examples of ethnic conflicts in Africa include the Hutus and Tutsi 1994 conflict in Rwanda (Taylor 1999), and the Tigani and Tharaka communities in the greater Meru region in Kenya (Mworia and Ndiku, 2012). Cameroon equally recorded significant violent ethnic conflict in between the Arab Choa and Kotoko, the Beti and Bamileke, the Fulani and the Kurdi in the early 1990 displaced hundreds of people (Socpa, 2010).

Religious intrastate wars are becoming significant human factor of internal displacement in the North, South Eastern, and Western regions of Africa and elsewhere. For example, Bello-Schünemann et al. (2017) argues that fatalities from terrorist Islamic attacks in sub-Saharan Africa increased from 3 842 to 13 333 between 2013 and 2014. The ACLED (2020) presents a similar report. It suggests that in 2019, Islamic groups such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab attacks in the Sahel and Eastern parts of Africa were severe than in 2018.

In conclusion, the various forms of conflict across Africa shows interconnected complexities. In the main, corruption, lingering socio-economic inequalities, and lack of sufficient political will to end humanitarian challenges generate violent conflicts followed by protracted displacement (Ogu, 2019).

3.3.1.2 Development and Conservation Projects

Glass's (1964) concept of gentrification expounds on development-induced displacement. Glass uses the case of Londoners to argue that development projects cause human evictions and mobility from homes and lands to other parts of the city. According to Stanley (2004), the implementation of development projects−construction, demolition, or renovation of public buildings, roads, and dams by urban developers exert direct control over land previously occupied by urban residents. The effects of large-scale

development projects are far-reaching. Adeola and Viljoen (2018) iterate that gentrification processes often occur without adequate compensation, insufficient consultation with community leaders, and inconsiderate recognition of the composition of urban residents. Development projects enhance the physical appearance of the environment and at the same time increase internal displacement. It is common place for urban developers in compliance with government authorities to ignore the downsides of urban projects such as dual displacement on persons affected by intrastate violent conflict.

Despite claims in the literature that establish a connection between development projects and displacement (see Adeola and Viljoen, 2018; Hepner and Tecle, 2013), some authors argue otherwise. Stanley (2004) emphasize inadequate accurate data about the number of persons affected by DID. The expansion of development projects in many African countries may not necessarily cause displacement. Rather, , urban transformation processes relocate urban residents to other remote areas within urban areas. In a similar argument, Rayle (2015) mentions that development projects increase circular movements within urban centres. Development projects simply enhance residential mobility, and enables the expansion of cities to accommodate more people. However, development projects displace urban residents with long-term devastating effects on IDPs living in cities (Price, 2009).

Conservation projects equally contribute to internal displacement particularly in rural communities. According to Schmidt-Soltau (2004), conservation projects disguised as preserving wildlife for disguisedsustainable human and animal ecosystems, displace millions of indigenous populations worldwide. Displacement affects local communities who depend on animal and plant resources for food, shelter, and livelihood. Internal displacement is rampant in developing countries riddled with protected areas for conservation projects. The state often suppresses attempts by local communities to resist land demarcations for conservation. This is the case ofdisplaced Baka persons of the Dja Reserve area in East Cameroon (Awuh, 2015).

3.4 Environmental Factors and Internal Displacement

Akin to violent conflict, environmental disasters contribute to internal displacement (Dung and Avwunudiogba, 2021). Environmental factors such as includes, (see Bali, 2021; Blackmore, 2021; Dung and Avwunudiogba, 2021). According to Miller and Vu (2021) environmental displacement is an unpredictable form of displacement in many parts of the world. The continuum of human and environmental factors creates difficulties to measure environmental

displacement. Statistics from various organizations offer estimates numbers. According to the UNHCR (2021) weather-related events (floods, tsunamis, cyclones) displace an average of 21.5 million persons each year. The number includes new displacements−individuals forced to move more than once with each movement counting as a new displacement. Countries such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Mozambique top the list of countries prone to flood risks and tropical storms. In Mozambique, the Tropical Cyclone Idai that struck the South East coast caused floods that damaged approximately 100 000 homes, destroyed 1 million hectares of crops, demolished 1 billion worth of infrastructure, and internally displaced 146 000 persons (Podesta, 2019).

Previous studies identify the link between human factors and natural disasters (Owen et al. 2021; Podesta, 2019). As Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2019) explains, the wavering support that multinational mining corporations receive from African states despite improper planning of investors contribute to internal displacement. . Significant figures show the extent of the problem. Owen et al.'s (2021) findings suggests over 90% of gold, copper, and coal mining projects occur in fragile stateswith severe water and food insecurity. Mining projects in disaster prone areas internally displace significant number of persons across different parts of the world. Approximately one-third of the cases of environmental disasters occur in Sub-Saharan Africa, 20% of the cases are from South Asia and Latin America, 19% of the cases are from the Caribbean. East Asia and the Pacific consist 17%, Europe and Central Asia recorded 12% of resource mining effects (Owen et al. 2021). Large excavations containing toxic chemical residue cause air and water pollution that degrade the environment which trigger human mobility (Terminski, 2013). Slow responses to environmental degradation increase internal displacement to other communities (Sökefeld, 2012).

Climate change pivots the discourse about natural disasters and their effects on internal displacement (UNHCR, 2021). Detail analyses about the impact of climate change on natural disasters exceed the objectives of this research. Significant scenarios connect climate change, natural disasters, and internal displacement. According to Kolmannskog and Trebbi (2010) in scenario 1, climate change increases the frequency and severity of the sudden onset of natural disasters within specific periods and locations. Internal displacement is temporal and recovery depends on effective humanitarian response. For example, droughts in Ethiopia, including regions in Somalia displaced at least 300 000 pastoralists between 2015 and 2017 (Adeola, 2020). Kolmannskog and Trebbi (2010) add that in scenario 2, climate change increases the frequency and slow onset of severe disasters with variations in periods and location. Part of the population may decide to migrate to other sections of the same country if conditions

deteriorate. In scenario 3, climate change increases environmental degradation causing the depletion of natural resources. In the third scenario, internal displacement is temporal (Lonergan, 1998).

3.5 Nature and Causes of Internal Displacement in Cameroon

Cameroon, like other parts of Africa, is no stranger to increasing trends of internal displacement. Cameroon recorded about 438 295 IDPs in 2017 (Botha, 2020). The number increased to over 1 032 942 in 2020 (UNHCR, 2021). The Northern, North West, and South West Regions of the country are major sending areas of IDPs (Osagioduwa and Oluwakorede, 2016). Human (Boko Haram insurgency, and the Anglophone conflict), and natural factors (Lake Nyos disaster and Mount Fako eruptions) significantly contribute to internal displacement in Cameroon.

3.5.1 Lake Nyos Disaster and Mount Fako Eruptions

The sudden onset of the hazardous Lake Nyos explosion in August 1986 in the NWR contributed to 1 979 IDPs (Kling, 2021). According to Tchindjang (2018) carbon dioxide emissions from the lake triggered explosions that spread toxic gas over 25 to 40 km wide towards the eastern and western direction. Gas emissions destroyed livestock and killed more than 1746 people. The rugged nature of the landscape—located on fault lines and seasonal western winds channelled the gas along tectonic corridors and valleys. Within a short period, the government declared the villages of Nyos, Cha, and Subum surrounding the lake unfit for human habitation. The disaster forced residents out of their homes, and deprived the zone of fertile soils for agriculture (Ngwa, 1992). Resettlement camps became shelters for approximately 4 430 survivors displaced from the disaster zone (Osagioduwa and Oluwakorede, 2016). Camping proved unsustainable for rehabilitation as several individuals and households returned to their homes for self-sufficiency (Buchenrieder et al. 2017). According to Mbanga et al. (2021) the dilapidated state of temporal shelters owing to the weak powers of the traditional rulers deterred continuous stay in camps. Cameroon's economic crises from the 1980s further contributed to the slow socio-economic response for disaster survivors (Bang and Few, 2012). The Lake Nyos area remains vulnerable to volcanic hazards and floods even without a recent explosion (Tchindjang, 2020).

Mount Fako eruptions contributed to internal displacement in the South West Region (SWR) of Cameroon (Buchenrieder et al. 2017). According to Ateba et al. (2009) Mount Fako

eruptions in Buea in 1999 and 2000 displaced residents to the surrounding towns of Kumba, Limbe, and Muyuka. It is difficulty to say whether those displaced received due attention. Other natural disasters such as floods in the North and Extreme North regions of Cameroon displaced approximately 88 640 between August and September 2012 (Osagioduwa and Oluwakorede (2016). A cholera epidermic in the Far North region from April to July 2014, recorded approximately 1 233 cases and displaced approximately 22 545 persons between May and June 2014 (Osagioduwa and Oluwakorede (2016).

3.5.2 Boko Haram Insurgency: Non-Violence to Terrorism

Boko Haram's Islamic insurgencies in the Northern regions of Cameroon significantly contribute to internal displacement. Terrorist activities including existing natural disasters displace local populations to surrounding communities (Barau, 2018). According to Keming (2018) Boko Haram replicates AL Shabab, AL Qaeda, and ISIS terrorist insurgencies in Africa and elsewhere. Prior to Boko Haram's prominence in 2014, the Northern parts of the country were peaceful. As Comolli (2015) argues, in the course of time, the group evolved from an isolated broadly non-violent sect to a brutal, Islamic insurgency group engaged in various forms of violent attacks. According to Keming (2018) at Boko Haram's inception, major criminal activities involved coupeurs de routes (road hijackers), ransom kidnapping, assassination, looting, and armed robbery. Boko Haram's activities later progressed into full-blown abductions, the capturing of towns and villages, and religious persecutions (Comolli, 2015). Botha (2020) notes that Boko Haram's transformation is associated with its expansion from Nigeria to a more aggressive presence in Cameroon. Boko Haram's extension into Cameroon disrupts a long history of serenity amidst other countries in the Lake Chad Basin (LCB) such as Federal Republic of Nigeria, Central African Republic, and Chad notorious for political, and religious violent conflicts. predominantly in northern regions displacing people to the southern parts of the affected countries (IDMC, 2019).Recently, violent conflict in the Northwest and Southwest regions home to Anglophone Cameroonians eclipse Boko Haram attacks.

3.5.3 The Anglophone Problem: Recipe for Violent Conflict and Displacement

The Anglophone problem in Cameroon is arguably persistent with various claims on the subject. Broadly, there are two schools of thoughts. At one end of the spectrum, some scholars claim that there is no Anglophone problem. The argument goes that that the political and economic woes of Cameroon are not unique to Anglophones, or to any minority group in Africa

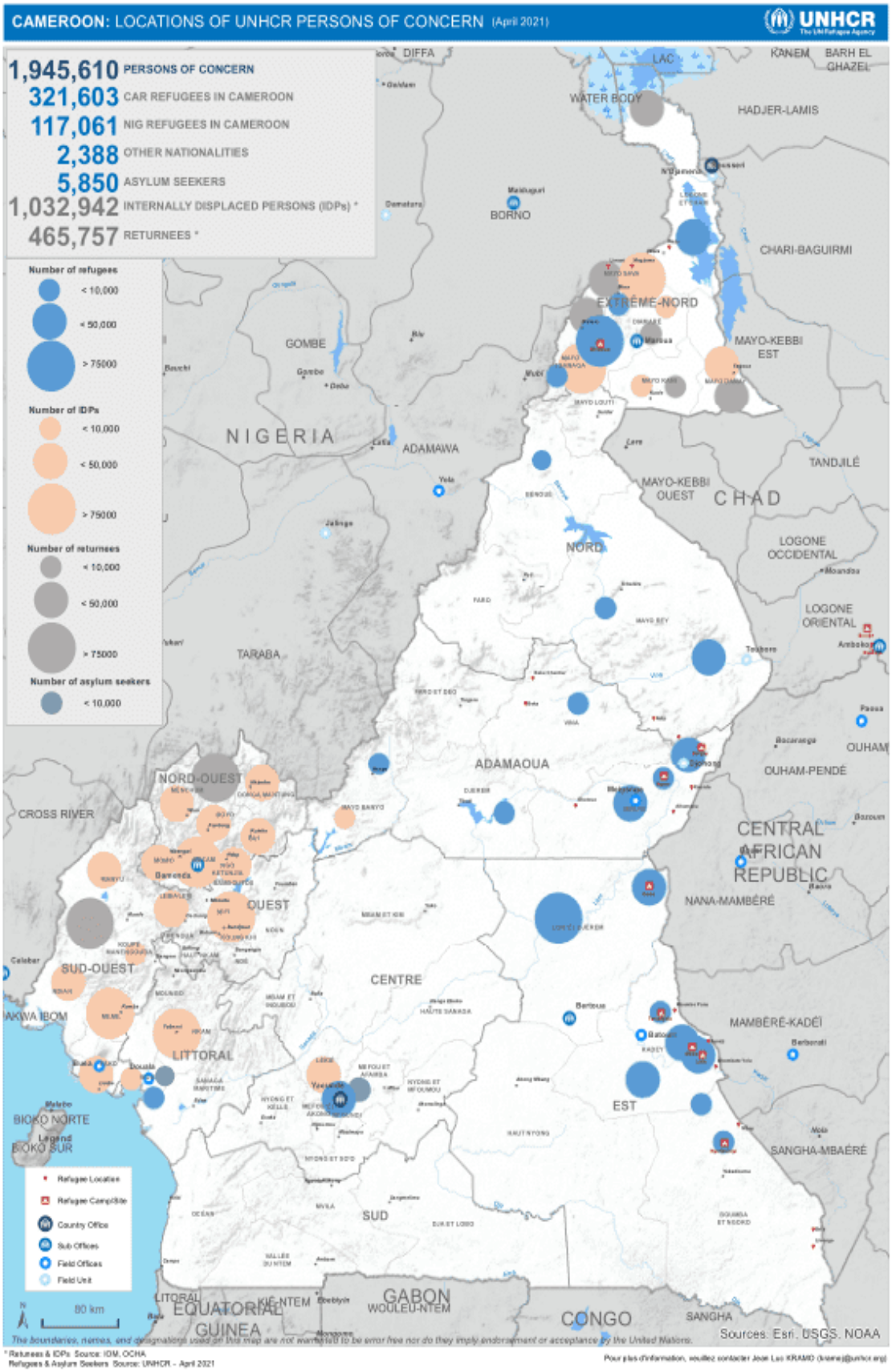
for that matter. All Cameroonians are victims of elite hegemony, and bad governance (see Toman, 2020; Mougoué, 2017). At another end, scholars argue that the Anglophone problem is unavoidable and neglected by the ruling elite (Awasom, 2020, Anyagwe 20,,,). According to Elong (2011) the Anglophone problem is the desire for Anglophones to assert cultural identity and participate on an equal basis with Francophone counterparts in nation-building. The consciousness of liberalization began in the early 1990s when Anglophone elites mobilized regional populations against perceived historical□political subjugation in the affairs of the state which began with the reunification agenda. . Kah (2012) points out that that the failed reunification project of French and British Cameroons in 1961 sowed seeds of subjugation and domination of one (French Cameroun) over the other (British Cameroon). The grievances of Anglophones are summed up in 4 points. According to Fonkeng (2019) successive governments in Cameroon from 1961 fail to respect and implement stipulations of equality in various articles of the Foumban Constitution. Second, the disbanding of multi-parties and the formation of one-party system blatantly disregarded the 1966 constitution. The careless management of the 1972 referendum removed foundational elements of federalism—equal power sharing and respect for each other's cultural identities in the 1961 constitution. Amendments in the 1984 constitution gave the country the original East Cameroon name, La République du Cameroun under French influence. The name sought to erase the identity of Anglophone Cameroonians from the union. Few years after the reunification, late President Ahidjo, a Francophone elite, implemented a Machiavellian system of governance that suppressed all forms of opposition. The practice contravened democratic ideals cherished among Anglophones (Nyamnjoh and Konings, 1997). President Biya would later capitalised on his predecessor's autocratic rule to entrench difference and Anglophone marginalization (Nkwi, 2014).

Biya's strategies to marginalize Anglophones progressed into steps towards the erosion of Anglophone symbols of identity−education and legal systems borrowed from Britain. Attempts to erase the symbols triggered an uproar from the masses. According to Brilman (2019) the Anglophone conflict developed from disgruntled educators who did not welcome the transfer of Francophone teachers to unfamiliar terrains of the NWR and SWR. Anglophone teachers denounced the practice unfair to Anglophone learners deficient in French. in October 2016 Anglophone teachers, lawyers, and the public engaged in mass protests with specific demands to redress the situation (Okereke, 2018). Within a few months of the protests, demands rapidly shifted from the state to create a National Commission for Bilingualism and Multiculturalism and maintain the Common Law system, to calls for secession (Befoune, 2018). Recent

implosions in Anglophone regions attest to an existing problem of political imbalance practices which continue to instil concerns of cultural and identity assimilation among Anglophones (Awasom, 2020).

Confrontations between guerrilla fighters and state militia caused frequent shutdowns of strategic towns in the regions (Brilman, 2018). According to Fonkeng (2019) hotspots of the conflict include Bamenda, Buea, Kumba, Limbe, and Mamfe. The population in these areas marched at road intersections, to residences of traditional chiefs, and police stations declaring independence. Defence and security agents responded with disproportionate force, live ammunition and excessive use of tear gas. Confrontations progressed into violent clashes, the destruction of human lives and property (Lazar, 2019). In 2017, there were approximately 40 deaths and over 100 injured protesters were arrested in the streets, at people's houses without warrants (International Crisis Group, 2017). According to the UNHCR (2021) report between 2017 and 2020, the conflict internally displaced over 1 945 610 million persons with more than 1800 deaths (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Number of IDPs in Cameroon (Adapted from UNHCR google maps).



3.6 Experiences of IDPs: An overview

The experiences of IDPs vary. Ferris and Kirişci (2017) claims that the simultaneous occurrence of violent clashes in Syria, , South Sudan, Burundi, Central African Republic, Mali, Somalia, Eritrea, and Colombia, generatefragile experiences and vulnerabilities among IDPs. The absence of viable political solutions to national conflict exacerbates inadequate humanitarian response to IDPs. Disagreements among political actors on how to end violent conflict, and the appropriate kind of humanitarian assistance to offer problematise the governance of internal displacement. IDPs therefore experience vast array of challenges including access to healthcare, in/visibility crises, and integration.

Violent conflicts affect the mental health of IDPs. The loss of relatives, property, and sources of livelihood often traumatize IDPs (Seguin, 2020). In addition, unemployment challenges, including the inability to afford appropriate medical care in new places produce anxiety, worry, and a general deterioration in mental health (Hayward and Joseph, 2017). According to Manzella (2017) uncertainties stemming from protracted displacement further aggravate trauma as IDPs feel neglected. Internally displaced persons may experience challenges with integration and belonging, no access to land ownership, receive no benefits from their home governments. Perceived as outsiders, IDPs are considered the 'other' excluded from mainstream society (Udah, 2020). Exclusion increases vulnerability during protracted displacement (Koch, 2015). The experiences may culminate in fragmented lives.

IDPs may experience various forms of in/visibility. IDPs located in camps tend to be visible for humanitarian assistance and intervention (Dan et al. 2021). IDPs living outside designated areas are hidden-in-plain sight (see Olarewanju et al. 2019, Montemurro and Walicki, 2010). Difficulties to identify and measure the numbers of IDPs further promote invisibility to government officials and researchers (Manzella, 2017). Some factors that affect accurate measurements and deepen invisibility include the process of categorisation (Dyer and Rajan, 2021), and the failure to recognize IDPs' legal status (Muganda, 2018). Knowledge production further influence in/visibility of IDPs. According to Berg (2020) the methods used to generate and process data obstruct knowledge production about IDPs at two levels. At technical levels, the use of different research approaches such as positivism—representation of data as the reflection of the real world, and constructivism−producing data as representations of epistemological and normative world view determine in/visibility. On an epistemic level,

researchers may fall into the trap of linear knowledge production instead of identifying underlying factors of social phenomena. This is typical given that lived experiences for example are not straightforward (Berg, 2020).

