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Msc in Development and International Relations, Global Refugee Studies

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon:

**The role of the government, non-state stakeholders and private donors, in the
restitution of the livelihoods of the displaced**

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May, 2020

ABSTRACT

Within the backdrop of a four year old civil war, whereby separatist forces in the North West and South West regions are clashing with the Cameroon government forces on a daily basis, an unprecedented number of citizens have been forced to flee their habitual places of residence to some safer areas in and out of the conflict zones, shattering hundreds of thousands of livelihoods. In the wake of this relatively new phenomenon of a conflict-driven forced internal displacement in Cameroon, and with a fast growing number of IDPs, a total of over 600.000 so far (IDMC, 2020), it became imperative for all hands to go on deck to provide assistances to the displaced families.

This thesis therefore, is focused on the actions of the government of Cameroon and other stakeholders in facilitating the IDPs' quest for a renewed livelihood. Using empirical data from desk research and interviews conducted via voice over internet protocol(VOIP), and backed by some concepts of livelihoods, we first of all analyse and evaluate the effectiveness of government action, bringing out the difficulties and the weaknesses. This is closely followed by a discussion of non-state stakeholders and the impact of their activities on the IDPs as they seek to regain a livelihood.

Finally, we make use of the concepts of displacement economies and informal sectors to analyse and evaluate the economic activities of the IDPs paying attention to how it impacts their livelihood quest and their relationship with the government, other stakeholders, associations and individuals.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|---|
| IDPs | Internally Displaced Persons |
| UNHCR | United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees |
| RLS | Rural Livelihood Systems |
| SLS | Sustainable Livelihood Systems |
| NOWECAD | Northwest Association for Cameroonians in Denmark |
| IDMC | Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre |
| UN | United Nations |
| HRW | Human Rights Watch |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| DFID | Department for International Development |
| INS | National Institute of Statistics |

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INTRODUCTION

Human movements or displacements are natural phenomena which contribute to human and economic Development. However forced displacement, that is, an involuntary or forced movement, evacuation or relocation of persons, which does not depend on the people, is now a major problem in the world both internally and externally.

As opposed to refugees who are people displaced from one country to the other and have crossed internationally recognized state borders, internally displaced persons(IDPs) are defined by the 1998 UN Guiding Principles and the 2009 Kampala Convention as,

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

(Kampala Convention, 2009, Art 1(k)).

IDPs therefore, being within a particular sovereign state, are under the responsibility of the said state. It is therefore quite important that each state with IDPs should take the necessary measures for the well being and hopefully, the subsequent return of IDPs, if possible, or assist in their settlement and integration in a new area(Kampala Convention, 2009, Art 5(4)).

Despite the fact that the State has the full responsibility in taking measures to protect and assist internally displaced persons within its territory, the Kampala Convention also stipulates that the states have the obligation to cooperate with each other and to respect the mandates of the African

Union, the United Nations Organisation and the role of international humanitarian organizations, in a bid to provide assistance to the internally displaced persons (Kampala Convention, Art 5(1,2,3)).

We see from the above mentioned articles of the Kampala Convention that there is a clear obligation for the state to facilitate and ease the inter-relation between its organs and non-state stakeholders in providing protection and assistance to internally displaced persons.

Cameroon, is one of the countries that is currently facing mass displacement of persons due to the Boko Haram insurgency in the North and most especially due to the crisis in the Anglophone regions, which is our main focus in this academic work.

In our 8th semester project, we set out to look at the livelihoods of the internally displaced masses in Cameroon due to a four year old conflict between separatist forces clamouring for the independence of the North West and South West regions of the Republic of Cameroon, which has resulted in the internal displacement of over 496,000 persons, some into the bushes and others to large urban areas such as Douala, Yaounde, Bafoussam in the francophone regions, and a few relatively secured towns in the Anglophone regions, like Bamenda, Buea and Limbe.(IDMC - Internally displaced monitoring center) , December 2019).

During our fieldwork, which focused only on the activities led by the internally displaced persons themselves to regain their livelihoods, we discovered that there were some difficulties for the government to take total control of, and provide assistance to the IDPs. The government, as we earlier discussed, according to the UN Guiding Principles and the Kampala Convention, is responsible for displaced people within its territory. We are quite aware that this aspect of the work is quite descriptive. Therefore in order to be more critical in our analysis our focus will drift towards the difficulties encountered. We gathered during our 8th semester field work that most IDPs were reluctant to register and obtain government assistance out of their habitual place of residence. It is in this light that we intend to lay out the field to understand the reason behind the refusal to be registered with their respective host communities as requested by the

government of Cameroon. A significant look into the activities that are carried out by the IDPs in the informal sector (informal employment) that enhances their ability to gain a livelihood, will also be part of the focus of our work.

It is in this light that we intend to diligently look at what the government does for the IDPs, what difficulties do the government encounter and why. Talking about the government's actions, we will examine their humanitarian initiatives and critically seek to find out if they carry out any sustainable activities towards the internally displaced establishing a livelihood in the host communities. In the same line, our attention moves towards looking into how\what the non-state stakeholders intervene or do to enable the IDPs regain or establish a livelihood. But before we elaborate on our main and sub research questions, and without repeating the background knowledge found in our 8th semester project, we will briefly highlight the situation of the country in order to facilitate your reading and understanding of this work. We will begin by locating the parts of the territory and provide a brief historical background of the country, followed by some background knowledge as per the genesis of the crisis in 2016, and its evolution from the perspective of the strike actions, leading to mass protests, and up to when it escalated to the armed conflict that is rocking the country till date. Below is a map of Cameroon showing the two English regions that have since 2016 been in a state of conflict.

Research question:

What is the government of Cameroon and non-state stakeholders doing concretely to help IDPs regain their livelihoods?

Sub research questions:

What are the difficulties encountered and why?

What income generating activities are the IDPs involved in?

What impedes the quest for livelihood by the IDPs?

Why are IDPs reluctant to register with the government?

Our main research question is more of a descriptive form while the sub-research questions open up more perspectives for an analytical view, for which we will establish grounds with our obtained primary data.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

1.1 Historical

The Republic of Cameroon, as it is presently known, was originally a German colony after the Berlin Conference and the partition of Africa to Western European powers. At the end of the First World War, when Germany was defeated, its colonies were handed over as trusteeship territories to the victorious powers. Cameroon was handed to France(80% of the territory) and Great Britain(20% of the territory). (Ngoh, 1979). This has led to the use of French and English as official languages in the country.

The British first administered the part of Cameroon handed to them by indirect rule from their Commissioner in Lagos and the Nigerian Eastern House of Assembly. After a crisis in the Eastern House, the British allowed Cameroon to have their own house of assembly and house of chiefs in Buea(Ngoh, 1979).

During the wind of independence that was blowing through Africa in the late 50s and early 60s, French Cameroon gained independence from France in 1960. When it was the turn of British Cameroon a referendum was organized in which they were asked to either join Nigeria or French Cameroon to gain independence. The result was a plebiscite to join French Cameroon(Ngoh, 1979).

With the outstanding majority vote to join French Cameroon, it could be seen as a joyful reunion of brothers who had just been separated against their will.

However, the happenings of today are linked to the fact that the third option, self independence was absent during the referendum. It was claimed that British Cameroon did not have the necessary resources to stand alone as an independent country (Ngoh, 1979). The activists consider it as the starting point of what they call the annexation and subsequent conspiracy by

French Cameroon to assimilate and destroy the Anglo-Saxon culture and language Inherited from British colonial rule.

People wondered aloud at the effectiveness of this reunification considering the massive differences in culture and economic capacity(Awasom, 2000). Awasom, even goes on to quote LeVine(1964) as calling British Cameroon, the “bride” in the image of a marriage between the two nations.

This notwithstanding, the Federal Republic of Cameroon was born with two federated states one in former French Cameroon and the other in former British Cameroon with headquarters in Yaounde and Buea, respectively (Ngoh, 1979).

Things were going well until 1972, when the all powerful president of the Federal Republic Cameroon at that time, Ahmadou Ahidjo, convened a conference in the town of Foumbam, during which he pressed for total unification of the country by replacing the federation with a unitary state. The ensuing referendum following the Foumban Conference completely laid to rest the federated states and put in place a central unitary one-party state called The United Republic of Cameroon, under the command of a powerful President from East Cameroon and a Vice President from West Cameroon (Ngoh, 1984). Governance was centralised in Yaounde and the British Cameroon lost all what they had put in place following their cultural ties with their former colonial master.