Research designs and approaches that unearth underlying factors of social experiences may increase visibility. Financial constraints, distance, and intervening opportunities impede knowledge production particularly in low-income countries, while deepening invisibility (Lucas, 2016). However, IDPs use agency to exercise admirable patience and determination to adapt in urban communities to overcome vulnerabilities (Seguin, 2020). These may include re-building communal lives through visits to persons with similar status and exchange of gifts (Manzella, 2017).

3.6.1 Access to Basic Services

The unplanned movement of IDPs to urban communities, and shortage of financial resources impede the utilization of healthcare facilities. The loss of livelihood including unemployment in new environments hinders the purchase food, access to adequate shelter, , and education. Inadequacies increase trauma and vulnerability of IDPs (see Agbiboa, 2017; Osagioduwa and Oluwakorede, 2016).

3.6.2 Management Effects of Internal Displacement

Moral and ethical principles shapes the response to internal displacement (Song, 2013). In principle, internal displacement is a national crisis that requires national attention. However, the governance of internal displacement in many parts of the world is lagging (Mafany and Budi, 2019). Particularly in Africa, the unwillingness of states to take responsibility during intrastate violent conflicts downplays IDPs issues. Governments frequently deny involvement in human rights violations causing internal displacement (Song, 2013). For example, the governments of Sudan and Zimbabwe did not acknowledge the existence of internal displacement in 2008 (Naidu and Benhura, 2015). Djigsa (2018) notes similar patterns in Ethiopia where the concerns of IDPs take a back seat in policy debates.

The politicisation of internal displacement fragments national policies for effective governance with far reaching effects. According to Barau (2017), disorganized national policies cripple national and local intervention programmes towards the protection of, and humanitarian assistance to IDPs. Failures to assist IDPs at national levels may attract international

intervention. The absence of a workable framework in Cameroon to govern migration protracts displacement. According to Song (2013), normative provisions in the Guiding Principles for Internal Displacement, and the Kampala Convention of 1995 offer no consequence management should states fail to exercise their responsibilities. The UNHCR is de facto agency managing refugees and assisting IDPs. The cluster approach overstretches the responsibilities of protection and assistance to displaced persons. The organisation functions only within the normative framework of international humanitarian systems. Global, or regional interventions are often ambiguous. According to Wang (2019) the absence of a workable legal instrument to address the needs of IDPs within the Central African Economic Community (CEMAC) zone to which Cameroon belongs aggravates protracted displacement. The unofficial recognition of IDP status hinders the provision of a workable migration regime for internal displacement in the region (Mooney, 2005).

Despite ambiguities, Cameroon appears to record pockets of successful assistance to IDPs. According to the UNHCR (2016) report in collaboration with the World Bank Group among other national efforts to reduce internal displacement, the government of Cameroon established the Multinational Joint Task Force with other LCB countries to fight against Boko Haram insurgency. The efforts show President Biya's pragmatic political strategy to address Cameroon's internal−external issues (Amin, 2020). The response contradicts popular notions that Cameroon's foreign or national policies towards national crises are conservative, weak, and timid. As Osagioduwa and Oluwakorede (2016) argues, Biya's pragmatism is visible in the adherence to Principle 18 of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. The Principle allows for the provision of basic needs to IDPs. The state's implementation of Principles 19, 22, 24 and 25 (2 and 3), which recommend the provision of healthcare and non-interference from government agencies in the discharge of humanitarian activities, encourages humanitarian agencies, religious organisations, and NGOs to respond to internal displacement in Cameroon.

The outline above shows that existing literature pay minimal attention to IDPs experiences and lived realities in enemy territories. Security concerns, nationalist mobilisation, and the spread of paranoia transform many citizens into enemies whose loyalty and accountability need constant monitoring (Caglioti, 2014). According Jakobsen (2008) , enemy civilians constitute IDPs mainly from minority populations living in localities under the control of existing political hegemony loyal to the state perceived to threaten national integrity during violent political conflictssuch ideas may escalate where loyalty and trustworthiness of the population are the foundations for nation-building. Deng (2006) notes that in order to rid the state of all opposition, military official in enemy territories target persons perceived to organize the the

formulation of uprisings in conflict zones. In response, the state adopts various forms of persecution and neglect towards

IDPs. Persecution may include oppression and suppression of civil liberties such as freedom of speech through coercion, surveillance, and spatial restrictions to movement. The practices are common amongst African governments who often override their bound (Lieneke, 2020). According to Der Veer (2021) civilians from minority groups in enemy territories may experience othering conditions as the state raises the standard of belonging in the nation. At the same time, perceptions that enemy civilians are traitors to nation-building may attract hostility from local populations (Tsoukala, 2017). IDPs living in enemy territories are likely to experience no human rights for self-defence in the face of target military accusations. Fears of a neighbour being an informer force IDPs hide from the rest of the population (Jakobsen, 2008).

The experiences outlined influence IDPs' [re] definition of place. Perceptions of local membership and national belonging feeds into the [re] definition of place (Pelican, 2014). Space in places of potential hostility becomes fluid with uncertainties of belonging and settlement (Kennedy, 2008). Migrants must [re] think what ties they possess with respect to national identity and membership in enemy territory (Jackson, 2014). This research therefore pulls from Bruey (2019) arguments that inadequate information about the experiences of migrants in enemy territories provides a unique opportunity to advance research. In addition, the experiences of IDPs in enemy territories are under investigated (IDMC, 2019). An investigation into the experiences of Anglophone IDPs living in Yaoundé an enemy territory is an attempt to contribute to knowledge in the area. . The political nature of the intrastate violent conflict further impedes the state's response (see Samah and Tata, 2020; Miller, 2018; Tembon, 2018). This research uses empirical data from Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé as a microcosm of IDPs' experiences in enemy territories in Africa to underline the need for government's intervention to IDPs in urban communities.

3.7 Conclusion

Space and place making captures the experiences of IDPs in urban communities. Human factors (violent conflicts) and environmental disasters contribute to internal displacement. Minimal information exist about the experiences of IDPs in enemy territories warrants the current research. Political interests and unwillingness to manage internal displacement in Cameroon and elsewhere in Africa give rise poor response. These factors increase security

threats for IDPs in enemy territories. This research adds to the call for adequate response from relevant quarters to internal displacement, particularly IDPs from minority groups living in enemy territories in Cameroon, elsewhere in Africa, and the world.

Chapter 4: In/visibility Paradox

4.1 Introduction

This chapter draws on empirical research findings and academic literature to discuss in/visibility as one of the main markers of IDPs' experiences in urban communities. I use the case of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé to argue that fear of reprisal from state authorities deepens invisibility among IDPs. At another end-point, visibility is strategic to attract humanitarian aid. The discussion begins with an overview of the general scholarly perspectives on internal displacement and in/visibility. The discussion later focuses on the manifestations of in/visibility among IDPs and situates it within the broader process of democratization in Africa, particularly in Cameroon. The final part of the chapter discusses the effects of in/visibility in relation to protection and assistance.

4.2. IDPs' In/visibility: General Perspectives

Internal displacement is one of the most impactful human issues (Oredain and Djalante, 2020). It erodes human capital, increases poverty among potentially productive persons, weakens the fragile social fabric of displaced communities, radicalises disposed people, destabilises governments, and increases the burden on international donors (Zetter, 2014). Statistics on the number of IDPs show an upward trend. On a global level, there were over 55 million IDPs in 2019 (Olarewanju et al. 2019). By 2021, the number increased to approximately 68 million (UNHCR, 2021). Despite an upward trajectory, internal displacement attracts minimal attention and IDPs remain underrepresented in migration studies (Olarenawju, 2019). It is challenging to understand what exactly is happening to IDPs living in cities. The migrant group often experience precarious living conditions and remain largely invisible (Fias et al. 2021), in global and national data (IDMC, 2019). The discourse about IDPs' in/visibility is pervasive in migration literature (Wolf, 2021; Bove and Sharmahd, 2020; Haile, 2020). Various authors and scholars propose different views on the subject. According to Feldman (2008) in/visibility includes strategies that migrants make themselves known or unknown by specific groups of people in newcommunities. While security threats potentially triggers invisibility (Haile, 2020), visibility is strategic to attract humanitarian assistance. Invisibility hinders effective monitoring and accountability from state officials and humanitarian organizations. The absence of accountability produces disaggregated data (Jacobsen, 2008). In addition to security threats,

unresolved issues of conceptualisation, policy, and academic knowledge production nuance discscussions about in/visibility (Polzer and Almond,2008). I build on the three axioms in the discussion.

The conceptualisation of migrants into categories or labels such as IDPs, refugees, and asylum seekers promotes in/visibility (Long, 2013). In Challenging Categorical Fetishism, Crawley and Skleparis' (2018) argue that categories differentiate between migrants' voluntarily movement and the legitimate claims for protection and assistance. Labels fail to explain the complexities between political, social, and economic drivers of migration, or shifting identities over time and space. Contrasting views in academics about the effects of categorisation further nuance in/visibility (Castles, 2003). At one end, some scholars claim that labels blur practical solutions to migrant issues (see Talani, 2020; Morsut and Kruke, 2018; Woźniak-Szpakiewicz, 2016). At another spectrum, some authors argue that IDPs as a category of concern are yet to receive due attention from public entities and humanitarian organizations (Naidu and Benhura, 2015). Challenges of defining IDPs deepen invisibility (Haile, 2020), and promotes segmented response to migrants in general (Haile, 2020; Muggah, 2015).

Demographic characteristics shape IDPs' in/visibility (Pontalti, 2010). According to Yul-Davies (2006) compartmentalization into various demographic labels such as gender and race promotes broad social divisions. Compartmentalization treats persons who belong to a particular social category as sharing equally positive and negative attributes specific to each group. For example, lumping women and children into a single migrant entity masks their unique vulnerabilities (Bhabha, 2004). Furthermore, male, female, and age attribute potentially prescribe inclusionary or exclusionary practices that inform entitlement to specific resources (Huijsmans, 2012). The absence of a coherent global policy framework that address IDP issues at regional and national levels entrench invisibility (Fais, 2021). As Orendain and Djalante (2021) argues, the absence of extensive and systematic investigation of internal displacement promotes failure in local policy guidelines. . IDPs therefore remain largely ignored, in/visible, and excluded from the broader migration discourses. The recent Covid-19 pandemic effects such as challenges with providing public healthcare further hinder necessary intervention to the migrant group.

The politicization of internal displacement at global, regional, and national levels, shapes in/visibility. Movement during violent conflict is often abrupt, unplanned, and uncertain. According to Kihato (2007) such forms of migration frequently occurs in states with weak

regulations and legal policy frameworks. Monitoring platforms such as IDMC document, the causes, numbers of displaced persons, location, and date of displacement, measureemnts of internal displacement. Despite systematic analysis, data capturing systems fail to develop infrastructure and benchmark schemas for reliable monitoring of internal displacement (Poletto et al. 2021). Government databases may fail to record the frequent movements of IDPs within specific periods. Complexities surrounding the manner of movement from the place of origin and transit, challenge the capturing, tracking, and tracing of IDPs (Schrover and Faassen, 2010). Failure to properly measure or capture information about IDPs extends bureaucratic in/visibility (Zlotnik, 2003).

Academic knowledge production through research techniques, positionality, and geographical location of migrants equally influence in/visibility . Research techniques that minimise harm may increase the visibility of IDPs (Khoury, 2019). Data collection techniques such as face-to-face recorded interviews and participatory action research that require meetings with research participants may increase IDPs' visibility. However, interface conversation may produce scepticism and mistrust of the researcher while contributing to invisibility (Aberegg, 2020; Ellard-Gray et al.2015). According to Montemurro and Walicki (2019) IDPs who migrate to cities as a coping strategy may prefer to blend with urban residents to avoid being g targets of reprisal. Choosing private accommodation over government-sponsored housing may contribute to IDPs' in/visibility. Following Davies and Jacobsen (2014) arguments, IDPs in enemy territories seek to avoid interactions with strangers for fear of retribution. the adoption of behaviours similar to urban residentsdiscourages effective profiling and monitoring of IDPs. By extension, internally displaced persons remain hidden, not easily identifiedand difficult to reachIn general, researchers may find it hard to reach migrants located in geographically inaccessible terrains to participate in research. Difficulties to reach migrants [IDPs] may emerge from Stigma as IDPs experience social and geographic isolation (Landau, 2019). According to Brun (2019) IDPs' vulnerability to potential risks of harm and discrimination may impede interest in research. Non-participation increases invisibility which creates challenges of investigating for academic knowledge production (Orendain and Djalante, 2020). A combinantion of these factors obstructs knowledge production and increase invisibility (see Wolf, 2021; Gozdecka, 2020).

Various authors and scholars propose a review of research methods to increase IDPs visibility for knowledge production towards durable solutions (Schrover and Faassen, 2010). Kihato (2007) notes that new avenues for research that focus on specific categories open space for in-

depth analysis of migration experiences and processes. The use of intersectional approach amplifies the experiences of IDPs experiences and enhance visibility (Yul-Davies, 2006). In addition, research on the adverse effects of politics on the lives of IDPs could potentially increase visibility. As Naidu and Benhura (2015) argue, migrant visibility situates contextual vulnerabilities for humanitarian interventions. Within the context outlined democratic ideals significantly contribute to the in/visibility paradox.

4.3 Democratization Effects on In/visibility Paradox

Power dynamics affect IDPs social conditions and shed light on the in/visibility paradox. Drawing from Rojas-Weisner and De Vargas (2014) arguments, engaging contextual insecurities generated from othering processes weighs on the significance of politics. Power dynamics affect how IDPs adopt various forms of in/visibility to ensure daily well-being and simultaneously avoid risks of being detected for punitive action. Similar to other African countries, failed democratisation in Cameroon provides the political foundation for the discussion on in/visibility of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. Without mentioning the theoretical and philosophical dimensions of democracy, I identify significant aspects of democratization and its effects on in/visibility. The argument plumblines the views of various authors that failed democratization overarches the Anglophone problem in Cameroon (see Awasom, 2020; Mbuagbo, 2000; Mbaku, 2002; Nyamnjoh, 2002). By extension, the problem weighs on the in/visibility of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. A comprehensive analysis of the Anglophone problem is not my interest either. . Instead, I identify the reunification agenda, and President Biya's New Deal regime as significant factors that accentuate undemocratic governance and identity politics in Cameroon (Mbaku, 2002). The aspects contribute to the in/visibility paradox. The delimitations of the discussion follow from Nyamnjoh's (2002) claims that Cameroonian historians and political scientists provide detailed information about democratization politics in the country.

Growing up in Yaoundé during the early 1990s, slogans such as '…quand Yaoundé respire le Cameroun vie (the life of the nation depends on Yaoundé), was one of the familiar idioms in the streets, offices, and public spaces. Years later, as I grapple with the social, political, and economic realities of Cameroon, the meaning of the statement is glaring from personal observation and scholarly articulations. The idiom connotes the functioning, governance, and survival of Cameroon's democracy intricately reliant on the capital city. First, a definition of democracy sets the foundation for the discussion. Fortman (1994) defines democracy as the

government of the people, for the people, and by the people. Government of the people emphasise self-autonomy and representation in all affairs of the state. Government for the people connotes accountability and responsibility. Government by the people connotes suggests participation in public polity. In Munck's (2014) article Re-Conceptualizing Democracy, government of the people and by the people includes decision-making through political institutions. It involves the ability of citizens to turn politics into pragmatic principles of political freedom and equality. From the definition, free, fair, and competitive multiparty electoral choices are some of the attributes of political liberalization (Diamond, 2006). According to Kellar (1995) political freedom demands that states minimise involvement and dictatorship in political, economic, and social institutions. Political liberalisation extends to greater participation of non-partizan organizations and non-governmentalin the polity atgrassroots, and increased rationality as citizens become more analytical of political actions without fear or favour (Carpenter, 2005). Leadership styles significantly influence political liberalization. According to Mangu (2012) Principles of self-government contrary to autocracy (rule by one) or aristocracy (rule by a few), are progressive steps towards effective democracy. Aristocracy, aristocracy seem to prevail in Africa (Hendriks and Karsten, 2014). Centralization of governance, human rights violations, corruption and mismanagement of state funds, and a general lack of accountable leadership are some of the manifestations of aristocratic practices (Chan, 2013). Hierarchical structures that require compliance and collaboration of loyalist state officials (Edwards et al. 2012), dictatorships in the form of repression and oppression of civil liberties such as freedom of speech, are common traits of centralization (Mattes, 2007). On the contrary, decentralisation, prosperity, and peace are hallmarks of modern democracies (Halperin et al. 2009).

Similar to Egypt and other countries in Africa, centralisation and regionalism are hallmarks of autocraticrule in Cameroon (Mady, 2013). These have dire consequences on state governance. For instance, Welsh (2004) uses the example of South Africa to suggest that authoritarianism in Africa blurs distinctions between the leader, political regime, and the state. Centralized systems define the nature of democracy by either encouraging [non] representation in the electorate. For example, the dominance of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa is akin to Cameroon's People Democratic Movement (CPDM) in Cameroon dictates the affairs of the state. According to Mbaku (2002), authoritarianism in Cameroon reflect a Gaullist system of governance (. Major attributes include an elite-driven state featuring a top-down, non-participatory polity headed by President Biya. Authors such as Owona (2011) note that deep roots of centralisation in Cameroon promote political opportunism. It gives citizens the illusion of a peaceful post-independent society. While Owona (2011) maintains that some

form of decentralisation occurred at municipal levels in the ten regions between 2004 and 2009, tangible democratisation remains a shallow enterprise. On the contrary, some authors argue that Cameroon is not completely an authoritarian state. According to Goldsmith (2010), that Cameroon's democracy is a hybrid system of partial democracy and autocracy . Akinbobola (2002), notes one of the main features of hybrid democracies is the wavy commitment of African leaders to establish a well-articulated democratic polity. Stakeholders circumvent democracy making it a pendulum fluctuating between neo-authoritarianism and democracy. According to Ofoulhast-Othamot (2015:10) other significant characteristics of hybrid democracies include "… lack of the coordination between the political foundation for effective and accountable governance starting from top management to municipal level governance…" Thomas (2017) points out, that in hybrid systems, state leaders exercise complete agency to change constitutions either through formal and informal structures within the political system to consolidate power and prolong terms of leadership. Hybrid democracies often tilt towards autocratic rule. The latter is the backbone of the failed reunification project in Cameroon which set the platform for the in/visibility of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé.