When Paul Biya took over as president in 1982, he decided to unilaterally change the name of the country from the United Republic of Cameroon to simply The Republic of Cameroon(Leke, 2014).This act, which renames the country to a name formerly used by French Cameroon, is one of the points put up by the separatist movements to argue that the objectives of French Cameroon is to assimilate British Cameroon and gradually masterminding the disappearance of anything linked to the anglophone systems or the former British Cameroon(Journal du Cameroun, Oct, 2016).

The procedures for independence, the changes in forms of the state and governments, the alterations or modifications of the name of the country and an apparent domination of the

English speaking areas by the French speaking counterparts sparked protests in 2016, leading to the armed conflict that is rocking the country till date.

Below is a map of Cameroon showing the two English speaking regions(Southwest and Northwest) affected by the ongoing conflict.



source:<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45723211>

1.2 Conflict induced displacement

Displacement is known globally as a huge problem and a consequence of many of the world's tragedies such as climate change, war and poverty. People around the globe are obliged to abandon their homes and seek refuge in new places, "*often at the price of serious threats to their rights and welfare*" (Crisp, 2012, p. 1). Displacement linked with conflict in Cameroon could be traced back in 2014, with the Boko Haram insurgency in the Far North region (IDMC, 2019). The continuous attacks by Boko haram on inhabitants of the Far North region of Cameroon, has continuously led to high insecurity and eventual displacement.

However, in 2016, there was an outbreak of mass protest in the two English speaking regions of the country, which escalated to an armed conflict in 2018 due to the government cracking down on protestors during public protest meetings held in some towns by the anglophone minority (IDMC, 2019). This armed conflict, which is our area of focus in this research, has resulted to many becoming refugees in neighboring Nigeria, and some displaced internally in varied French speaking cities of the country, and to some relatively calm and secure cities in the conflict-ridden regions, like Buea, Limbe and Bamenda, introducing a challenge for the Cameroonian government in relation to housing, feeding and health. The involuntary movement of people from the English part of Cameroon into some of the French speaking cities, creates some level of insecurity in the French cities as the population increases above normal with some being homeless and unable to meet their basic needs. This could most often make the youths to be more vulnerable to criminal activities. This is seen by some people as the reason why many people in the English-speaking parts of the country are homeless and dwelling in bushes and in devastating, inhumane conditions. People displaced as a result of conflicts often lose family members, endure family separation, lose their possessions and equally experience depression and trauma. They are equally limited to their access to public services because they lose vital documents as a result of the said conflict. It should however be noted that vulnerable groups suffer more in conflicts, with sexual abuse and rape of women often seen as a tool of war. There

are however great consequences faced by persons displaced due to conflicts, amongst which are: discrimination in aid provision, forceful relocation, sexual and gender based violence, recruitment of children into fighting forces.

1.3 Consequences of Armed Conflicts

Conflicts are most often seen to have multiple effects which include amongst others, environmental effects and economic issues. Armed conflicts have been known in most cases to last for decades while in other very rare cases not long lasting. Environmental factors do influence the duration of every conflict, and could also “*determine the trajectory and location of such conflicts*” (Moeller, 2012 p.39). For example in the case of Cameroon with the ongoing armed conflict between the military and the separatist groups, the battles are most often in those areas with tough topographic landscapes, like in Lebiallem which is a mountainous area in the Southwest region of the country. Armed conflicts non the less are seen to have direct or indirect impacts to the environment. There are environmental damages posed by military and civilian actions during armed conflicts. As per the military, the use of sophisticated chemical weapons often cause serious immediate or long term damages to the conflict environment, but the military actions are most often covered under the sphere of “national security” activities. Civilians on their part contribute to environmental destruction by arson using fuel, cars, bushes and tyres (Moeller, 2012 p.39). This is the case with the armed conflict in Cameroon which constantly sees civilians burning down buildings, tyres, cars, etc, thus polluting the environment which will in long term pose environmental and health related threats. The separatist fighters and the military during their confrontations make use of sophisticated weapons such as locally made bombs (used by the separatist groups), thus causing adverse effects to the soil, wildlife habitats and the environment at large. There are equally serious “biodiversity” threats resulting from armed conflicts as it poses severe threats to endangered species, but some of these species, like frogs, often benefit from after effects of armed conflicts as they do use bomb craters as ponds (Moeller, 2012 p.40). Although the consequences of armed conflict are perceived as both positive and negative, we believe the negative effects outweigh the positive, thus resulting in armed conflict

and the environment to be seen as variable, where armed conflict is the independent variable and the environment is the dependent variable (Moeller, 2012 p.40). Adding to the environmental effects posed by the conflict in Cameroon are other aspects such as, economic issues, military security issues and political economy under stress. Talking about the economic issues, Cameroon was basically doing great economically back around 2010, thus giving them an upper hand to hosting the African Nations cup in 2019, not long until 2014 when Boko Haram started its attacks on Cameroonian soil, causing the government to spend huge sums of money trying to improve security and fighting Boko Haram (Christ, 2020). The coming of the Anglophone crisis brought some setbacks amongst which include the decline of oil prices, difficulty getting the construction of stadiums to be funded, many state-owned enterprises significantly suffering and the collapse of the Cameroon development cooperation(CDC), which saw many Cameroonians unemployed (Christ, 2020). The only national airline(Camairco) saw many of its staff unemployed and the only oil refinery in the country went into flames on May 31st, 2019, which has made the company to still be offline presently (Christ, 2020). Having said all the above, it is vital for the government of Cameroon to do all it takes to put an end to the current armed conflict which is not only taking lives and causing human rights violations, but equally posing massive environmental hazards whose effects will be drastic and felt after the said conflict is finally resolved someday.

1.4 IDPs in Cameroon

Most international practices and policies see IDPs in Camp settings, thereby making it much easier to be able to monitor and provide the required assistance to the IDPs. It is however not the case in Cameroon as most IDPs are rather supported by their families, friends and social networks, thus keeping them beyond the reach of formal procedures when it comes to getting assistance or support especially from the government. This can be seen as an explanation as to why there are currently no camps in Cameroon. There are approximately 200,000 IDPs in the littoral region with just 20,000 being registered as IDPs, making it difficult for the government to meet up with its humanitarian assistance towards the displaced (Audio 5, 40secs to 1min25secs).

Some IDPs for some reasons do not want their status to be known due to fear or stigma. Some on one hand do not trust the government, as they think the government is not reliable enough for them to get registered, while some “*easily find some tax free activities to engage in*” and they are of the opinion that getting registered legally might force them to pay taxes (Audio 5, 1min35secs to 2mins50secs). Some of the IDPs interviewed made mention of the fact that they do not see any benefits coming from the governments even after being registered as is the case with Mrs Ebonkem who said “*I know friends who have registered as requested by the government but without any benefits*”(Audio 3, 2mins20secs to 2mins40secs). The raging conflict has left many displaced within the conflict zones(most into rural areas) while others have managed to flee into urban or semi-urban cities of the country, thus making it hard giving an exact figure of the total number of persons displaced as a result of the conflict. According to OCHA, there are approximately 680,000 people displaced from the two English regions as a result of the ongoing conflict(reliefweb, 2019), UNHCR has 679,393 IDPs from the Northwest and Southwest regions(UNHCR, March 2020).

According to a statement from the minister of territorial administration and decentralization, Paul Atanga Nji, on December 28, 2019, there were by then just 152,000 IDPs in Cameroon as a result of the crisis, against very high figures over 500,000 from both international and national organizations (journal du Cameroon, 2019). The minister was therefore of the opinion that figures from humanitarian organizations were fake and that there is no humanitarian crisis in the country but not until pressure was mounted on the government by the United nations(UN), the office for the coordination of humanitarian affairs(OCHA) and other humanitarian organizations. The UN head office in Cameroon on its facebook page made the following statement to the government of Cameroon: “*statistics on the humanitarian situation in Cameroon are not fake news. Humanitarian aid is based on needs, it is neutral, impartial and independent*”(le journal du Cameroon, 2019). While OCHA on its part reiterated “*Again these figures are not fake news, the Humanitarian situation in Cameroon needs more attention in 2020, as Hundreds of thousands of people remain in serious need of assistance*”(le journal du Cameroon, 2019). The constant

reminder and pressure by Humanitarian organizations(national and international) on the humanitarian situation in Cameroon, left the government with no option but to accept the crisis as a humanitarian situation and thus do what is required of them as per humanitarian aid to the displaced. Below is a picture showing some IDPs fleeing for safety with some of their belongings.



source:<https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/un-hits-back-at-cameroon-govt-over-fake-humanitarian-figures/>.