4.3.1 Constitutional Compact: Reunification and Marginalization of Anglophones

The constitutional compact at the Foumban Conference set the course for the marginalization of Anglophone Cameroonians. According to Ngoh (1999), the utopian conference in 1961, was a defining moment for British Southern Cameroons and French Cameroun. Representatives from each territories met at Foumban from July 17 to 21 for two main objectives. First to reunify the two territories towards sovereignty. Secondly, include Anglophones in the independent Francophone state towards nation-building. However, t visible cracks on the project shortly after its inception made reunification an unachievable venture. According to Fonchingong (2013) agreements at the conference to maintain a unitary state with equal status of the two territories morphed into subtle, but rapid strategies towards the marginalization of Anglophone Cameroonians. Delegates from British Southern Cameroons□John Ngu Foncha and his entourage attended the conference from a disadvantaged position unlike the late President Ahidjo and his delegation from French Cameroun (Mbuago and Akoko, 2002). Ngoh (1999), notes that Southern Cameroons representatives went to the Conference as a UN trust territory under Britain's administration with no symbol of sovereignty−a motto, national anthem, or national flag. La République du Cameroun possessed these symbols. At the end of the conference, delegates from Southern Cameroons adopted the motto, national anthem, and the flag of La République du Cameroun. The territory was officially named the Federal

Republic of Cameroon with two stars on it its flag which symbolised respect for the autonomy of each territory. The hype from reunification and federation was temporal. According to Konings and Nyamnjoh (2019). Cracks on the reunification of the two territories began when Ahidjo at the helm of the state exploited divisions among Anglophones on whether to be administered from Nigeria or join French Cameroon consolidate power. By means of cabinet reschufflements, Ahidjo penalised Anglophone leaders committed to federalism. In 1968, Ahidjo replaced Augustin Ngom Jua with Solomon Tandeng Muna as Prime Minister of the unitary state. Ahidjo's autocratic practices extended to constitutional changes. According to Mbaku (2002) Ahidjo's disregard for agreements of the Constitution in 1972 was glaring in the dissolution of the equality status of the two territorieswithout consultation with Muna, or other stakeholders. The dissolution of federalism technically meant that French Cameroon was in charge of state governance (Awasom, 2002).

Ahidjo also used draconian measures to order summary executions to suppress the opposition and mute civil liberties (Nyamnjoh, 2002). Understandably, Cameroonians, and Anglophones in particular staged mass protests in response to a Machivellian system. According to Awasom (2002) protesters from the West and Coastal (Littoral) Regions of the country added their voices to Anglophone pressure groups such as the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) in solidarity to show disapproval of an autocratic system. The government unflinchingly retaliated using military and paramilitary techniques of suppression. The scenario would continue up until the late 1990s. As Ngoh(1999) iterates, the transition from a two-teritory to a unitary state ,arked the beginning of the subversion of democratic principles to satisfy narrow and sectional ambitions of Francophone elites. President Biya later followed the footsteps of his predecessor by entrenching identity difference, and exclusion of Anglophones from the broader polity to suppress democratic ideals (see Konings 1999; Konings and Nyamnjoh 2003; Nkoum-Me-Ntseny 1999; Olinga, 1994).

4.3.2 New Deal–No Deal Regime

President Biya's populist slogan 'the New Deal President' in 1982 garnered support from the citizenry hungry for a fresh democratic era. Rather, corruption, controversy and irresponsibility embody governance in Cameroon (Stevens and Newenham-Kahindi, 2021; Ravneberg and Rangnes, 2021; Alemazung, 2011, Fonchingong and Gemandze, 2009; Smiles, 2007). Although President Biya's multiparty politics unlike Ahidjo's one-party system shows steps towards democratic transition, multipartism came at huge costs particularly for Anglophones (Jua, 2003). The Machivellian system of governance reliant on manipulation and deceit

(Nyamnjoh, 1999) portrays Anglophones as enemies of the state (Jua and Konings, 2004; Mbuagbo, 2002). By means of the politics of regional balance, President Biya =implemented reinforce control, divide Cameroon along ethnic and ideological lines while marginalizing dissidents critical of the regime. By instilling difference, President Biya craftily breeds elites loyal to the state.

The politics of regional balance applied to all ethnic groups in Cameroon targets Anglophones. According to Nyamnjoh (1999), Biya's practice of appointments to high office from either the NWR or SWR generates dissatisfaction and disappointment from ambitious candidates from either region. The strategy factionalises and punctures any form of resistance from Anglophone residents in the two regions. Subsequently, elites from either region who have tested power become obsessed with maintaining power at ethnic or regional levels. Persons who are not loyal to the regime risk indictment as enemies of the state. For example, Mbaku (2002) notyes that the central government regulates and crush anyone when the need arises. According to Ebai (2003), this happens through heavy-handed censorship or paramilitary methods including torture and imprisonment. President Biya−the ultimate political chess master on the board of state governance implements the politics of regional balance and misrepresentation of reality to locate and relocate loyalists and neutralise dissidents. The truncation of political rights and civil liberties births human rights abuses in Cameroon, particularly in Yaoundé (Ebai, 2009). Complaints of military and police brutality, torture, intimidation and illegal detention of Anglophone Cameroonians in the past and recent times are widespread even during the recent Anglophone crises (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019). The fear of persecution appear to justify invisibility among Anglophone IDPs. . Findings in this research show mixed views. While some Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé choose invisibility for fear of retribution birthed from accusations of secession, others remain visible.

Rufus[1], 36-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in January 2019 recounts:

> […] I prefer that the government does not know that I live in Yaoundé […] because the police can come after me. A police officer recently stopped me on the road and asked for my ID card. Before I could show it, he asked for my name. When he […] read my ID, he knew I come from the North West Region. He insulted me and said we want to divide the country […]. He took me to jail and I spent three days waiting for bail. The encounter with the police made me to avoid moving at night. I must be careful because my family needs me [...].

Comfort, 39-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2019 says:

> […] I hear rumours that Francophones will soon chase us out of Yaoundé […]. Betis in the community say that they are coming after us […]. They say we must return to the North West Region […].because they think that we want to separate the country. For that reason, I remain indoors most of the time to avoid speaking with people. I do not want them to know that I came from the North West Region […]. I spoke to you only because […] you are from the North West Region too, but […] coming from outside […].

Chief, 23-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in March 2017 reiterates:

> I must hide my identity […] in Yaoundé. I am an activist. At any time military officials may come after me. I do not want to be killed or go to jail. I must frequently change my contacts [...] and information on Facebook to avoid recognition from the military. They are terrible. Everyone, especially young boys from the North West Region are suspects in Yaoundé. My sister, I will 'disappear' [...] if I show myself.

Bright, 21-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in May 2018 asserts:

> […] I do not want the government to know that I live in Yaoundé. You are the first person I am speaking with about my experiences. I hide and speak only with a few Anglophones I know […]. It is not safe […] for Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. The military is out to cause many atrocities […].

Francophones say that we want to divide the country […]. That is not true! […]. Is it wrong for people to ask for their rights to freedom? How can one part of the country experience crises while everything is going well in another section as if all is fine? How can someone […] who calls himself a father of the nation run away from his […] children?! The government is not serious at resolving the issue […] so we hide to avoid being targets […].

Constance, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in September 2019 says:

> The government does not know that I live in Yaoundé. I like it that way. I am afraid to speak with people especially strangers […]. Military and police officials are cruel. They are located almost everywhere disguised as civilians even in taxis […]! They cause a lot of trouble to Anglophones. I am careful with whom I discuss my experiences […]. Anglophone IDPs are only hiding in Yaoundé until the war is over. You are the first person speaking with me about my experiences […]. Imagine that it takes someone from outside Cameroon to do that […].

The findings confirm Aduda and Busmann's (2020) arguments that during intrastate conflict, perceived violence from state militia against alleged perpetrators produces fear. Fear of reprisal may increase trauma and anxiety. These emerge from two broad factors. Fear of positive evaluation (FPE) and fear of negative evaluation (FNE). According to Weeks and Howell (2012) FPE and FNE in host community increases the anxiety of fear of apprehension. Nygren (2003) suggests that governments' inadequate efforts or unwillingness to resolve conflict provoke feelings of resentment that potentially produce distrust towards IDPs considered enemies . IDPs in enemy territories therefore minimise social interactions to avoid scrutiny (Cook et al. 2018). FNE urges individuals to modify behaviours to avoid harm. Invisibility is a safety strategy against the threat to life. It safeguards against reprisal and secondary victimization.

Another group of Anglophone IDPs are visible in the community, but not to the state. Anglophone IDPs use visibility as a strategy to attract humanitarian assistance (Weiss, 2013), and remain visible in the community as they interact with local populations and participate in community activities. These include funerals, weddings, and religious meetings. Findings from interviews show the the following:

Glory, 36-year-old moved to Yaoundé in January 2019 says:

> […] I do not think that the government knows I live in Yaoundé. Almost everyone in my neighbourhood knows that I escaped from the war in the North West Region […]. It is not it is a problem for people in the community to know that I am an IDP. I often attend neighbour's weddings and other events they may have, so people in the community know me [...].

Ms Eveline, 40-year-old moved to Yaoundé in October 2018 reiterates:

> […] people in my neighbourhood know that I am an IDP from the North West Region. I do not have a problem with it […]. I attend funerals and church services in my community. My neighbours know me. I do not want to hide because I do not know where I can get help […]. I share my contacts to get information about job opportunities […] and assistance from my contacts […].We can speak about my experiences thanks to the phone I gave to a friend.

Priscilla, 35-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in January 2018 says:

> […] it is not possible to hide your identity for long in Yaoundé [...]. I do not tell people that I am an IDP, at the same time I do not hide. I came here to survive […]. Everybody knows there is war in the North West Region because many Anglophones moved to other parts of the country. How can one hide that? It is only when one shows up then someone may help [...].

Prisca, 38-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in September 2018 reiterates:

> […] the government does not know that I live in Yaoundé, but my neighbours know that my family and I are IDPs from the North West Region[…]. I cannot do anything about it. There is no way one can hide in Yaoundé as an Anglophone especially if one moved to Yaoundé in from 2017. People know that we escaped the war. The way we moved […], with our families almost at once makes it difficult to hide […]. The people know me because sometimes I attend weddings and funerals in the community […].

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 recounts:

> […] I think everyone in my community knows that I am running from the war in the North West Region […]. My manager and colleagues at work know that I am an IDP. It is quite easy to differentiate between new arrivals […] and Anglophones previously living in Yaoundé. They can find their way easily in the city […] but those of us who recently moved to Yaounde cannot.

4.4 In/visibility Outcomes: Protection and Humanitarian Assistance

Conflict-induced internal displacement significantly deepens invisibility, and affects protection and assistance (Olanrewaju et al. 2019). Notwithstanding its pervasiveness in literature, the meaning and conceptualization of protection and assistance is unclear (Stevens, 2013). In

general, protection involves safeguarding vulnerable populations from being targets of harm and neglect from home governments (Mooney, 2005).

Humanitarian assistance comprises the provision of basic relief (food, clothing, and shelter). Human rights and humanitarian laws provide the legal endorsement for protection and assistance to IDPs (Hickel, 2001). According to Kleine-Ahlbrandt (2004), human rights to protection incorporate the legal right to life, the right to liberty and security, and freedom from torture. The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA, 2018) suggests that that human rights law implies that IDPs have "…the right to seek safety in another part of the country...or to voluntarily return in safety to their …place of habitual residence as soon as the reasons for their displacement cease to exist…" The outline stipulates the framework that address the plight of IDPs for two key reasons. Mooney (2002) notes that physical insecurity and material deprivation among other experiences demand sustainable solutions for security and the provision of basic needs to IDPs. A global legal document for IDPs analogous to the 1951 Convention for Refugees is necessary to shift from normative principles to pragmatic interventions. The formulation and implementation of frameworks that practically address concerns could offer humanitarian relief. However, effective governance of internal displacement is lagging.

Variations in migration governance at global or national levels shape protection and assistance to IDPs (Stevens, 2013). According to (Stevens, 2013), how individual states and humanitarian agencies interpret protection and assist IDPs departs frequently from international ratifications despite similarities in the definition of IDPs and refugees. According to the 1951 Refugee Conventiona refugee is a person who "…owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, or events seriously disturbing public order in either… or the whole part of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country…'' The Guiding Principles on Internal dDisplacement (1998) provides equivalent definition of IDPs. These are "…persons forced to flee from their homes or places of habitual residence because of, or to avoid the effects of armed conflict situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights, natural…disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border…". Olarewanju (2019) claims that despite parallel experiences with refugees, IDPs are more vulnerable because they remain under the control of national authorities who often initiate violent conflict. The complex realities of hostility in the form of sporadic round-ups, arbitrary arrests, and detentions increase fear in IDPs living in enemy territories (Deng, 1995). Politically motivated conflict threatens

security for IDPs vulnerable to reprisal (Orchard, 2010). By extension, the exposure to risks makes IDPs categories of concern compared to urban poor, and refugees (Fineman, 2008). A combination of human rights violations and survival threats in place of origin, safety concerns in host communities, protract displacement (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, 2004).

Ironically, regardless of vulnerabilities, government and humanitarian response to IDPs is deficient (Betts, 2011). According to Betts (2011) multilateralism the signing of non-binding treaties on migration governance obstructs suitable response to IDPs. Migration regimes such as the 1951 Convention regulates states' response to refugees and other aspects of migration, the International Organizaation for Migration (IOM) regulates international travel, and the International Labour Organization (ILO) regulates labour migration. Migration regimes for internal displacement are largely absent at the global scene. Whilst the outlined regimes address significant migration issues, Guild and Grant (2017) argue that the regulations regimes are embroiled in the Global Compact for safe, orderly, and regular migration developed by the United Nations (UN). These are yet to transform into meaningful coherent policies for states' implementation migration governance. Principles in the Compact such as the New York Declaration of Refugees and Migrants of 2015 commit to protect and assist refugees while providing non-binding principles and guidelines in the treatment of refugees.

The concept of embeddedness encapsulates the absence of migration regimes for IDPs. According to Betts (2011) embeddedness implies an aspect of social life that does not exist as a recognised sphere or problem area for explicit governance or intervention. . Therefore, institutions that regulate broad problem areas, obliquely integrate unrecognized spheres. Political interests, categorisation, and legal frameworks influence the discriminatory approach to IDPs. The politicisation of migration has far-reaching effects on states' and humanitarian response to internal displacement (Misago and Landau, 2005). Armed response to intrastate conflict (Orchard, 2010), and deliberate unwillingness to protect and assist IDPs in new territories (Betts, 2011), fosters reluctance for effective response to internal displacement. Normative frameworks shape governments' and humanitarian response to internal displacement. According to Betts (2011), the absence of an international migration regime for internal displacement enable sovereign states to retain some degree of autonomy over IDPs internal affairs. Steven (2013) equally notes that at national levels, policy frameworks borrow from the Kampala Convention posseing normative regional stipulations. Thus, Betts (2011) argues that states decide how and when to respond, and the extent of IDPs' access human rights

to security. As earlier, mentiones states rarely acknowledge or uphold their responsibility towards IDPs. .

The Guiding Principles on internal displacement provides a workable framework in the absence of a global regime on IDPs. These are enmeshed within three significant values. Accordinhg to Deng (2018), Principle 1 stipulates that "…internally displaced persons shall enjoy…equality …and freedoms under international and domestic law as …other persons in their country…'. Principle 23 (1) emphasise the role of states advocating that "…national authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to provide protection and humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons within their jurisdiction…" Principle 3 (2) specify that "...internally displaced persons have the right to request and…receive protection and humanitarian assistance from national authorities. They shall not be persecuted or punished for making such requests..." Despite clear articulations, Orchard (2012), iterates that the principles are normative soft laws without any form of regulation for state accountability. Unlike hard laws, soft laws are non-binding informal agreements which contribute to the production of new norms within domestic legislation (Giustiniani, 2011). The absence of hard laws for states'accountability is detrimental to IDPs without legal institutional protection from home governments. Significant factors contribute to state laxity in the reponse to IDPs.

Sovereignty claims hinder the governance of internal displacement at national levels (see Einsiedel and Zeender, 2019, Asplet and Bradley, 2012). According to Herningtyas et al. (2021), sovereignty is states' ability to control their territory, people, and supply basic needs to its citizens without external interference. Sovereignty incorporates territorial demarcations for legal jurisdiction and political dominion (Aleinikoff, 2016). Sovereignty also connotes states' possession of absolute political authority (Latham, 2000), and a rigid administrative reality (Herningtyas et al. 2021). Gleaning from the Lockean school on state sovereignty, Bron notes that state sovereignty translates into powers to execute, repeal or discard laws, and formal agreements in disregard for international consequences. Following Foucault's Theory of separation of powers, Latham (2000) adds that sovereignty includes the interconnection of various arms of government (executive, legislative, and judiciary). These aspects cloud states' responsibility and accountability to the international community (Abebbe, 2009).

Power dynamics shape claims of sovereignty. Power consist of three dimensions. Lukes (1997) suggests that the pluralist or one-dimensional view infers that A influences B to do something that B would not otherwise do. The two-dimensional view are various forms of

control by A over B. Through control, A secures B's compliance using for example threats of sanctions. In the third dimension, power is the ability to make decisions and control political agendas. Coercion, influence, authority, force, and manipulation are key markers of control. According to Aleinikoff (2016), the interplay of power and sovereignty shape how states understand sovereign role and relationship with its citizens. The third dimension of power occurs frequently in Cameroon. In agreement with Pommerolle and Heungoup (2017), the unwillingness of the state to respond adequately to Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé shows an estranged relationship with the marginalized group. Perceptions of Anglophones in general as dissidents of national unity intensify the reluctance to protect and assist Anglophone IDPs. Findings in this research confirm the above views:

Bright, 21-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2017 recounts:

> […] I did not receive any assistance from the government when I moved to Yaoundé. The government does not care about us [IDPs]. The fact that we are Anglophones makes it worse. A few months ago, there were rumours that the government announced on TV that food and other items were available for distribution. IDPs had to register with the Ministry of Social Development to receive the items. I am not sure if the distribution happened because it's been long we heard something about it again [...].

Chief, 23-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 reiterates:

> I am yet to receive assistance from the government. It does not care about us […]. The fact that we are Anglophone IDPs living in Francophone zones makes it worse. I heard the government was to distribute food and clothing to IDPs coming from crises regions […]. As usual, officials do not properly communicate the dates, place and time of the event. Images on TV showed that Francophones seem to receive the food parcels […]. I am confused whether the assistance is for DPs or poor Francophones living in cities. The whole process is so corrupt […]. The government pretends to help us, but it does not! […]. The only assistance I received in the form of food and cash to complete my rents came from one of my teachers […] at my former school […].

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 recounts:

> The government does not care whether Anglophone IDPs live or die in Yaoundé. I guess theyare saying that we chose to move to Yaoundé, so we are not their responsibility […]. In 2018, I got information on the radio that IDPs must register with the Department of Social Development to receive food parcels […]. On arrival at the supposed office, an official scornfully laughed at

> me. He said briskly […] that nothing is happening at the office. He added that we [Anglophones] should not expect assistance from the same government we are challenging. I returned home […] disappointed.

Prisca, 38-year-old female who moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> […] the conflict in the Anglophone regions is complicated […] so the government does not want to help us […]. Agovernment that does not care for its citizens, especially in times of crises is wicked and cruel. I am not surprised […]. It sees Anglophones as the problem to unity. How do you unite when you experience marginalisation? How do you unite with someone who kills your neighbour, family and destroys your community? […]. The only assistance I received came from the church […] I attend. The pastor gave us food parcels containing rice, oil, corn, and soap during the 2018 Christmas season. Since then I did not receive assistance from the government or elsewhere […].

Ms. Eveline, a 40-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> […] I receive information about assistance when it is over […]. It is discouraging and hopeless to think that one will receive anything. The system is corrupt […]. Information about donations is usually confusing without details of where, how, and when distribution happens […]. What is for the needy ends up in the wrong hands […]? The only assistance I received was from church. These were food parcels. Sometimes I get some little cash from relatives [...].

The findings in this research confirm Walbert's (2014) arguments that IDPs in enemy territories experience minimal or no humanitarian response. Corruption, embezzlement of resources, and poor communication obstructs efficient humanitarian assistance to Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. Churches, friends, and family are default sources of relief. Inadequate response or the absence thereof towards Anglophone IDPs may not into discrimination towards Anglophone IDPs. Walbert (2014) maintains that in general, that despite international and regional obligations, the government of Cameroon government is indifferent to internal displacement. At best, adhoc and sporadic response is ineffective. For example, Emeka and Olusegun (2016) note that the government channels some degree of attention towards IDPs from the Northern region.