1.5 The Conflict

In this section, we will throw more light on the current conflict(anglophone crisis) in Cameroon, which should not be confused with the Boko Haram insurgency in the Far North region of the country, along the western frontier with Nigeria. Meanwhile the North West and South West regions are situated in the south western part of the country with boundary to the west with Nigeria(see map above).The nationalist conflict in the southern part of Cameroon is viewed by many as the story of a self-governing people with a homeland, a defined territory and fully-functioning democratic institutions, who were forced at independence by the United

Nations and United kingdom into joining either the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the west or the Republic of Cameroon to the east so as to gain independence (Achankeng, 2012, p. 3).

The crisis evolved at the end of 2016 as a protest against the states discrimination regarding the Anglophone educational and law system. The Anglophone crisis began in October 11th 2016 with lawyers from the Southwest and Northwest regions going on a peaceful strike seeking the concerne of the Ministry of Justice to have a relook at the Justice system as it has been a failure as per the use of common law in the two English speaking regions of the country (Group, 2017, p. 9). The lawyers also demanded that the code of the Organization for the Harmonization of business Law in Africa (OHADA) and other legal texts be translated from French to English. They equally went ahead to stand firm against the appointment of Francophone magistrates who do not understand English or the common Law, and also the appointment of notaries to work in the Anglophone regions as Lawyers under the common Law system (Group, 2017, pp. 9-10).

The Lawyers, on 8th November 2016 went ahead and assembled people from Bamenda (a city in the Northwest region of the Country) reiterating their request for the complete restoration of the common Law system as it was in the time of the federal system, but this time around adding another request for federalism. In the process of a peaceful strike by the Lawyers and the people, the military violently dispersed the silent protesters, mistreated some lawyers and equally arrested some motorbike drivers (Group, 2017). Some barricades were set up at several cross roads by youths and motorbike drivers in response to the violent treatment from the Cameroonian military during the peaceful strike, which eventually led to several persons wounded.

The second phase of the strike was on the 21st November 2016, organized by teachers. They were against the appointment of teachers who did not have a good command of English and the failure to respect the “Anglo-Saxon” behavior of schools and universities in the Anglophone regions (Group, 2017). They were again like the lawyers dispersed violently by the military, resulting in several persons wounded and at least two shot dead (Group, 2017, p. 10).

The crisis however at its very beginning was just at the Northwest not until November 28th, 2017 when it moved to the Southwest region, with Students at the university of Buea taking a peaceful walk on Campus requesting for the cancellation of a penalty fee levied on students for late tuition fee payment, called on the University to equally pay the presidential academic bonus given to students by the president of the country yearly and also with demands for the fee charged for accessing their semester results digitally (Group, 2017). The university however did not seek solutions to the students request but rather decided to respond violently by involving the military who got some students beaten, undressed and dragged in mud (Group, 2017). After all these protests by students, legal practitioners and civilians , some groups who term themselves “separatist fighters” surfaced and started violent confrontations with the Cameroonian military leading to at least 42 schools attacked, with many civilians(men, women and Children) fleeing their homes for safety (international, 2017, p. 5).The coming in of armed separatist groups led to the violent escalation of the crisis, thus resulting to the Anglophone regions being militarized (international, 2017).

After the conflict had gone viral with confrontations between armed separatist groups and the Military, the government of Cameroon on the 18th January decided to shutdown internet services for two months in the English speaking Northwest and Southwest regions of the country with the view that protesters were using the social media to stir up riot in the country(Tabi, 2017). Reports by the state radio stated that the government of the republic of Cameroon referred to the armed groups as “terrorists” with the president of the country, Mr Biya declaring war on the armed groups (Chothia, 2018).The people least expected such words from their president.The conflict however is still ongoing with the number of people being displaced both internally and externally rising almost on a daily basis.