The absence of government response provides a gap for humanitarian intervention. According to The International Crisis Group—ICG (2019) the conflict in Anglophone regions cause major humanitarian concerns. At the end of 2018, over 530 000 IDPs (mostly women and children)

moved to other parts of the country. The UNHCR (2021) report shows that between 2019 and 2020, the number of IDPs increased to over 1 million (Figure 2).. Controversies surrounding humanitarian action challenges effective response to IDPs. Humanitarianism is founded on the principle of human rights to access basic relief for livelihood (Chimni, 2000). However, various practices legitimize donor interference. . First, Chimni (2000) suggests that in practice, humanitarianism involves the interference of neoliberal free-market politics. Interference is glaring in the political economies of states in need of humanitarian aid. The financial dominance of free-market multinational corporations−the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) determine when and how to assist vulnerable populations. Capitalists' free market's influence on major financial institutions have widespread effects. According to Puyvallée and Bjørkdahl (2021) multinational corporation's capitalize on financial donations to legitimize policy interference, and advance commercial and diplomatic interests. As expected, neoliberal politics blurs the lines of the principles of humanitarian action (Chimni, 2000). Second, issues of accountability begets a loyalist approach to humanitarian action. According to De Waal (1998), humanitarian agents accountability to donors, audits, regulations and assessments of how funds are placehumanitarian actors at crossroads. Slim (2010) notes that humanitarian NGOs such as Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders) must create a balance between moral and ethical principles of humanitarianism—humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and solidarity.These principles are at odds with with satisfying donor demands (Fassin, 2010), and creating a balance between political-economic interests and professionalism (De Waal, 1998). As Weiss (2012) points out, challenges with creating equilibrium hinder processes for effective humanitarian action.

Congruent to the experience of in/visibility, categorization blurs humanitarian responses to persons in need in significant ways (Betts, 2013). Chimni (2000) elaborates that categories institutionalizes migrants' status. It. In addition, Olarewanju (2019) asserts the definition of IDPs as those restricted to formal camp settlements delimits and disqualifies IDPs squatting with relatives or friends in need of relief. Following Hickel's (2001) assertions, the absence of distinct categories of who is involved in internal displacement such as persons recently displaced due to conflict, regrouped or resettled by force, or IDPs seeking integration into urban communities obstructs humanitarian intervention.

4.5 Conclusion

The findings and discussion in this chapter show that autocracratic governance deepens invisibility. The discussion further adds to the literature on political and economic marginalization of Anglophones in Cameroon. empirical findings reiterate that marginalization

shapes the lived experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. In/visibility paradox insinuates a dichotomy among Anglophone IDPs. While fear of reprisal from harassment and incarceration by the military and police encourages various forms of invisibility to the state and researchers, participation in social and religious activities promulgates visibility at community level. Various forms of in/visibility hinders effective response. The government's apathy adds to the literature of unwillingness to intervene, and is telling of the absence of workable national frameworks on migration (Akuri, 2020; Chukwudi and Chukwuma, 2020). The findings confirm views in the literature that the state's indifference towards Anglophone IDPs compromise rights. The migrant group already marginalized, may lack knowledge, understanding, and confidence in legal processes to demand entitlements in the enemy territory (Walbert, 2014).

Chapter 5: Hyper-precarity Among Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé

5.1 Introduction

Pulling from the new research findings, I argue that hyper-precarity is a significant aspect characteristic of IDPs lived experiences. Hyper-precarity is the dual challenge of working and living in conditions that reflect poverty, exploitation of labour, and limited access to basic services. It is a condition of general devaluation of lifestyle (Mcllwaine, 2020). I use the case of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé to argue that poverty, unemployment and casual work contribute to hyper-precarious lives. Trauma during flight and anxiety from daily stressors in new places also contribute to hyper-precarity (Lewis et al. 2015). The chapter contains two main sections. Section 1 outlines general perspectives of hyper-precarity in the context of internal displacement. Section 2 discusses indicators of hyper-precarity focusing on poverty, unemployment and casual labour. I conclude the chapter with an outline of key markers of hyper-precarity—access to housing and accommodation, education, and healthcare.

5.2 Internal Displacement and Hyper-Precarity: General Perspectives

Intrastate violent conflict, often cause the migration of IDPs to move to cities perceived to provide sanctuary and livelihood opportunities (Tanyanyiwa, 2020). The concentration of financial services, better education opportunities, and general perceptions of improved standards of living in major cities of Africa and the world attracts significant numbers of IDPs. Cities also attract R refugees, asylum seekers, trans-local, and transnational migrants (see Skeldon, 2014; Sassen, 2010; Greenburg and Polzer, 2008). The convergence of various categories of migrants and urbanization effects such as high costs of housing and accommodation (Loukil and Rouached, 2020), high crime rates (Breetzke, 2020), and exclusion from the broader urban community (Weiner, 2019) shapes the experience of IDPs in cities (Stren, 2019). Poverty, unemployment and casual work are lived realities and significant markers of hyper-precarity (Corral et al. 2020). The concept of hyper-precarity is pervasive in the literature (see Schenner et al. 2019; Van Kooy and Bowman, 2019; Lewis and Waite, 2015; Strauss, 2015). According to Polkowska (2016) hyper-precarity is a condition of general low standards of living. Key inicators include insecure employment and uncertain life plans for the future, and vulnerable living conditions in unsafe places and dwellings (Kalleberg, 2009). precarity depicts living conditions without adequate protection, social assistance, political rights, and insecure unstable work experiences (Ilcan et al. 2021). According to Castles (2015), unstable work is uncertain, unpredictable, and risky. Non-standard employment began with the the mechanisation of industrial production in the post-Fordist era. Mechanized en masse production was common in Western Europe and North America. This form of production continues in contemoorary times (Ilcan et al. 2021). Nonstandard employment includes flexible work shifts, low wages and non-fixed contracts, with minimal or no long term benefits (Kallerberg, 2009). As Duell (2004) notes, non-permanent contracts rarely cover for basic needs such as pension and medical insurance.

In contrast, standard employment (SE) is full-time, received protection, stable, , and secure. According to Pembroke (2009), protection involves collective agreements and government regulations. These may occur through labour laws that ensure secure work conditions, work time, and remuneration. casual work with irregular working hours, low-income levels, and limited financial autonomy are various forms of non-standard which work intensifications precarity (Wilson and Ebert, 2013). Migrants may engage in casual work for lack of descent permanent employment in host communities. As Lewis et al (2014) iterates, constant exposure to social and economic marginalisation promotes unfreedoms in the choice of work. Unfreedoms is a situation in which migrants perceive that their labour is instrumental to live, and opportunistic taking whatever is available to earn an income during periods of adverisity (Polkowska, 2016). Following Thieme's (2008) arguments, unfreedoms is common among unskilled migrants who resort to menial work in construction, cleaning, care, and food and hospitality industries with insecure employment conditions. For IDPs in particular, Simone (2012) claims that casual jobs and meagre income prolong a vicious cycle of poverty. The cycle perpetuates low standards of living and compromises livelihood . According to Kallerberg (2014) persons employed on a part-time basis suspend between prosperity and impoverishment are often deprived of material security. Migrants engaged in casual work possess inadequate resources to afford proper housing, food, education, and healthcare. The outline above foregrounds the proceeding discussion on hyper-precarity. Hyper-precarity consists of three forms. The precarity of status, (assigned socio-legal status by governing authorities), precarity of space and place, and the precarity of movement (Ilcan et al. 2021). I emphasise the first two aspects . Pulling from Ilcan et al (2021) arguments, precarity of space is the occupation of squalid accommodation in socio-spatial marginal neighbourhoods. Persons living in precarious spaces and places are vulnerable to physical removal. The precarity of movement is multi-faced. It includes controlling the movement of marginal populations. Frequent checks to verify identification documents, which often lead to forced detention by government agents are various forms of control. These aspects potentially restrict physical movement of civilian enemies in new environments. According to the UNHCR (2009) while loss of identity documents and IDP registration prevents movement for fear of apprehension, IDPs do not face greater security risks of movement compared with the rest of the population. However, Jackobsen (2008) maintains that politically motivated conflict force IDPs from marginalized groups to reduce movement in host communities to avoid altercations with state authorities.

While hyper-precarity depicts generalized conditions of vulnerable employment that permeates through the lives of IDPs, the discussion on hyper-precarity shifts from specific understanding of labour regimes to recognize conditions of precarity in the migration context. I draw from Ilcan et al (2021) arguments, that while the condition of precarity may not be fundamentally distinct from other kinds of conditions such as risks, hyper-precarity encapsulates both a condition of vulnerability regarding inclusion and exclusion in urban communities. Diverse actors, policies and practice drive precarity.

5.3 Poverty, Unemployment and Casual Work: Contributors of Hyper-Precarity

Africa arguably has the potential to create sustainable jobs. However, many cities in Africa fail dismally to provide standard employment (Bhorat and Naidoo, 2013), struggle to achieve long-term growth including infrastructure development, and the establish rule of law necessary to improve the quality of life. The inability attain the milestones entrench poverty, and casual labour (Justino, 2014). Poverty, unemployment, and casual work financially constrain individuals and households to utilize basic services (Arooje and Burridge, 2020).

The experiences above are more perculiar among IDPs. According to Jacobsen (2020), the manner of flight—often unexpected long and arduous journeys, torture, witnessing killings, loss of property and homes, traumatize IDPs. These sources of primary trauma may extend to post-traumatic stress disorder (Madoro et al. 2020). Following Ekpa and Dahlan (2015) arguments, traumatic experiences delay the process of searching and obtaining employment in urban communities. The inability to secure employment for livelihood exacerbates poor living conditions. The conditions deepen anxiety (Shultz et al. 2014). Minimal humanitarian assistance aggravates poverty (Jacobsen, 2014). Continuous cycle of depravation prolongs anxiety the mental illness of IDPs yet to recover from traumatic experiences during flight (Gelsdorf et al. 2012). Findings in this study confirm the views. Violent conflict in the NWR caused abrupt and unexpected journeys of Anglophone IDPs, substantial loss of personal items, and separation from relatives. Despair and vulnerability characterize life in Yaoundé. Financial constraints emerging from loss of sources of income and unemployment in the city increase anxiety. Concerning the manner of travel, findings show the following.

Rufus[1], 36-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in January 2019 recounts:

> […] it was risky for me as a young man to remain in the North West Region. Guerrilla fighters recruit males between the ages of 18 to 35 to fight against the state military. The state targets the same group for mass killings. My family and I escaped into the bushes to avoid stray bullets. We stayed there for many days before making plans to move to Yaoundé. I lost my home, land, business contacts and work tools in the process […]. The experience affected my health […]. As if that is not enough […] life in Yaoundé is difficult. It's not easy to get a job, feed, and cater for my family […]. These disturb me mentally.

Constance, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in September 2019 explains:

> I am one of the victims of the conflict in the North West Region. The military burnt my hairdressing salon. My family lost many valuable items when we ran to the bushes to hide from the army […]. Since I came to Yaoundé, I worry about how to save some money and replace […] work equipment. I do not have a job so it is difficult for me to save. My children depend on me for food, clothes […], shelter and school fees. [...]. The whole situation disturbs me mentally. I constantly have headaches and chests pains […].

Ms Eveline, 40-year-old moved to Yaoundé in October 2018 narrates:

> […] my plan was to remain in the village until the conflict ends […]. Frequent gunshots and deaths forced my family to escape […]. But my cousin in Yaoundé urged me to make a trip before the war become intense. I travelled unprepared with four kids stopping many times in thick forest for fear of the […] army. We walked for long distances to the bus station […] a small mattress, few pots, and little cash to restart life. I constantly worry about my home and crops on the farm […]. I thought things would be better if I move to Yaoundé […]. It is difficult to get a decent life […]. We cannot afford a good house. We barely eat [...]. It seems my whole life is crashing! It makes me worry.

As mentioned earlier, these are pseudonyms that apply to all respondents

David, 24-year-old-male moved to Yaoundé in April 2017 recounts:

> […] my mother borrowed money from a friend to purchase a bus ticket for me to move to Yaoundé. I had to escape recruitment by guerrilla fighters and intense confrontations with the military. Now that I live in Yaoundé, I feel so helpless […]. I have no job and this disturbs me. I am the only boy and my family looks up to me for assistance. Life in Yaoundé is very tough for me […]. I hardly eat three times a day […], and live in a cramped space […]. My condition makes me sick in the mind […].

Bruno, 21-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in August 2018 says:

> […] tensions in the North West Region forced my dad my dad to allow me travel alone […]. I escaped at night with few personal belongings. Guerrilla fighters target young men for recruitment, while the military goes after the same group to kill. Women and children are dying too [...] but not in large numbers compared to boys and men […]. I moved to Yaoundé, hoping to work and study. But, it is not the case. my living condition is not too bad, but it is not good enough. One must have a source of income to survive in Yaoundé. The high cost of living makes me worry about it.

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 narrates:

> my family split in two groups to escapethe conflict . There was no time to pack our luggage for the journey to the bus station. At some point, the journey was difficult for some of our children. My wife and I agreed that she would move with five children to […] a neighbouring village to follow later. I travelled to Yaoundé with two kids to assess the possibilities to […] restart life. The escape and separation provoked frequent headaches and fever. I cannot stop thinking about lost items […], houses, and farms. I lost my job as a teacher just when I was about to receive my pension [...]. Our living condition in Yaoundé is terrible. The current job I have cannot cover for food, rent, school fees, and other basic needs. I need a better job—a better life! These challenges keep me worried […].

The findings in this reaserch confirm Cagoco-Guiam's (2013) arguments that frantic moments of escape during violent conflict attendant with the possibility of, loss of lives, property, and sources of income place IDPs in situations of uncertainty in urban communities. For some Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé, monetary savings are meagre to restart life. The shortage of cash to cater for basic needs marginalize IDPs (Lewis et al. 2014). Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé are therefore in a bine.. They have few options but engage in casual or menial jobs for livelihood (see extracts below).

Ms Eveline, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2018 emphasises:

> After living in Yaoundé for six months without work, I accepted […] the offer of a domestic worker. But I quit […] recently. I am unemployed. The salary of FCFA35 000 is not good for me. There was so much to do […]. I had to clean a three-bedroom house, do laundry, babysit two kids […], and cook for a family of 4. Attempts to negotiate with my former employers to increase my salary were unsuccessful. The closing time too, was not convenient.My employers and I agreed that I will knock off at 4 pm, but it seems they intentionally return home at 8 pm for 3 out of 5 working days. The constant lateness was risky because I walk home.

Priscilla, 35-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2017 narrates:

> […] it is difficult for me to have a […] profitable job to take care of my family of 7 children. Realising that it may be impossible to get permanent employment, I began hawking boiled eggs. After some time, I sold puff-puff on the streets [...]. For now, I am a domestic worker. At the end of the month, the salary is not enough to feed my family, pay school fees, water and electricity. We sometimes […] depend on donations from friends to feed. It is not easy, but I have no choice.

David, 24-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 says:

> I moved to Yaoundé with little money from my savings [...]. I relied on my brother-in-law for accommodation and food […]. His efforts to assist me to find a job […] were unsuccessful. In April 2019, I was employed part-time as a cashier in a bakery. There are many problems there. The salary is low and my employers do not not pay me regularly. When I complain, nothing happens[…]. I think they assumed that since I was coming from the war zone, I am desperate for a job. I needed a job, so they exploited my situation […].

Philip, 52-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2019 recounts:

> It is difficult to get a job in Yaoundé. There are so many people looking for work especially […] among those who recently came from the North West Region with almost nothing […]. I do not have a permanent job. Sometimes, I work on farms or at construction sites [...]. I must do it to sustain my family. We live off the sale of surplus sugar cane, cassava, yams, and herbs cultivated from farms and our backyard garden. It helps us to put food in the table and pay for low-cost items.

Glory, 36-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in January 2019 says:

> I am a professional teacher yet to find a job in Yaoundé. I submitted many applications during the early months of my arrival but none of the employers called me for interview. I started part-time work recently as a waiter in a bar. I do not like it […]but I have no choice. I need the money even though small to pay rent, food, and my daughters' school fees.

Chief, 23-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in March 2017 narrates:

> I was a salesperson with a travel company before the conflict began in the NWR. There are no jobs in the same industry in Yaoundé. […]. I have no other option but to teach part-time Economics and English Language in an adult school. The salary is little […] but I need the money for personal care […]. My mother and sister living in the NWR depend on me for financial assistance.

The findings in this research show that lack of formal employment is a lived reality among Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. They must engage in casual work (hawking, and domestic work) with precarious conditions for livelihood. Efforts towards obtaining livelihood shows the agency of IDPs to overcome absolute poverty (Anderson and Rogaly, 2005). Difficulties of obtaining decent employment in professional training sectors and the absence of viable justify participation in casual work. The experience of poverty, unemployment, and casual work shows that IDPs are not exempt from urbanisation challenges. Some scholars who share the view suggest that high levels of unemployment in African cities drive the urban poor into menial jobs with long working hours, low wages, and no long-term benefits (Gundersen, 2016; Filmer and Fox, 2014, Broughton et al. 2016). Unfreedoms in the choice of work produces uncertain future of work and life in urban communities (Lewis et al. 2014).

The experience of unfreedoms among Anglophone IDPs confirms Chigozie et al. (2018) opinions that the reality of violent conflict in the place of origin justifies engagement in casual employment. IDPs consider part-time employment a lesser evil than killings, torture, and general insecurity in conflict zones. Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé acknowledge some degree of safety albeit challenges of unemployment, labour exploitation, and general low standards of living (see extracts below).

Chief, 23-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> […] it is difficult to get employment, or have a good standard of living in Yaoundé, […]. Butthe absence of gunshots and frequent killings make it […] okay for now. It is quite unsafe in the North West Region because of the fighting.

Priscilla, 38-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2017 says:

> […] I do not have a good job in Yaoundé but I have some peace of mind compared to the North West Region. The frequent gunshots scared me. The sound of a burst car tyre makes me panic. Seeing many dead bodies continuously give me nightmares [...]. The absence of gunshots is better […].

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 asserts:

> The war in Anglophone regions is serious, but many people are not talking about it. Many of us from the North-West Region moved to Yaoundé to avoid our children becoming guerrilla fighters or killed by the military […]. My job and living condition are not the best […] but I believe in the saying that where there is life, there is hope ….]. We can go out to do small jobs […] and return home safely. It gives us some feeling of normal life, even though it is not the best.

Glory, 36-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> […] I do not like my current job as a waiter. I wish to continue with my teaching career or have something better. However, tough competition in the labour market makes it difficult for me[…].
>
> Even though I do not have the job I want, there is some peace in Yaoundé. That is enough for now […].

Language barrier significantly contribute to the experience of unemployment and casual work in Yaoundé. Anglophone IDPs, predominantly English speakers encounter difficulties to navigate areas in the city with job opportunities. Incompetence in French, or one more dialect of the host population aggravates unemployment in predominantly Francophone-owned businesses. Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé frequently depend on proxies and social networks to access part-time menial jobs.

Rufus, 36-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in January 2019 says:

> […] I am a professional builing contractor. But, it is difficult for me to get a permanent job in Yaoundé. Anglophone supervisors assist me to get piece jobs at construction sites usually far from where I live […]. They help negotiate contracts with Francophone homeowners and supervisors because I am not fluent in French.

Prisca, 38-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in September 2018 recounts:

> [...] I am not fluent in French […]. I understand the basics. I think my inability to speak or understand the language makes it difficult for me to find jobs with good salary and good working conditions at many schools in Yaoundé that are bilingual. I think that if I can speak and understand French, it will give me a better chance of employment.

Constance, 40-year-old female who moved to Yaoundé in September 2019 recounts:

> I applied for many jobs […] but the applications are unsuccessful. When employers realise that I do not understand or speak French fluently, they simply say 'you can go, we will call you […] Yaoundé is a big city compared to Bamenda. There may be jobs elsewhere but I may not know it. It is one of the reasons I do not have a job.

Bright, 21-year-old female who moved to Yaoundé in 2017 narrates:

> […] it is not easy to get employment in Yaoundé. Only one employer among many called me for an interview. During the meeting, the employers asked if I could speak French, I said "No". They were honest to say they […] would not employ someone who does not speak or understand French[…] to be salesperson in a tuck shop. That was the end of the story.

The findings correspond with Cheldize's (2013) arguments that language barrier hinders the possibilities for employment for IDPs. The inability to speak, understand, or write the common language of host communities often produce difficulties to interact on the job (Allamby et al. 2011). Language barrier extends unfamiliarity with new terrains (Schellekens, 2001), it excludes migrants from the wider community, and limits social contacts with the same migrant group (Hatoss and Huijser, 2010). The inability to integrate into the labour market increases poverty and unemployment (Cartwright, 2015).

Minimal prospects for viable employment cause Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé to settle for precarious income-generating activities in the informal sector. While informality, precarious work and lives are a reality for many urban poor, additional displacement related factors such as trauma from violent conflict, and anxiety of restarting life in new host communities compromise the search for jobs among IDPs (De Jesus, 2018). The findings lend more empirical support to existing literature that while IDPs struggle to obtain livelihood, they face the challenge of adapting to urbanisation challenges of poverty, unemployment and casual work (Oruc, 2015; Lewis and Waite, 2015). The type of housing and accommodation, utilisation of healthcare services, and access to education are key indicators of hyper-precarity.

5.3.1 Precarious Housing and Accommodation

The experience of poverty, unemployment and part-time work among Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé affects access to proper housing and accommodation. In general, income levels determine the type of housing and accommodation IDPs occupy in cities (Resnick, 2015). Population growth in cities increases the demand for housing and adds to the strain of accessing proper housing and accommodation (Stren, 2019). According to Nkwemoh and Tchindjang (2018) Yaoundé like other capital cities in Africa attracts international and domestic migrants living alongside long-term residents. The convergence of various migrants generates shortage for housing as competition increase. According to Tabi et al. (2020), more than 70% of the population in major cities in Cameroon do not have access to proper housing. As Awah (2016) notes, the concentration of housing in the CBD relegates low quality and inadequate housing projects to the fringes of the city.Previous studies suggests a mismatch between an increase in the demand for housing in African cities and a disparate response from public administration to address inadequate housing at municipal levels (Turok and Scheba, 2019; Resnick, 2010). Intensive land use further challenges policies and the ability of African governments' to resolve demands for housing. Following Dodman et al. (2017) arguments, urban land in Africa is mainly for business infrastructure without inadequate planning for housing. In Ahmed's (2019) article Good governance, Rule of Law, and Economic Performance in Egypt, lack of commitment, coordination, and cooperation between African states with its citizenry inhibit the fulfilment of the social contract. The latter connotes the provision of basic services (including water, electricity, and freedoms) on moral and legal bases. Instead of fulfilling the social contract, authoritarianism, nepotism, and corruption frequently plague African governments. By extension, Ogra and Onatu (2013) notes that the absence of an effective land-use strategy puts pressure on urban land use and attracts disorganised development from local municipalities. Weak financial policies and technical capacity to deliver large-scale housing place the urban poor in precarious conditions. Thus, inadequate affordable housing that satisfies people's choice and tenure in urban settings lags. Similar to experiences elsewhere, some degree of gentrification with the compliance of municipal authorities in Cameroon facilitates the expansion of business for the powerful elite. The process marginalise urban populations to backyard dwellings (Fombe, 2012). The shortage of housing raise prices for accommodation (Muggah, 2015). High costs affects the ability of Anglophone IDPs to afford proper housing while contributing to housing precarity (Wilson and Ebert, 2013). High costs of accommodation and precarious housing increases stress and anxiety among IDPs experiencing inadequate finance (Boano, 2009).. Findings in this research confirm Machperson's (2013) assertion that financial difficulties cause the majority of Anglophone IDPs to live in rented

accommodation in backyard apartments found in uncompleted buildings in overcrowded neighbourhoods located in slump areas.

Constance, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in September 2019 explains:

> Fifteen of us live in a three-bedroom apartment […]. It belongs to my friend. It is locatedbehind the main building. One cannot see it from the road. It is a small space, but I have no choice for now. I must squeeze my family into the apartment before I search for another accommodation. The muddy steps next to the house are dangerous […] because they are slippery during the rainy season and rents are high. Single rooms in the North West Region cost between FCFA10 000 to FCFA15 000. One bedroom flat in Yaoundé cost FCFA30 000 […]. It is too much for me given that I do not have a job.

Ms. Eveline, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in October 2018 says:

> […] was not easy to see the bedroom flat I live in […]. I remember searching for several months for affordable accommodation. I eventually got this small room behind the homeowner's house for FCFA15, 000 per month. The location of the house is bad. The rains always flood the rocky path we [researcher and the participant] used to get to the flat […]. There are so many rooms around me. It is difficult to get enough sunlight […]. My family of six sleep and cook in the same space […]. Our mattress is on the floor because there is no space for a bed. The kitchen utensils are close to the door […], and we do not have sufficient electricity. The pit toilet […] is sinking, and it needs draining […]. The problems are too many , but I cannot afford to live where I want.

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 narrates:

> My family of nine must squeeze in this single room, in an uncompleted building. I pay FCFA 45000 per month for rent. The price is high when I compare it to the North West. There is only one bed and a couch […] with two seats. I use curtains to separate the room into two sections for some privacy. All toilets, bathrooms and water taps are outside […]. We use a bucket […] at night for safety. My wife cooks and does everything in this room. The living conditions are not good for humans […], but we do not have a choice for now […].

The findings confirm Murungi's (2015) arguments that backyard and shanty dwellings in ghetto communities are default options for the urban poor. Unable to rent accommodation or purchase land in choice areas, IDPs reside at the fringes of cities. Physical isolation and alienation from the general urban public is common experience (Gogishvili, 2015).

In a surprise twist, the findings in this research show that the desire for homeowners —mostly Francophones to exploit the conflict for maximum profits surge costs of housing and accommodation in Yaoundé. The perception may not suggest bias towards Anglophone IDPs. Instead, opinions confirms Knudsen's (2019) assertions that IDPs are not exempt from urban pressures such as high-cost housing. The findings below confirm Misago and Landau (2005) claims that IDPs are often at the mercy of homeowners who exercise free reign to determine, impose, and change home prices at will without accountability to relevant authorities. Increasing rents with impunity, futher support Beier and Fritzsche (2017) assertions that failed government policies that regulate housing prices at national and municipal levels cause homeowners to maximise policy gaps to exploit the urban poor. High costs of housing and accommodation prevent the purchasing power of IDPs to rent accommodation of choice. Low purchasing power culminates in hyper-precarious lives.

Prisca, 38-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in September 2018 asserts:

> Francophone homeowners in Yaoundé know that we do not have a choice but to rent. I think they decided […] to increase the rents to make more profits because many of us from the North West Region moved to Yaoundé. I say that because my daughter used to pay (FCFA15000) for this room. But when my family of 7 moved in, the homeowner immediately increased the price to FCFA 45000 […]. I cannot argue but pay. That is the cost to keep my family safe […].

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 recounts:

> […] rents are too high in Yaoundé. It is difficult for me to get affordable accommodation of my choice. Most of the homeowners are Francophones. They do not care whether one is coming from a crisis. They keep on increasing rents […]. It tells me they want to make more money. If you fail to pay a month's rent, it is a serious problem. In July 2019, I could not pay rent in time because of other challenges […]. To my surprise, the homeowner […] publicly embarrassed me. It was too much for me to bear as a father. Since then, I make sure I pay rents on time to avoid quarrels […].

Rufus, 36-year old male moved to Yaoundé in January 2019 with his family says:

> […] rent for accommodation in Yaoundé are quite high for me. My homeowner who is a Francophone does not care about the trauma we experience from the conflict. He does not consider that I lost many things. He demands rents at the end of every month. To make it worse, the prices keep on increasing. It is difficult for me […] to keep up. I usually miss deadlines for payments. When it happens, the homeowner starts a quarrel […]. I must pay eventually […].

Findings in this resaerch show disparities among Anglophone IDPs to access housing and accommodation. The findings confirm Jacobsen et al. (2006) arguments that IDPs are not a homogenous group. Access to housing and accommodation differ with individuals. While some Anglophone IDPs find it difficult to access accommodation of their choice, others find it easy.

Philip, 52-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2019 asserts:

> […] my family of eight live at my brother's house. It has 4 bedrooms, 3 internal toilets, a kitchen and gardening area. Even though the building is incomplete […], the house is equipped with all the facilities necessary to continue life […]. We do not pay rents. We pay electricity and tap water for drinking. We use water from the well in the yard for general cleaning.

Chief, 23-year-old malemoved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> "…I live alone in my room. It is located in a house with 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms and 1 kitchen. There are 2 tenants in the other rooms. We share the kitchen and the bathrooms. The house is secure and located in a clean neighbourhood. The rents [FCFA20 000] include water and electricityI like it […] here..."

Glory, 36-year-old female from the NWR, moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> "…I live in a single bedroom flat with two daughters. The flat has an external toilet […], and is quite clean too. I am comfortable there. I can afford rents at FCFA35000. The price excludes water and electricity…"

Comfort, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in September 2019 affirms:

> My family of 6 live in a 2 bedroom flat. It has an internal toilet and kitchen. The place is safe, clean, and several IDPs reside in the complex. We fetch drinking water from the public tap and use a well in the complex for cleaning. The rents FCFA40.000] include electricity. I cannot complain about the neighbourhood or the house […]. At least it has everything I am looking for given that we are running from a crisis. We cannot ask for much […] for now.

Bruno, 21-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> I live with my aunt's family of 5, in a 3 bedroom apartment. It saves me a lot of money for rent […]. The apartment has an internal toilet, kitchen and backyard space. The building is fenced, located in a clean and safe neighbourhood. I do not have a problem living there. It is a good place for me. It is difficult to get accommodation in Yaoundé that is why I live here.

In conclusion, experiences regarding access to housing and accommodation differ among Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. Some easily access housing and accommodation of their choice. Others, however, due to financial hurdles live in cramped backyard accommodation in shanty neighbourhoods. The findings show that different experiences among IDPs indicate disparities of hyper-precarity (IDMC, 2019; Biloa et al. 2012).

5.3.2 Hyper-Precarity and Access to Education

Challenges with continuous schooling at elementary and tertiary levels mark the experience of hyper-precarity (Rhoades, 2010). The desire to rebuild lives and guarantee safety in host communities inspires IDPs' to continue schooling. According to Kengkunchorn and Hipsher (2010), continuous schooling enables internally displaced learners prone to trauma to experience a sense of normalcy, and psychosocial support. Schooling facilitates integration in local communities (Mooney and French, 2005), and prepares IDPs for life skills and career development (Kengkunchorn and Hipsher, 2010). In general, continuous schooling is essential for human dignity (Affolter and Allaf, 2014). Availability, affordability, and accessibility influence continuous schooling. Affordability and accessibility are of interest in the ongoing discussion.

According to Ambe-Uva (2009), availability involves the provision of schools with good curriculum content, linguistic and cultural balance within the reach of learners. Affordability is the ability to cover costs of school fees and learning materials (Lein, 2020). Poverty, unemployment, and and casual work may impede IDPs access to quality education in urban communities. As Ullah et al. (2017) argues, migrants must consider incentives for continuous schooling against costs . Inadequate financial resources decreases continuous education among IDPs (Dryden-Peterson, 2010), pomote irregular school attendance and high levels of dropouts (Arooje and Burridge, 2020), and general low levels of education (Ullah et al. 2017). Findings in this research refute the outline. Regardless of financial hurdles, internally displaced learners from the NWR continue schooling in Yaoundé. Additional costs for securing admission or forfeiting space to non-displaced learners is no deterrence for parents determined to support their children. Individual leaners are able to sponsor themselves. The desire and culture of education among Anglophones in general, motivate parents and individual IDPs to cover the costs of schooling (Jua and Konings, 2004). Anglophone IDPs with savings are willing to use substantial portions to provide school needs.

Though findings in this study suggest that increasing movement of Anglophone IDPs to Yaoundé from 2016 triggers extra cost of admission, additional charges for school fees appear to be the new norm for residents in the city. Additional costs place financial burden on unemployed Anglophone IDPs. The demands for extra costs for admission defy international regulations of the right to access free and quality education (Perry et al. 2010). E Extra costs of education does not leave Anglophones IDPs behind. Many parents and individual learners can deposit minimal payments to continue schooling (Rhoades, 2010). See extracts below.

Chief, 23-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in March 2017 says:

> learners in the North West Region pay fees only for Parents Teachers Association [school governing body] and registration. The case is different in Yaoundé. Many students and parents seeking admission in secondary and high schools ‘buy’ spaces [give extra cash] to school authorities [...]. Amounts vary depending on each school.Some schools require up toFCFA100,000. My former school […] asked for an additional FCFA30,000 […] for admission into upper sixth [equivalent of Grade 12]. It was a large amount from my savings [...]. I did not plan for it. I had to pay because I was preparing for the GCE Advanced Level exams […].

Prisca, 38-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in September 2018 says:

> […] my boys attend school in Yaoundé […]. The firstborn is in Form 5 [Grade 10], the second in Form 4 [Grade 9], and the youngest attends Class 1 [Grade R]. It is not easy for me to pay the fee of about FCFA100, 000 for each child. My income of FCFA35 000 is too low to cover rents, food, and school fees. Parents must pay extra to get admission for the kids […]. I negotiated with the principal to make incomplete deposits for all three boys to gain admission and registration. I must do it to secure a place at school. I owe school fees for the 2018 and 2019 academic years for all three children […].

Priscilla, 35-year-old female, moved to Yaoundé in 2018 asserts:

> the money I earn from domestic work is insufficient for rents, food, and fees. Three of my children attend government schools. The older children must stay at home […] because I do not have enough money to pay for school fees, and school materials. Extra payment for admission spoils the whole thing. It is […] too much for me, a widow.

Ms Eveline, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2018 recounts:

> […] schools fees are high in Yaoundé. When I arrived in 2018, fees were between FCFA60 000 and FCFA70, 000. At the beginning of 2019, it increased to about FCFA90 000. I am unemployed and a widow. I cannot pay for everything at once. The proprietor of the school allowed me to pay minimum deposit for my daughter to continue school […].

5.3.3 Hyper-precarity and Access to Healthcare

The experience of hyper-precarity among Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé extends to challenges with accessing healthcare services. Analogous with access to education, accessibility, affordability, and availability influence the utilization of healthcare services (Adongo et al. 2021; Cantor et al. 2020). According to the WHO (2010), accessible healthcare services include the ease with which patients reach out to use hospitals and clinics for medical treatment. It comprises how healthcare providers and medical treatment conveniently reach target populations. According to the WHO (2021) report, the provision of universal healthcare by 2030 remains a challenge particularly in pooor countries. The resurgence of old and new threatening diseases, the risks of pandemics such as the Covid-19, and the rising burden of non-communicable diseases challenge the provision of primary healthcare.

Access to medical treatment depends on governments' provision of healthcare systems responsive to the populations' health needs, preferences, and expectations (Gostin et al. 2010). The provision of preferred healthcare systems aligns with notions of access to healthcare services as an essential human right (see Androutsou and Metaxas, 2019; Duffy and Kelly, 2019; Magnusson, 2017). Andrea et al. (2015) notes that rights include the utilization of healthcare services that guarantee the highest attainable standards of health—as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not the the mere absence of disease. Access to healthcare involves the timely utilization of of healthcare services.sa functional healthcare system must be available without extra burden on individuals (Ma and Nolan, 2017), that guarnatees a healthy population (Harris et al. 2011).

Social, economic, and geographic dimensions broadly determine affordability and availability of healthcare. According to Mensah (2014) affordability is the ability to purchase medical treatment and pay for healthcare services. IDPs' access to treatment for trauma and anxiety depends on the ability to pay for consultation services (see Jotterand et al. 2020; Salazar et al. 2020, Abarra et al. 2016). The socio-economic living conditions of IDPs directly influence affordability of healthcare services. As mentioned earlier, trauma and anxiety during movement including daily stressors from poverty, unemployment and casual work deepen financial pressures (Bradley et al. 2015). These obstruct the utilization of formal healthcare services (Mensah, 2014). Increasing costs of medical treatment further prevent patients from seeking medical treatment (Zhan et al. 2007). Low purchasing power therefore affects IDPs' overall physical wellbeing (Abbara et al. 2016). Findings of this study confirm the views above.

Ms Eveline, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in October 2018 recounts:

> I was healthy before moving to Yaoundé. The sudden manner in which we moved […], the loss of items, difficulties in renting accommodation after spending a year in Yaoundé, inability to have three meals a day, and afford school fees disturbs me. The situation increased my blood pressure unbeknown to me […]. According to my neighbours, I collapsed on a particular day and was rushed to the hospital. Days later, after I regained consciousness, the doctors gave me the hospitalisation bill […]. I wept because I thought of how to pay the huge amount. Within that same period, my daughter was sick. It was a double burden on me. I requested for the doctors to treat her and discharge me instead. The refused, but made me sign an undertaking to pay the balance monthly […]. I still owe the hospital as we speak [...].

Priscilla, 35-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in September 2018 says:

> the cost of consultation at hospitals and clinics in the North West Region is lower than in Yaoundé. It is difficult for me to consult regularly with the doctors because I cannot afford the cost even when we suffer from measles, chicken pox, typhoid, or malaria […]. The only time I went to the hospital was for the doctors tostitch a wound on my forehead […].

Prisca, 38-year-old-female, moved to Yaoundé in 2017 says:

It is expensive to consult at hospitals in Yaoundé compared to the North West Region. It is even more difficult […] for me without a lucrative job. The few times I consulted with the doctors was to treat an infection on my leg […]. The doctor recommends that I return for monthly checks. I want to, but I cannot […] because of the high costs for frequent visits and extensive medical treatment […]. I am currently using herbs to treat the infection.

Constance, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé with her family in 2019 says:

[…] we lost many important items during the trip to Yaoundé. I worry about how my family will start life again […]. We live in a cramped space thanks to the generosity of a friend. I wonder how long we are going to live there […]. My unemployed status increases the concerns […]. We do not have enough money to rent decent accommodation. I am yet to complete my children's school fees. All these things make it difficult to consult with the doctors because the cost is too high for me [...].

The experience of trauma, anxiety, and other illnesses among Anglophone IDPs does not immediately translate into the quest for medical treatment. Significant factors explain the behaviour. According to Ramirez and Franco (2016) specialised psychological treatments for IDPs are usually absent in new territories. IDPs may also be ignorant of mental health services available. Findings in this research lean towards the latter than the former thought. Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé are ignorant of Centre Jamot institution specialised in the treatment of mental illnesses. Lack of awareness about mental facilities further contributes to the low rates of consultation (Karam et al. 2016).

Stigma equally contributes to the underutilisation of healthcare services. In general, unfamiliarity with host communities discourage IDPs to disclose their mental health status (Siriwardhana and Stewart 2012). According to WHO (2010), the unwillingness of IDPs to disclose post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) is understandable attributed to significant factors. Patel et al. (2017) suggests that mental health services and institutions often restrict consultation to physical contact. The disclosure of intimate details to psychotherapists or trauma counsellors evokes resistance. Resistance may develop from concerns about sensitive information reaching unintended persons (Bolton, 2018). The scepticism that IDPs displayreveals the ignorance of confidentiality sworn by medical practitioners (WHO, 2010).

The findings in this research provide more evidence to Minervino and Martin (2007) outlook that language and trust affect the utilisation of healthcare services particularly in enemy territories. As Bradby et al. (2015) explains, the inability to articulate in the dominant language of host communities results in awkward moments between patient and staff, decreased symptom reporting, and fewer referrals about healthcare specialists from medical practitioners to patients. Anglophones IDPs with English backgrounds receive inadequate healthcare services in Yaoundé with predominantly Francophone speakers. According to WHO (2010) report, , language incompetency builds mistrust for health workers which reduces consultations at healthcare services. The opposite may occur. Positive feedback from members of the migrant community and former urban residents may build trust towards healthcare providers. Schwei et al. (2014) notes that positive stories about the behaviour of medical personnel build trust in patients and increase consultation with healthcare providers. Conversely, bad encounters engenders mistrust which hinders the utilisation of healthcare services (Do et al. (2013).

For Anglophone IDPs, the violent intrastate conflict deepens mistrust of healthcare providers in Yaoundé. The findings echo Schwei et al. (2014) arguments that intrastate conflict produces low levels of trust and mistrust between warring camps. Victims of intrastate conflict usually from minority populations may not be confident that they will receive appropriate treatment from enemy counterparts. Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé consult medical practitioners at Biyem-Assi, Etoug-Ebe facilities, and other clinics labelled Anglophone hospitals (see excerpts). The majority of Anglophone medical and administrative staff at these hospitals are fluent in English. Language commonality appears to build trust. Consultations at these hospitals or clinics confirm Sayang's (2009) claims that IDPs from minority groups prefer health practitioners with similar ethnic or cultural backgrounds for security and language reasons.

Bright, 21-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in May 2018 says:

> […] I usually visit Anglophone hospitals and clinics because most doctors […] and patients who work there are Anglophones. People call it Anglophone hospitals and clinics because few Francophones work there. My neighbours told me that the doctors at those hospitals are polite towards patients. How Anglophones interact with people is completely different from Francophones […]. Francophones can be rude […]. It is not good for me to visit hospitals where French is the only language. The staff and I may not understand each other. We may be mad at each other for no reason [...].

Rufus, 36-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 recounts:

> […] dealing with Francophone doctors and nurses is completely different from the experience in the North West Region. I recently had malaria and visited one of the hospitals in Yaoundé […] I received attention much later. I saw it as carelessness. That was the last time I visited Francophone hospital […]. I only consult at hospitals where the doctors and nurses are mostly Anglophones.

Linda, 22-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2017 narrates:

> I was sick two times when I arrived in Yaoundé. For one of those times, hospitalisation was at Biyem-Assi General Hospital. It has many Anglophone doctors and nurses. I had a good time there. The second time, I collapsed at school and was rushed to another hospital with mostly Francophone staff. I thought doctors give priority treatment to students wearing uniforms without an initial deposit. It was shocking to hear that the doctors insisted for an initial deposit of FCFA 5000 [...] before they could attend to me. If not for the intervention of another Anglophone doctor, I could have died […] at that hospital.

Findings in this research of this resaerh show that financial constraints, language barrier, lack of trust and stigma cause Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé to self-medicate. The migrant population resort to herbal and first aid treatment for minor illnesses such as fevers and headaches. Formal visits to hospitals happens only for emergency treatment of chronic illnesses and diseases. The findings confirm Bonanno's (2004) views that IDPs show resilience irrespective of potentially traumatic events and circumstances.

Constance, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2019 says:

> "…I moved to Yaoundé with some medication in my first aid box […].I am a nurse by profession […], although I work as a hairdresser, I know about human biology, and what to do should my children or I fall sick. We go to the hospital only when an illness is serious…"

Ms Eveline, 40-year-old-female moved to Yaoundé in October 2018 says:

> […] my children and I seek medical attention only when we are seriously sick. I usually purchase medication off the counter at the pharmacy […]. It is cheaper. The cashiers usually ask for the doctor's prescription […] but I tell them that I do not have it. They warn me about the dangers[…]. What can I do? For those who refuse to sell, I go to the tuck shop. We use herbs for treatment when there is no money to buy medication at the pharmacy or the tuck shop […].

Philip, 52-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in September 2019 says:

> I do not like going to the hospital except when there is something serious. Sometimes we buy medication from the pharmacy. I am not a trained herbalist, but I know how to combine herbs for treatment when we are sick. Life in the village taught me how to go on natural medicine. I think it is better than […] foreign medicine.

Bruno, 21-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 mentions:

> […] the last time I had headaches […] my aunt bought medication from the chemist. That was it. I do not need to go to the doctor. Besides, one must have enough money to visit hospitals in Yaoundé […]. They are too expensive!

While Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé may experience equal access to healthcare services as non-displaced persons, language barrier, mistrust in the healthcare system, and financial constraints promote underutilization of healthcare services. Self-medication associated with known and unknown risks offers a default approach to healthcare. Tried and tested herbal treatment with some degree of success shows migrants' resilience and adaptability in urban communities.

5.4 Conclusion

The chapter began with the argument that Anglophone IDPs living in Yaoundé experience hyper-precarity. The Findings in the discussion show that poverty, unemployment, and casual work are markers of hyper-precarious work and lives. Futhermore, the findings contribute to literature in significant ways. The loss of lives, property and sources of livelihood during movement from the NWR traumatize Anglophone IDPs. Findings add to literature that anxiety is a lived experience among IDPs. Daily stressors including unemployment, casual work, and meagre wages increase financial precarity. Inadequate financial resources constrain access to proper housing and accommodation in Yaoundé. Anglophone IDPs must settle for backyard dwellings in shanty neighbourhoods of Yaoundé. Regarding access to education, findings in this discussion show that Anglophone IDP leaners are not left behind. Hyper-precarity is no deterrence to continuous schooling. Anglophone IDPs can afford extra cost of education. The payment of fees in instalments are strategies to secure admission for learners and reduce the costs of educationundé. Concerning access to healthcare, the findings speak to literature that financial constraints, language barrier, trust, and stigma significantly determines consultations at medical facilities. Language deficiencies decrease the frequency of consultations with healthcare professionals. Medical facilities labelled Anglophone hospitals popular among long-term Anglophone residents in Yaoundé attract Anglophone IDPs. The mistrust of Francophone medical personnel emanating from the political nature of the violent conflict, and feedback from other Anglophone residents deter consultations at Francophone-staff dominated hospitals. Anglophone IDPs frequently resort to herbal treatment and over-the-counter medication. Self-medication shows the resilience of Anglophone IDPs to explore other avenues for healthcare under untenable circumstances.

Chapter 6: Dilemmas of IDPs' Integration in Urban Communities

6.1 Introduction

I combine empirical findings and scholarly works to discuss the complex experience of integration in cities. I use the case of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé to argue that IDPs face the dilemma to either settle in urban communities or return to the place of habitual residence. Social, cultural, and political factors influence dilemmas of integration. Reception—hostility or hospitality from host populations, language barrier, lifestyle and attitudes shape social interactions, integration and belonging. The chapter begins with an outline of general perspectives on IDPs' integration in cities. Later, I hone in on social (reception and interaction), cultural (identity difference), and political (citizenship and belonging) factors that promote dilemmas of integration. I conclude the chapter with a brief overview of findings and discussions.

6.2 Internal Displacement and Integration: General Perspectives

Statistics about the the number of IDPs show increasing trends. In 2020, there were over 70.8 million forcibly displaced people worldwide of which 41.3 million were IDPs, 25.8 million were refugees, and 3.5 million were asylum seekers (Schuettler and Caron, 2020). The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC, 2020) also recorded over 50 million IDPs worldwide. Violent intrastate conflict often cause the movement of IDPs from predominantly rural settings to cities (Jacobs et al. 2020). Perceptions of safety, better services, and infrastructure attract the movement of IDPs to cities (Jaworksy et al. 2014). However, cities particularly in Africa are often disorganised (De Boeck, 2012). Chaos render urban centres the locus for social tension (Sassen, 2010) as urban residents seek to reclaim spaces to [re]build niches (Simone, 2012). Continuous insecurity in the place of origin protracts displacement while return and resettlement in place of origin appear unattractive. Local integration appear feasible albeit challenging.

The concept of integration is controversial in scholarly literature. Controversies arise from "… no single, generally accepted definition, theory, or model of migrant integration…" (Castles et al. 2001). Ager and Strang (2008) argue that integratin is chaotic, and understood differently. Contestations about the ambiguity of the concept nuance knowledge production (IOM, 2017). According to Wiener (2016) synonyms such as absorb and incorporate distort the meaning of integration. Synonyms limit the application of integration to individual contexts (Ager and Strang, 2008). The lack of consensus over the definition and meaning of integration does not discard its relevance in migration studies. Integration remains a desireable outcome for migrants as well as a significant policy goal for for states' reponse to internal displacement(Strang and Ager, 2010). Integration is marked by indicators such as statistical comparisons of employment in migrant populations versus employment among natives (OECD, 2015). Indicators in themselves do not necessarily gauge integration. Rather, they point to successes and failures of integration which depend on the measurement of integration. But, some aspects of integration are more difficult to measure than others. According to Ager and Strang (2008) while surveys estimate labour-market integration, it is may be difficult to determine social integration that relies on exploring attitudes, feelings and perceptions. Following Johnston and Audunson (2019) arguments, capturing the multiple domains of integration inevitably involves some degree of simplification and approximation. As Larin (2020) argues, approximations inevitably results in the relegation of integration policies and mechanisms to the background. Political and administrative failure of states to institute structures based on equality, cognisant of diversity, that facilitate language training centres hinders integration of IDPs (Flamant, 2020).

I combine two prominent definitions of integration in this discussion. Integration is "… the process by which migrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups and …[Integration] is a two-way process of adaptation by migrants and host societies…[and implies] consideration of the rights and obligations of migrants and host societies, of access to different kinds of services and the labour market, and of identification and respect for core sets of values that bind migrants and host communities in a common purpose…"(IOM, 2017:1). I agree with Macura et al. (2005) claims that integration is the process of becoming an accepted part of society. These definitions suggest that migrants and host communities are key role-players in the process of integration. The definitions emphasise a continuous process rather than an end-situation or experience. It consists of markers and outcomes (Ager and Strang, 2008). Secondly, the definition does not mention specific requirements for acceptance by the receiving society. Should newcomers see themselves differently or a perceived as different by the receiving society, migrants may aspire for acceptance in the new society. The intentional use of the above definitions leaves out intermediate outcomes open. I intentionally use the definitions to to capture three analytical (socio-cultural, political, and economic) dimensions of integration.

Reception–hostility or hospitality, determines migrants' intercations with the local population, by extension social integration (Jacobs et al. 2020). Reception is the lived reality of being and feeling accepted by host communities. Hospitality towards IDPs gives newcomers a sense of belonging. (IOM, 2020). Hospitality confirms integration as a two-way process (Klarenbeek, 2019). Hospitality places a demand on receiving communities to find ways to embrace migrants (Strang and Ager 2010). , IDPs also, must exercise the responsibility to adapt in host communities for social cohesion. Learning the local language, participation in community activities, and membership in social groups such as clubs, or churches are various forms of adaptations (Likkanen, 2017).

Perceptions influence reception and interaction. Perceptions that IDPs threaten and compete for jobs (Ellis and Stam, 2018), engage in criminal activities (Parker, 2015) frequently promotes feelings of resentment and xenophobic violence (Mudau, 2021). These forms of hostility hinder social integration (Craig, 2015). Migration scholars such as Jacobs et al. (2020) debunk myths that newcomers constitute a burden. IDPs bring along necessary skills in the formal and informal sectors of hosts economy. Positive perceptions promote feelings of acceptance and membership in the community (Litcher, 2020). Acceptance is associated with changing some or all aspects of cultural and behavioural identity to fit in (Kenny, 2010). The concept of figurations captures the process of change and acceptance. According to Etzold at al. (2019), figurations are multiple social settings and networks of interdependence. These include family, friends, neighbourhoods, and labour markets that assist IDPs to adopt positions that shape their behaviours, social relations, identities, and learn the respective rules of existing hierarchical structures and practices in new communities.

Cultural integration involves some degree of acculturation. According to Bourhis et al. (2010) integration comprises of bi-directional change of two or more cultures. Cultural change can happen through social interactions such as language, food, and lifestyle. IDPs may retain some links with the place of origin as a form of identity and belonging. Acculturation is strategic for IDPs who experience liminality as they seek harmonious relations with host communities. Economic integration is the ability of IDPs to secure livelihoods during displacement (Behrend, 2014). The process of securing livelihood involves how quickly newcomers in host communities secure access part-time or full-time employment to) participate in the labour market (Stempel and Alemi (2020). Economic integration is necessary at different levels. According to Schuettler and Caron (2020), having a job helps individuals to obtain an income and meet their needs and those of their dependents. It offers a pathway out of poverty, gives a sense of purpose, and allows one to contribute to society. In agreement with Ivlevs and Veliziotis (2017), having a jobprovides financial resources to recover lost assets, rebuild human capital, confidence and dignity, overcame psychological trauma, and [re] establish social networks (). This is true for IDPs fleeing from violent conflict who perceive that access to the labour market enables self-reliance to rebuild lives. According to Huang and Graham (2019) IDPs considered citizens, may encounter few legal barriers to work. However, trauma and anxiety from the loss of sources of income, loss of identity documents and lack of skills hinders employability and deepen poverty (Schuettler and Caron , 2020). The recent Covid-19 pandemic contributes to challenges of participating in the labour market. According to Kuhnt and Schuttler (2020) the outbreak of Covid-19 pandemic in 2019 exerts pressure on the welfare of millions of people including IDPs who participate mainly in the informal economy without job security and health insurance. Unfreedoms in the choice of work (Chapter 5) cause IDPs to settle for menial jobs in manufacturing, construction, and food industries. These sectors are susceptible to labour restructuring According to Huang and Graham (2019) the experience is common among 99% of IDPs located in low and middle-income countries. Poverty and unemployment characterristics of urbanization reduces IDPs consumption, access to healthcare services , education, housing and accommodation and general wellbeing.

Protracted displacement entrench uncertainty among IDPs. It shortens IDPs'horizon and lowers aspirations of potential employment resulting in a counter-productive decision. Prolonged periods of economic inactivity ultimately entrench exclusion (Ivlevs and Veliziotis, 2017). IDPs may engage in self-reliant entrepreneurial income-generating activities (Zetter, 2014) by introducing products from the place of origin that add value to the local economy, and contribute to positive attitudes from host populations Jacobs et al. (2020.

Political integration comprises national belonging and membership in local communities. Othering process affects a sense of belonging. Perceptions of difference from local based on physical appearance (race), cultural and religious variations class characteristics or a combination of these factors impede belonging The perceptions often produce social, cultural, and religious clusters that affect interpersonal relationships deter membership and belonging (Macura et al. 2005). According to Johnston and Audunson (2019), political integration includes various forms of civic and political participation. The ability to vote and engage in policy debates and decision making at grassroots are progressive steps towards membership. Political integration is intricately connected to three aspects of active citizenship. Two are significant in this analysis. At the legal-political dimension, concerns arise over whether, or at what stage newcomers become members of the political community. The socio-economic dimension pertains to the social rights of citizens. It includes values of equality regarding access to basic amenities and unemployment benefits. The third dimension relates to the cultural rights to organise ethnic groups for meetings. Political identities formed at specific historical junctures during state formation shape citizenship and belonging. Identity formations are glaring particularly during intrastate conflict among majority-minority populations with extensive consequences (Larin, 2020). IDPs from minority groups, perceived as enemies of the state may suffer persecution in host communities. Marginalization, discrimination, and harassment are inevitable outcomes. Tensions hinder civic participation in the polity of the state (Elliott, 2014).

Contrary to notions that institutionalized processes influence citizenship and political integration (Floros and Bakjorgensen, 2021), I tilt towards Polzer's (2009) assertion that political integration is IDPs' ability to negotiate access to protection, needed financial resources, and belonging at grassroots on a moral basis rather than rights' claims. Local power holders (village heads, quarter heads, religious leaders, officials of state departments determine the value systems and local living conditions, and integration of newcomers. According to Jacobsen (2017), the locale, displaced persons share daily life experiences as being part of the community. Successful negotiations facilitate access to services including education, healthcare, and housing.

To sum-up, gender, age, duration of stay in the host community, language competency, and skill level shape IDPs integration (IOM, 2017). Detail analyses of the factors exceed the interest of this outline. Integration is vital for promoting social cohesion and economic growth of hosts destinations (OECD, 2015).Together, domains of integration paint a subtle picture of successful integration. While local integration for IDPs is a complex process that unfolds smoothly for some, it is bumpy and windy for others (Jacobs et al. 2020). The proceeding discussion builds on the ideas above.

6.3 Dilemmas of Integration: To Return or Settle?

The proceeding sub-sections discuss dilemmas of integration among Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. Similar to the 2007 violent conflicts and displacement of Kenyans in Nairobi, challenges of conflict management between the state and secessionists protract displacement (Kamungi, 2013). According to Jacobs and Paviotti (2017), persistent insecurity in place of origin discourages return, but do not completely erase the desire to return (Grid, 2019). The yearning to return hampers integration (Jacobs and Paviotti, 2017). Protracted displacement positions Anglophone IDPs at crossroads. They must decide to either settle in Yaoundé or return to the NWR. Social, cultural, and political, factors explain the dilemmas of integration.

6.3.1 Social Factors: Reception and Interactions

Reception from, and interactions with locals determine social integration in urban neighbourhoods (Chuiko and Fedorenko, 2020). As mentioned earlier, hospitality —degree of openness towards newcomers determines migrants' social integration (IOM, 2020) . The dynamics in cities unlike rural communities present IDPs with unique experiences. Hospitality encourages interactions (De Boeck, 2012). hostility produces the opposite effect (Thorleifsson, 2016). Faced with either scenario, migrants must decide whether to remain in the new territories or return to the place of habitual residence. Findings in this research shows general hospitality towards Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. Hospitality varies among ethnic groups. Bamilekes, and Bamoums appear more hospitable unlike Ewondo, Beti, and Bulus that exhibit hostility (see extracts).

Bright, 21-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> most of my neighbours are Bamilekes […]. People from other tribes live in my community. We do not talk to each other […]. I limit interactions to Bamilekes […] because they are similar to Anglophones. We have similar traditions and cultures and can understand each other compared to […] Betis, and Bulus. Betis and Bulus do not like Anglophones so I do not talk with them […].

Linda, 22-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2017 recounts:

> [...] my neighbours are mostly Ewondo and Bulu. It is hard for me to interact with them. They are not welcoming […]. Recently, my youngest brother was playing with the quarter head's grandson and later were fighting The grandson immediately ran to his grandfather to report what happened. The grandfather, without asking for my brother's opinion furiously said we are strangers in Yaoundé. We must return to the North West Region. How do two children fighting after playing lead to such statements? It shows that they do not want us here […]. I do not want to live in this place either. The war is stopping us from returning to the NWR […].

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 says:

> "…there are many people from different ethnic groups living in my community. I think […] Bamilekes are more open to us so I relate often with them. Bamilekes are better than Ewondos and Bulus of the Centre Region. But I hardly interact with Francophones…"

Bruno, 21-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> [...] Bamoums in my community receive me well […] compared to other tribes mainly those from the villages around the Centre Region. I think Bamoums see me as a Cameroonian and not a stranger. Everyone in Yaoundé knows that many […] Ewondos, Betis, and Bulus do not like Anglophones […].

Chief, 23-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in March 2017 says:

> […]Yaoundé is the headquarters of the Centre Region […]. It is normal to have mostly Ewondo and Beti in the communities. They are not very friendly towards Anglophones. For instance, I speak with the homeowner of of the room I rent except when he needs me to pay rents […].

Shared political and ethnic history explain variations of reception among ethnic groups in Yaoundé. According to Ayeah (2003) one of Ahidjo's strategies towards marginalisation was to cause Cameroonians to believe that Anglophones, Bamilekes, and Bassas oppose national unity. To entrench difference, the state-endorsed denigrating labels that rapidly permeated among thepublic. Ahidjo portrayed Anglophones as too exacting and never satisfied with only the position of the prime minister.Likewise, Bamilekes at the helm of the economy experienced defamation as too tribalistic and nicknamed Anglo-Bami to suggest mixed identities. President Biya would later follow his predecessor to solidify the forms of difference.

Language barrier, perceptions from urban residents, and participation in communal activities shapes reception and interactions with host populations in Yaoundé. According to Schick et al. (2016) fluency in the language of the host community facilitates interactions. Language barrier prevents interactions (Opoku and Alupo, 2020). The case of Cameroon presents a unique scenario of language proficiency among citizens. The polarisation of the state during pre and post-colonial era entrench English and French as the two official languages. According to Biloa and Echu (2008), the recognition of the official languages in all administrative and business communication of the state are steps towards bilingualism and inclusivity of Anglophones. However, Fon (2019) argues that efforts towards bilingualism are yet to translate into meaningful coexistence between Anglophones and Francophones. According to Kuchah (2016), French dominates the language of political administration in Cameroon. English occupies second place (Echu, 2004). Language differences mean that a chunck of Anglophones living in the NWR do not understand, speak, or write French. Anglophone IDPs deficient in French frequently have meaningful interactions with other Anglophones IDPs or long-term Anglophone residents in Yaoundé. Attempts to learn the dominant language of the host population may prove time-consuming and unsuccessful (Colletta, 2015). Minimal social interactions ensue. The findings in this research confirm the views;

Bright, 21-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in May 2018 says:

> "…It is difficult for me to communicate with the Francophones […] because I do not understand French. If I left for the city at a younger age perhaps it would be easy to know the language. At my age, it is difficult to speak an unfamiliar language …"

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 says:

> […] Francophones and Anglophones speak different official languages […]. I do not speak nor understand French […]. I am not close to Francophones […]. I often interact with relatives and friends during tribal meetings […]. We [ethnic members] speak English and the dialect freely […]. Sometimes I interact with Anglophone colleagues at work. I often speak with some neighbours who are IDPs like me […].

Chief, 23-year-old-male moved to Yaoundé in March 2017 narrates:

> […] I hardly interact with Francophones […] because of the language barrier […]. Some months back, I went to the police station to report a case of robbery in my room. Upon arrival, I met officers who bullied me […]. They said I should not disturb if I cannot speak French. One of them rudely remarked that he has many cases to resolve. They did not attend to me even after that […].

Bruno, 21-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> my interactions with Anglophones and Francophones are different […]. Anglophones are like brothers or sisters to me. It is easy to speak the same language. Our interactions are good. We have interesting conversations. With Francophones […], I have to think about what I am going to say, how to call objects in French before I can go ahead to say it. My interactions with Francophones are few.

Prisa, 38-year-old- female moved to Yaoundé in September 2018 reiterates:

> "… I do not understand French. I have few interactions with Francophones. My interactions are often with Anglophones…"

Comfort, 40-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in September 2019 says:

> "… I interact with Francophones who speak English. For those who do not understand English, we wave at each other…"

The findings in this study further shows that superficial social interactions occur between Anglophone IDPS and the broader Francophone community in Yaoundé. Francophones perceive that Anglophones in general, are secessionists disrupting national unity. The politically motivated conflict promotes negative perceptions (Lichter et al. 2020). Cardoso et al. (2016) notes that perceptions frequently translate into resentful attitudes and behaviours that manifest in discrimination and xenophobia.. According to Algan et al. (2019), unfounded notions that newcomers dilute a sense of community and social solidarity among indigenous urban residents entrench superficial interactions. As Duncan (2005) notes, social integration becomes a long-term process characterised by mixed reactions and distrust from ethnic groups in urban communities (see extracts).

Chief, 23-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in March 2017 asserts:

> Francophones in Yaoundé have completely different behaviours and lifestyle [...] different from Anglophones […]. Francophones are not friendly. I cannot count the number of times they call me 'Anglofou' […]. That is an insult! How do you call a fellow Cameroonian foolish? It is annoying! I cannot remember how many times I had problems with Francophones particularly those from the Centre Region [Eton and Ewondo]. They see us differently. They think we are occupying their land […]. Some say we want to divide the country […].

Glory, 35-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in January 2019 says:

> The situation in the country is quite bad. There is war in the North West [...] and the military caused it. We escaped the war to Yaoundé yet we are not completely safe […]. Francophones have a problem with Anglophones […]. Many of them accuse us of starting the war […] It is not true! If only the government would listen, the problem can be resolved […].

Linda, 21-year-old-male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 affirms:

> Francophones say we are the problem in Cameroon […]. They say we want to separate the country and form ours. They caused it! If we had equal rights of governance […], and employment we will not complain […]. Francophones dominate in government and want to control everything. They refuse to reason with us […] and think we complain about nothing […].

Bruno, 21-year-old-male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> "… the behaviour of Francophones towards us [Anglophones] shows that they do not like us. I […] think the problem in the North West Region has increased the hatred […]. Many Francophones are saying that we want to separate the country […].

David, 24-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in April 2017 emphasizes:

> Francophones in my community behave as if they are superior to Anglophones. They are not friendly. Some consider us brothers, but the majority do not. I experience discrimination in my neighbourhood and at the workplace. If I commit an error, the manager rebukes me sternly unlike my Francophone colleagues […]. My boss knows I escaped from the war. He thinks I have no choice but to yield [...] because I need a job […]. They are saying we want to separate the country […].

The findings in this research show that perceptions of resentment towards Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé cause the migrant group to cluster in specific neighbourhoods for security reasons. Clustering is an attempt to secure friends and family networks for assistance. Social networks serve as social capital to circumnavigate urban challenges (Bourdieu, 1986). The majority of research participants interviewed in this research live in Biyem-Assi, Obili, and Mendong environs. The presence of long-term Anglophone residents in the neighbourhoods attracts Anglophone IDPs

Bright, 21-year-old-female moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

"… I live in Mendong with a family friend because I do not know anyone in Yaoundé. […]. After some months, I realised that most of the neighbours are Anglophones. Many Francophones live in my community because I hear them speaking French…"

Ms Eveline, 40-year-old-female moved to Yaoundé in October 2018 narrates:

when I moved to Yaoundé, I lived with my niece for one year at Simbok. The place is 1.5km from Mendong. I moved out because the two-bedroom apartment was too small for us […].my niece has a family of 5 children, and I have 4 kids […]. One of my friends told me about a vacant room at Biyem-Assi where I live now […]. I must stay close to other Anglophones because I do not know when I may need assistance. My daughter's school is not far from my neighbourhood. That is why I settled for the place [...].

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 says:

my family and I live at Mendong […]. My eldest daughter was living in a one-bedroom flat before we moved into the place […]. It is difficult to get accommodation in another neighbourhood compared to Mendong. Many Anglophones live in the environs of Obili, Biyem-Assi and Mendong. It is good for us [Anglophones] to to live as a family in this neighbourhood so that we are not stranded […].

Priscilla, 35-year-old femalemoved to Yaoundé in 2017 reiterates:

"…I live in Biyem-Assi because there are many Anglophones here compared to other parts of Yaoundé. An Anglophone friend told me about the accommodation I am using now. I also realised that I can get a job if I live at Biyem-Assi ..."

Linda, 22-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2017 says:

"…I share a room with a friend at Biyem-Assi because it is quite close to my University [...]. I do not want to stay too far away from my family […] because I do not know when I will need them..."

Participation in communal activities influence social interactions with Francophones. Findings in this research shows that some Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé participate in weddings, funerals, and sports games. Participation in community activities is to save face (see extracts below). Participation in community activities does notguarantee integration.

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 says:

"…My family and I often attend church in our community […].Majority of the members are Anglophones. Sometimes my wife and I attend funerals and other activities when necessary. For example, if the deceased is the homeowner's relative, we do a brief visit […] to empathise with the family…"

Constance, 40-year-old-female moved to Yaoundé in 2017 says:

> […] for now, I do not participate in community activities […]. I am new in Yaoundé and not sure if I should stay or return to the North West Region. I may consider participation in the future if I decide to settle. Many things are hanging […]. I contribute towards community projects when the community leaders ask for it […].

Prisca,38-year-old-female moved to Yaoundé in September 2018 recounts:

I attend funerals sometimes. When one of our neighbours died in August 2019, the chef de quartier [Quarter head] asked everyone to attend the memorial service to condole with the family [...]. Apart from that, I do not participate in other community activities. I recently moved to Yoaunde , so […] I am not familiar with the people […].

Bright, 21-year-old-female moved to Yaoundé in May 2018 narrates:

Sometimes I attend church and participate in weddings if I know the couple. I attend soccer and handball games for fun organised by youths from the North West Region […]. I contribute for funerals too when I have extra cash…"

Priscilla, 35-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2017 reiterates:

"…Francophones in Yaoundé behave strangely […]. They lack basic home training in relating with human beings. They do not greet neighbours […]. I cannot participate in community activities as one of their friends. It is better for me to avoid problems. We can only meet on the streets and go our separate ways…"

The findings of this research confirm Landau and Freemantle (2016) arguments that social interactions require sameness. Superficial interactions show that urban communities are transient spaces of convivial relationships.. Urban residents (translocal migrants and indigenes) tolerate each other for peaceful co-existence without demands of cohesion, or consensus over values. Minimal integration therefore persist in the social fabric of the community.

6.3.2. Cultural Factors: Identity Difference

Identity describes a person's self-image, lifestyle, and behaviour (Algan et al. 2019). Identity difference significantly influence cultural integration. Cultural integration is the degree of openness of strangers towards foreign cultures, norms, and traditions (Hamberger, 2009). Cultural adaptation is the complex process of adjusting to individual experiences of integration during migration (Castro and Murray, 2010). Internally displaced persons in new communities must adapt to the culture of at least one of the host populations to minimise difference and exclusion (Algan et al. 2019). Contrary to the notions above, findings in this research sow that some form of acculturation happens among Anglophone IDPs.) Lifestyle changes (adapting to feeding habits), attempts to learn French, attendance and participation in social events in the communities are various forms of acculturation. Differences in culture, behaviour, and lifestyle of Francophone residents and Anglophone IDPs hinder integration. Perceived laziness, poor human relations, and individualism are key makers of difference.

Bright, 21-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in May 2018 says:

> there are many differences between us and Francophones. Anglophones from the North West Region practice a lot of subsistence farming [...]. Francophones prefer to work in government offices. They do not like hard labour […]. They prefer an easy life without any stress. Anglophones from the North West Region are not like that. We can work in offices and on the farms too. That is who we are […]. We can adapt easily wherever we find ourselves […].

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017 reiterates:

> […] Francophones are lazy [...]. Even though many indigenes from the ruling clique complain of poverty and unemployment […], they do not want to get their hands dirty […]. They hardly do any serious work or engage in income-generating activities. We [Anglophones] have a culture of hard work. We do not tolerate idleness or wait for government jobs to put food on the table […]. We are different. They know it […] and we know it too. We always look for ways to do something meaningful with our lives […].

Constance, 40-year-old female who moved to Yaoundé in September 2019 insists:

> "…One of the main things I notice is that the Francophones in Yaoundé are not friendly. Those of us from the North West Region do not have a careless attitude. Francophones could care less about you should you have a problem…"

Chief, 23-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in March 2017 reiterates:

[…] Anglophones from the North West Region are hospitable. We live in solidarity and help each other. It is almost impossible to see Francophones harassed in the North West Region. There are many Francophones living peacefully in Anglophone regions. Anglophones are harassed in Yaoundé. I experience it many times. It is a problem!

Bruno, 21-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 remarks:

We are […] organized in many ways compared to Francophones. For example, the boarding and government schools in the North West Region have strict rules […]. Learners must wear uniforms, white socks, and black shoes. When I moved to Yaoundé, I realised that Francophones are […] scattered. They do not organise themselves very well. They dress anyhow and do not look clean. Anglophones adopt the British way of dressing […], talking, and behaving […]. We look formal when going out, especially for meetings. We are different. […] in the manner in which we do things. Many Francophones are rude […].

Ms Eveline, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in October 2018 emphasises:

[…] there is a big difference between Francophones and Anglophones. I do not think Francophones consider us as brothers from the same country as we do. How they treat us is different. For example, the door to my room is bad but the homeowner refuses to fix it after many complaints. He tells me in a rude way that I must continue to pay rents or leave. I noticed that he is polite to Francophone tenants […]. He treats them nicely. That form of discrimination does not happen in my culture.We treat people equally […] and better when they are strangers […]. We respect others.

Linda, 22-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2017 reiterates:

"… Anglophones are well cultured in many aspects. Francophones do things anyhow […]. They have a saying 'je m'en fou'. It is a careless attitude. We act in a responsible manner […]. We are not careless in the way we talk, dress, or address people. We respect people no matter who they are […].

6.3.3 Political Factors: Citizenship and Membership

Citizenship and membership equally shape dilemmas of integration and belonging among Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. According to Haque (2010) citizenship status connotes equal rights for members of a state. Equal rights incorporate the right to reside and participate in the political decision-making process anywhere in the country (Lentz, 2007). It extends to legalities that justify entitlements (Bloomerad et al.2008). Belonging connotes inclusion and exclusion through othering processes. According to Bosniak (2002), othering processes replicate in we and them labels premised on jus soli (citizenship by birth) and jus sanguinis (citizenship by blood) principles. These forms of naturalization applies to foreign nationals who seek integration in the new territories using specific criteria. The forms of differentiation redefine citizenship status and establish claims to full membership, belonging, or exclusion.

Colonial legacy shapes membership and belonging. Following Eyoh's (2008) arguments, [pre] colonial legacy in Cameroon like elsewhere in Africa produce states that transform cities into commercial, extractive, and administrative centres. Transformations enable rural-urban, and translocal migration.Together, the patterns of migration signalled new conceptions of migrants as the other. Othering processes develop from ethnic and cultural differences for political gains. These cast doubts on belonging among citizens. In a book chapter on Post-colonial Citizenship and Political Identities Mamdani's (2001) uses the example of Tutsis fighting for citizenship status in Rwanda to argue that different identities produce various forms of exclusion. Notions of internal bounded community—a common cultural and political community sharing a common past, historical inheritance, and common project for the future may either solidify inclusion or deepen exclusion. By default, as Jacobs and Tillie (2007) argue, citizens who do not share a bounded community or ethnicity are outsiders. According to Lichter et al. (2019) notions of nativism ascertain ethnic differences and birth contestations on citizenship. Eyoh (2008:279) claims that "…pervasive ideas of native-born versus foreigner instilled during the colonial era define citizenship, membership and belonging in ancestral kin-based communities..." The exclusion of nativist ideas place newcomers at the crossroads of national belonging in new communities. Such exclusionary notions are common in Cameroon where culture, language difference, and history shape citizenship identities among Anglophones and Francophones (Tillie, 2004). The case for Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé comparable elsewhere in Africa indicates that membership and belonging in urban communities hinge on the politicisation of citizenship (Landau and Bakewell, 2018; Lentz, 2007), and ideas of nationhood reinforced at specific historical junctures (Strang and Ager, 2010). The failed reunification project of 1961 to 1962 defines the moment of nationhood with enduring effects in Cameroon (Awasom, 2000). Literature suggests that the reunification agenda set the foundation for majority-minority differentiation among Cameroonians (see Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019; Nfi 2014; Atanga, 2011). It further initiated dilemmas of belonging among Anglophones in Cameroon. The findings in this research reveals varying claims to citizenship, membership and belonging. While some Anglophone IDPs consider themselves Cameroonians and members of the local community where they live, some do not. Another group shares sentiments of exclusion at local and national levels. Marginalisation, differences in culture, and shared territory explain variations (see the extracts below.

Emmanuel, 54-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2017says:

"… I am a Cameroonian […] and member of my community because I live here […]. The people in my neighbourhood know me. My colleagues at workplace know me. I live and participate in community activities when I can […]. But I do not belong to this community. I am observing the place…"

Bright, 21-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2018 says:

> […] I cannot say that I am not a Cameroonian […]. Yaoundé and the North West Region are in the same territory. All Cameroonians are one […]. Only a few neighbours and some friends from the North West Region know that I am a member of this community […].

Constance, 40-year-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2019 affirms:

> […] I am a Cameroonian. Francophones and Anglophones are proud of their language, culture and heritage […]. I think that is what makes us special. Although the ruling elite is mostly Francophones, we know our boundaries at the community level. In every country or community, you have a mixture of the good, the bad and the ugly […]. Not every person is the same […].

Bruno, 21-year-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2018 affirms:

[…] I consider myself a Cameroonian. We may say there is marginalisation […], but I noticed that information in some government offices are always in French and English […]. It shows that the government recognises the two main groups in the country […]. I feel good to see that the government did not forget about Anglophones. I hope things get better someday […]. But, I cannot say that I am a member of this community. I do not belong here. The war forced me to live in Yaoundé for now. Should things get better, I will return to the North West Region. That is where I belong […].

Prisca, 35-years-old moved to Yaoundé in September 2018 says:

> I am Cameroonian because Yaoundé and the North West Region are in one country. The main issue is that Francophones have their way of behaviour […] completelydifferent from Anglophones […]. I can say that I am a member of this community. Some of these people know that I live here because I participate in community activities when I can […].

The findings of this research show that another set of Anglophone IDPs do not consider themselves Cameroonians, and members of the local community. Belonging to this group is elusive.

Ms Eveline, 40-years-old female moved to Yaoundé in October 2018 asserts:

Francophones say we want to divide the country. It is annoying […] because they do not treat us fairly. The suffering we experience is for too long […]. I say that I am Cameroonian so that people know whihich country I come from […]. I do not consider myself a citizen […] because I am suffering. It is worse now because I am an IDP. The government is doing nothing about it. It must act on our behalf if they truly consider us Cameroonians […]!

Priscilla, 35-years-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2017says:

> […] I am not a Cameroonian. I prefer to live in the North West Region […]. We [Anglophones] must separate from these people [Francophones]. I do not think I am a member of this community. The behaviour, lifestyle, and attitudes of Francophones irritate me. They are so different from us. They are rude and do not share […]. I often see them eating bread […] instead of home-cooked meals. They dress in a shabby manner […]. I do not want to identify with these type people […].

Rufus, 36-years-old male moved to Yaoundé in 2019 insists:

> […] I cannot say that I am a Cameroonian. Life in the capital city is difficult for me. I am suffering […]. It is difficult to provide food, rents, and school fees. I moved to Yaoundé thinking that the government would do frequent checks from house to house to guarantee the welfare of IDPs. I do not see anyone asking about IDPs […]. The government does not care! […]. I do not consider myself a member of this community. Neither do I belong here. If not for the war, I would love to return to the North West Region.

Linda, 22-years-old female moved to Yaoundé in 2017 narrates:

> […] the Francophone-led government says they want us to have a sense of belonging in Yaoundé and Cameroon. I know that in many aspects and no matter where you go, you would find discrimination […]. The marginalisation I experience because I am Anglophone is going on for too long. It is worse as an IDP. I do not consider myself a Cameroonian because of my experiences. I benefit nothing from the government of Cameroon [...].

Feelings of exclusion and denial of citizenship confirm arguments that politicised ethnic difference challenges notions of membership and belonging. This is typical of heterogeneous societies such as Cameroon (see Nyamnjoh, 2002; Ngoh, 1999; Eyoh, 1998).

Autochthony—obsessions with belonging among other factors explain ethnic differentiation in Cameroon. According to Geshiere (2005), allogènes–autochthones notions instil difference towards the other (allogène), who is a citizen of the same country as the autochthones (native). President Biya uses autochtones–allogènes strategies to instil difference among ethnic groups in Cameroon (see Awasom, 2007; Mbaku, 2002). Autochtones–allogènes differences are evident in derogatory labels such as 'ngraffi' for persons from the North West and Western-Bamileke Regions. The term 'Coastlanders' refers to persons from Littoral and SW regions (Nyamnjoh, 2002). Nativist differentiation at national levels permeates to urban localities where exclusionary tendencies prevail communities (Well et al. 2011). The practice pits Cameroonians in general against each other, while encouraging broad differences between Anglophones and Francophones with far reaching implications. According to Landau and Freemantle (2016) evoking idioms of indigeneity excludes rather than strengthen bonds of localised belonging. Urban places epitomize spaces of utility and extraction rather than belonging. Thus, the politicisation of indigeneity set in motion the process of indigenous and non-indigenous identity differentials . It polarizes newcomers and promotes superficial integration (Mamdani, 2001).

6.4. Conclusion

Empirical findings in this chapter show that language barrier, perceptions from host populations, and participation in communal activities contribute to specific forms of reception and social interactions between Anglophone IDPs and Francophones in Yaoundé. Hospitality towards Anglophone IDPs enables frequent interactions and social integration. Various forms of hostility produce superficial social interactions. Anglophone IDPs perceive that Francophones consider Anglophones in general, agents of opposition and secession. The

perceptions discourage meaningful interactions between the two groups. The impression that Anglophone IDPs occupy urban space worsens perceptions. Differences in behaviour and general lifestyle practices discourage close interactions with Francophones particularly from Ewondo, Bulu and Beti ethnic groups. The findings in this discussion further add to literature that cultural integration proves a long-term achievement. Findings contribute to literature that historical factors—colonial legacy, and failed reunification instils identity difference between Anglophones in general and Francophones. Anglophone IDPs acculturate to minimize difference. Attempts to learn French show progressive efforts towards integration. However, learning the language and practices of the host culture may produce weak links towards the host culture since migrants do not desire to lose aspects of primary identity (De Castro, 2016). The politicisation of citizenship produces varying claims to membership and belonging. While some Anglophone IDPs identify with Cameroonian citizenship, belong to, and participate in local community activities, others do not. At the same time, some Anglophone IDPs consider themselves Cameroonians but do not belong in local communities. The findings add to literature that autochthones–allogènes differences deepen exclusionary tendencies and discriminatory practices among citizens of the same country. Citizenship and membership challenge political integration. A combination of the factors discussed, including early arrival in Yaoundé place Anglophone IDPs in a dilemma to either integrate or return to the place of habitual residence. The discussion in this chapter contributes to knowledge and literature in significant ways. It connects the theory of locality (place-space making) to the lives of migrants in urban communities. The findings underscore views in the literature that the convergence of historical (colonial legacy) and contemporary (failed democratization) factors shape the lived experiences of IDPs in enemy territories, particulary of heterogeneous societies (Lee and Schultz, 2014). Political factors extend differences among Anglophone IDPs and Francophone host populations in Yaoundé. Following Sturgis et al. (2014) arguments, heterogeneous communities build distrust and disputes among citizens over the equitable provision and enjoyment of public goods. Low levels of social cohesion persist with the potential for violent retaliation in enemy territories. The experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé in some ways show similarities with the experiences of IDPs elsewhere in Africa. Broadly, the Anglophone-Francophone divide with over 250 ethnic groups in Cameroon presents a unique case of language, cultural, and lifestyle differences that hinder integration.

Chapter 7: General Conclusion and Way Forward

7.1 Research Overview

This research investigated the lived experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé as a microcosm of IDPs in Africa. The research findings create awareness about the little known experiences of Anglophone IDPs in Yaoundé. Research about the migrant group increases the visibility of IDPs in enemy territories. It contributes to the scant literature on the subject. This research expose experiences of a marginalised group where freedom of speech is a luxury (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019). Research about the experiences of IDPs in enemy territories adds to the call for adequate protection and governance of internal displacement at local and national levels. IDPs are not a homogenous group. Experiences differ at individual levels.

The findings in this research agree with the tenets of the theory of Locality applied in this research. Findings add more evidence that place-space nexus shapes IDPs' lived experiences in enemy territories. Migrants from minority populations may perceive enemy territories as spaces of extraction and utilisation (Landau, 2014). The temporality of place and space is glaring in IDPs' desire to return to the place of origin should it be safe to do so. .

Qualitative methods—constructive paradigm applied in this research explored the experiences of Anglophone IDPs in predominantly Francophone neighbourhoods of Yaounde. Face-to-face interviews with Anglophone IDPs provide significant findings that contribute to knowledge and literature in significant ways. First, in/visibility marks the lived experiences of of IDPs in enemy territories (Chapter 4). Perceptions of some degree of safety, benefits of better opportunities encourage migration of IDPs to cities. Hidden-in-plain sight, IDPs are difficult to reach. The political nature of intrastate conflict deepens invisibility. IDPs perceive that host populations view newcomers from conflict zones as dissidents to national unity. Faced with frequent threats of apprehension and imprisonment by state agents disguised as civilians, IDPs suspect strangers of potential harm. Fear of retribution produces various forms of invisibility. Anglophone IDPs in Yaounde, similar to IDPs elsewhere, live in neighbourhoods with long-term residents, consult at hospital with staff who share similar

backgrounds, and limit interactions with with persons who share similar status for security reasons. The findings in this research provides more evidence to the literature that the political nature of intrastate violent conflict in Africa including elsewhere in the world, and its associated factors (security threats and stigma) produce invisibility of IDPs living in enemy

territories (Polzer, 2009; Deng 2006). Historical□political factors in Cameroon similar to elsewhere in Africa, pivots the discussion on invisibility. The failed reunification agenda, and progressive reviews of the constitution birth the marginalization of Anglophone Cameroonians in general and by extension Anglophone IDPs. President Biya's New Deal-No deal regime (italics added) akin to a Machiavellian system of governance promotes failed democratisation practices. The suppression of freedom of speech, reduced participation in the polity, and the politics of regional balance threaten the opposition. these factors enhances invisibility. Visibility is strategic for humanitarian aid.

Second, hyper-precarity is a common experience among IDPs who form part of the urban poor (Chapter 5). The findings challenge arguments in the literature that cities offer migrants with only better services and favourable environments to establish networks to help newcomers overcome daily difficulties (Hanhorster and Wessendorf, 2020). Trauma from loss of lives, assets and sources of income, including anxiety daily stressors—poverty, unemployment and casual work are key markers of hyper-precarity. Unable to find stable employment incities, IDPs experience unfreedoms in the kind of jobs they engage in the labour market. IDPs often settle for non-contract, low wages, and risky menial work for livelihood. Shortage of financial resources produces general low standards of living and access to basic services in enemy teriitories.. IDPs tend to reside in cramped backyard apartments in uncompleted buildings located in shanty neighbourhoods notorious for crimes and poor service delivery. Some IDPs may reside in fairly decent accommodation of choice. Limited income further restricts the utilization of healthcare services. Financial hurdles, lack of trust, and language barrier obstructs the utilization of healthcare services. IDPs resort to herbal, or off-the-counter medicine to treat minor illnesses. Consultations with healthcare providers are mainly for chronic illnesses. Findings provide additional evidence that IDPs particularly from marginalised groups experience hyper-precarity in enemy territories (Lewis et al. 2015).

Third, social, cultural, and political dilemmas of integration in enemy territories are common IDP experiences (Chapter 6). Broadly, social (reception and interaction) cultural (identity difference), and political (local membership and national belonging) influence integration. Language barrier, cultural differences (lifestyles and behaviour) promote superficial interactions between IDPs and host populations. Social connections in the forms of bridges, bonds, and links, and facilitators such as language, cultural knowledge, seem to promote social and cultural integration (Phillimore et al. 2019). In general, convivial relationships exist among IDPs and host populations. Integration is not always the desired outcome for migrants. The findings in this research contradict notions that migrants seek integration in news communities

(Berry, 2005), and that integrations is "… essential for all stakeholders in terms of benefits gained from migration, the wellbeing of migrants including the security, stability, social harmony and prosperity of society as a whole…'' (IOM, 2012:10). Instead, protracted displacement is no deterrence to return to place of origin. As per findings in this research, IDPs desire to return to their place of origin. Safety does not erode the relatively poor standards of living and security threats that discourage settlement in urban communities. IDPs living in enemy territories maintain while links with place of habitual residence with hopes of returning. Persistent conflict deters immediate return.

Regarding political integration, low levels of trust promote minimal interactions with host populations in enemy territories. In agreement with Orendain and Djalante's (2021) arguments, colonial legacies and contemporary forms of governance generate ethnic and territorial differences between migrants from minority groups and host populations. Differences produces superficial interactions and integration. While some IDPs may claim citizenship and belong in at the locale, others do not. Yet, some claim citizenship, but do not feel a sense of membership in local communities. The findings in this research add more evidence to the literature that duration of residence, language acquisition, employment, and income of migrant populations shapes integration (Huddleston et al. 2013). I agree with Huang and Graham (2019) assertions that effective response to IDPs in urban communities must reflect a pragmatic approach to IDPs' experiences.

7.2. Pragmatic Response to Internal Displacement: A Collaborative Approach

Increasing violent intrastate conflict prompts the quest for viable peace-building solutions to conflict in Africa (Akinola and Uzodike, 2018). The challenges and vulnerabilities of IDPs require national, regional, and global collaborative governance of internal displacement.

Effective response to internal displacement must shift from a generic ad hoc intervention to a focused approach towards IDPs from minority groups living in enemy territories (Cohen and Deng, 1998). For example, legal protection may secure IDPs from further risks of violence during protracted displacement (Ajayi, 2020). In agreement with Deng (1999) legal protection reduces security concerns, and increases visibility for knowledge production and humanitarian aid. Target legal frameworks take advantage of existing mandates and capacities to reinforce stipulations in the Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement and Kampala Conventions.

According to Wolff (2021) a collaborative approach requires better planning and foresight of perceived consequences of migration. Proper evaluation of financial capacity is a proactive

effort step instead of a reactive response to migration crises. The institution of functional judicial systems for IDPs, instead of surrogate laws (Alobo and Obaji 2016), may guarantee the protection of the rights to life, and movement of IDPs often ignored in politically motivated violent conflicts (Wolff, 2021). International humanitarian and human rights laws must empower legal frameworks at local levels to operate successful justice systems (Wolff, 2021). A collaborative approach requires greater international solidarity through increased financial aid to organizations that defend IDPs. Financial empowerment provides the tool for IDPs to challenge political leadership at national levels (Martin, 2016). Leaning towards Cantor and Woolley (2020) claims, an understanding of the micro-politics of internal displacement in host communities provide avenues for further research. Researchers may ask broader questions about how, and where should academics contribute to policy practice and debates on internal displacement. Questions about how to integrate internal displacement into the broader debates of academic disciplines, may signify progress towards knowledge creation and interventions. In agreement with Schuettler and Caron (2020), it is necessary to conduct thorough assessments of the social, economic, and political experiences of IDPs. These would require information about their perceptions, aspirations, participation and involvement before designing interventions. The latter could provide a platform for further research.

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Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

28-August-2019

Dear Sir/Madam,

Good morning/afternoon,

I am Becky Niba, a student-researcher at the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS), affiliated with the University of Witwatersrand.

I am conducting a research on the experiences of Anglophones displaced from the Northwest Regions living in Yaoundé. The research will explore the factors that shape social interactions and belonging in Francophone communities.

I would like to invite you to participate in an interview. You were selected by referral on the basis that you moved from your location of usual residence into a Francophone community. The interview requires that you answer questions related to the topic under investigation.

Participation in the interview is voluntary. I will not mention your name in the audio records. You will choose a different name to represent your participation in the study. I will not ask for any identifying information either. You will need to confirm verbally with a "yes" or "no", whether you are interested in participating in the interview. You will be asked to share your story about how you got to Yaoundé and what is your experience living with Francophones. With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded, and would be for about one hour.

I will not disclose the information you give to anyone. It will be kept safely Please be informed that the findings from the study will be published in research reports, academic papers and articles, and presented at conferences using your new 'name'. After 2 years, I will destroy the information.

You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. Should you at any point feel uncomfortable with the questions, you are free to withdraw from the interview.

If you experience distress during interviews or hours after, you will be referred to Trauma Center Cameroun (infos@traumacounseling.org) to be assisted by Christian Ngueudjeu (daquin@yahoo.fr, +237 674 68 18 88) for counselling. Dr Arsene Evina (valeryarsene@yahoo.fr, +237 699 58 41 96 may also assist you.

I will retain the participant information sheet as proof that you participated in the research. For queries and feedback, please contact:

Human Research Ethics Research Community (HREC Non-MEDICAL)

Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za: (+27)**011 711** 4087

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Appendix 2: Consent Form

Consent Form



UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

Dear Respondent,

Good morning/afternoon.

I am Becky Niba, a student-researcher at the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS), affiliated with the University of the Witwatersrand. May I request that you agree to participate in the project below:

Project title: **Experiences of Internally Displaced Persons within Urban Communities in Postcolonial Africa: A Case of Anglophones in Yaoundé, Cameroon.**

Please consent to the following and tick (√) the appropriate answer.

I ……agree to participate in this research project. The researchers explained the research project to me. I understand what my participation will involve. I read the participant information sheet and understand the purpose of the research.

I agree that my participation in the research will remain anonymous	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in her research report	YES	NO
I agree that the interview may be audio-recorded (Please be informed that audio recording is not compulsory)	YES	NO
I agree that the information I provide may be used anonymously by other researchers following this study	YES	NO

…… (Participant's signature)
…….. (Name of participant)
…….. (Date)

Appendix 3: Distress Protocol

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

I mitigated distress through the management of the pre-data collection, data collection, and follow-up phases of interviews.

In the pre-data collection phase (phase one), the framing of questions, and the location of interviews considered the safety and security of research participants. Sensitive questions that directly evoke distress were minimised in the interview guide. Respondents had the power and freewill were to engage in conversations and convey their experiences in their own words without pressure from me. The location of respondents in clusters in neighbourhoods of Obili and Biyem-Assi appear to mitigate against fear that may arise from security concerns for participants. Interviews happened in places where respondents feel comfortable and safe.

The number of interviews per day minimised the likelihood of distress from either the participants or me. Two interviews per day for 10 working day reduce the emotional exhaustion that that may occur during sessions. Interviews during weekends were pre-arranged with consent from respondents. Trauma counsellors were informed in advance of such agreements for the treatment of traumatic cases.
I paused interviews for research participants who said they were angry or sad. Participants mentioned that they did not find the questions distressing. Instead, the violent conflict is traumatizing. It was not necessary for me to take participants to quiet areas or discontinue interviews. Respondents were adamant to continue with conversations despite brief emotional stints. No participant displayed uncontrolled crying or shaking during data collection (phase two). Participants were referred to health professionals and trauma counselling services for treatment. Many refused to consult for cost implications and stigmatization.

In the follow-up phase (phase three), I made courtesy calls to participants who showed signs emotional distress to explain the importantce of consultations. Respondents will be encouraged to consult with trauma counsellor(s) should they experience increased distress in the hours or days following interviews.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide

Interview Guide



UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

Dear Sir/Madam,

Good morning/afternoon

I am Becky Niba, a student researcher with the African Centre for Migration and Society, linked to the University of the Witwatersrand. I would like to carry out an interview as part of my research project about the experiences of internally displaced persons living in urban communities. Anglophone Cameroonians from the North West Region, who moved to Yaoundé because of the conflict, will be contacted. Your participation in the interview is voluntary. Please be informed that you are free at any point during the interview sessions to discontinue with eth process if you feel uncomfortable with the questions. The duration of the interviews may be for about one hour.

A. Section 1: Demographic Information

Pseudonym (1)…….
Age:……..
Gender:……..

Place (neighbourhood)……

Date: …….

Start Time:……

End Time:…….

Marital status (Please mention the appropriate answer from the box)

Single	
Married	
Divorced	
Separated	
Widowed	
Cohabiting	

Number of children?……

Number of dependents (excluding children)?…….

Section 2: Movement to Yaoundé

1. Why did you move to Yaoundé?
2. How did you travel to Yaoundé?
3. Which year did you arrive in Yaoundé?
4. Who accompanied you on your trip (relatives, friends)?
5. For how long have you lived in this neighbourhood?
6. Who are you living with (family, friends)?
7. If living with friends and family do you contribute to the household needs?
8. If yes, what is your contribution?
9. If "No", please explain.
10. Did you travel to your homeland after moving to Yaoundé?
11. If yes, why?
12. If no, please explain.
13. Do you think that the government knows that you have moved to Yaoundé?
14. If yes, why?

15. If no, why not?

16. Did you receive any assistance from the government when you moved to Yaoundé?

17. How will you describe your living condition in Yaoundé?

Section 3: Experiences in host community

a) Reception

18. Do you understand the French language?

19. Do you speak the French language?

20. If yes, please explain?

21. If no, please explain.

22. What kind of reception have you received since you arrived in Yaoundé?

b) Interaction

23. Do you have any contact with Francophones in Yaoundé?

24. If yes, what kind of interaction (s) do you have with Francophones?

25. If no, why not?

26. Do you like the new community you have moved into?

27. If yes, why do you like it?

28. If no, please explain.

29. Do you desire to return to your homeland if the conflict ends?

C. Identity and Belonging

30. How will you describe your interaction with Francophones in Yaoundé?

31. Do you think that Francophones in Yaoundé consider you as a citizen of Cameroon?

32. If yes, why do you say so?

33. If no, please explain.

Section 4: Access to services (Healthcare, Education, and Housing)

a**) Healthcare**

34. Did you visit the hospital when you arrived in Yaoundé?

35. Where do you go for medical consultations?

36. Why do you choose to visit that particular clinic/hospital?

37. Does the government provide any health care services for you?

38. If yes, what kind of services do it provide?

39. Are you satisfied with the services?

40. If "yes", please explain.

41. If "no", why not?

b) Employment

42. Are you working in Yaoundé?

43. If yes, please what kind of work do you do for a living?

44. If no, please explain.

45. Are you able to provide for yourself and family from the income you earn?

46. If yes, what kind of needs are you able to provide?

47. If no, please explain

C) Education

48. What kind of schools do your children attend?

49.Who pays for school fees?

50. How much do you pay for fees? (Please give estimates).

51. Are you satisfied with the education system in Yaoundé?

52. If yes, please explain,

53. If no, why not?

d) Housing

54. What kind of house do you live in? (Apartment, flat, townhouse etc).
55. How many people live with you? (Please give your answer in numbers)
56. Do you have access to water and electricity in the house?
57. Do you have any religious affiliation in Yaoundé?
58. If “yes”, do they assist you?
59. What kind of assistance do you receive?

Miscellaneous

60. Please is there anything else you would like to say about your experiences in Yaoundé?

Thank you for participating in the interview!