Another incident happened on February 14, 2020 in Ngarbuh, a remote village in Ndu subdivision, Northwest region Cameroon leaving approximately 21 inhabitants dead (HRW, 2020). This is one of the most affected areas since the outbreak of the violent crisis in the Northwest and Southwest region of Cameroon. Amongst the 21 people killed were 13 children

and 1 pregnant woman(HRW, 2020). Aside the killings, some residents were burnt, properties destroyed and some inhabitants of the said village severely beaten and some bodies of victims were found burnt in homes(HRW, 2020). Locals of the set community gave a recount of the massacre as a result of a surge of intercommunity violence that lasted several weeks between the armed separatist group and the Cameroonian Military. Human rights watch interviewed a 32 year old man, one of the surviving locals who saw his entire family with 7 children inclusive being killed, as he gave a recap as: *“I heard gunshots and left immediately to hide beside my house. From there, I saw the military shooting my family members one by one as they attempted to escape. They shot our mother first. Then, they shot the children, whose bodies all fell on her. Then, they set my home on fire”*(HRW, 2020). We could clearly see an act of inhumanity being perpetuated on civilians by the military whose role is rather to ensure the peoples safety.

The government of Cameroon denied allegations of the military being labelled as responsible for the deadly act that saw human lives and properties lost. This prompted Ilaria Allergrozzi, senior African researcher with Human Rights Watch(HRW) , to release a statement which reads: *“Denying that these crimes have occurred, adds another layer of trauma to survivors and will only embolden government troops to commit more atrocities”*(HRW, 2020). This act of inhumanity was also strongly Condemned by the Secretary General of the United Nations ,Antonio Guterres, as he expressed concerns on the killings of civilians of the Ngarbuh village, North West region of Cameroon (Cameroon, 2020). Antonio equally called on the Cameroon government to carry out serious investigations into the incident and ensure that the person’s responsible are brought to justice as he expressed his condolences to the affected families (Cameroon, 2020). He went further to put more emphasis on *“the readiness of the United Nations to work with all stakeholders towards a political solution to the crisis in the North-West and South-West Regions of Cameroon through meaningful dialogue”* (Cameroon, 2020). So much uncertainty however still continues as to the conflict and the massive killings perpetuated by the “armed separatists groups” and the Cameroonian military, as they continue to be violent outbursts within varied communities in the Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon as a result of the Anglophone crisis in the two English speaking regions.

On the 9th of February 2020, legislative and Municipal elections were organized in Cameroon. Before this elections, there was a significant increase in the resistive North West and South West regions of Cameroon leading to about 8000 people fleeing to other French speaking cities of the country like Douala, Yaoundé, Bafoussam and others trekking through the Savannah and forests just to arrive neighboring Nigeria where they settled as refugees (Mefo, 2020). It should however be noted that the number of people being displaced as a result of the Anglophone crisis keeps increasing as the crisis keeps worsening. Requests have non the less been made by the international and national community calling on the Cameroonian government to do everything within their power to stop the conflict so the people can return to their localities and continue their normal daily activities.

The conflict ravaging the two English speaking regions of the country has however been described by many as remaining in the “shadows” since the leaders and the subjected people instead of engaging into a “collective action” in restoring the independence and sovereignty of British Southern Cameroons, a former UN trust territory, they rather did collaborated with forces that oppress them (Achankeng, 2012, p. 29). Another reason is seen as due to threats in the state-centered international politics. Conclusively, this crisis since its beginning has led and still leads to the destruction of villages, infrastructure and leaving a serious insecurity threat on both rural and urban cities of Cameroon, with a major impact on the local population. Below is a

picture showing remains of some houses of locals in the Ngarbuh attack on February 14th, 2020, which left many homeless with some dead.



source: <https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/diplomat-wants-us-mediation-in-cameroon-crisis-after-govt-admits-responsibility-in-ngarbuh-incident/>

1.6 Efforts by the Government to end the Crisis

In this part, we seek to bring out some efforts put in place by the Cameroon government in trying to end the Anglophone Crisis in the country. Since the outbreak of the crisis, the international community, national community through some NGOs, human rights lawyers like Agbor Balla have strongly condemned the mass killings in the country and demanded that the government immediately tries to look into the peoples request so as to stop the crisis which is gradually turning the country into a war zone.

The government however tried to use its own strategies in trying to figure out solutions to the said crisis. One of the major strategies used by the Cameroonian government was done by organizing what president Paul Biya termed “THE MAJOR NATIONAL DIALOGUE”

(Chimtom, 2019). This dialogue was held from 30th September to 6th October 2019 in Yaoundé, as an attempt to end the crisis killing many in the Anglophone regions of the country. The

opening plenary session of the dialogue was chaired by his Excellency Joseph Dion Ngute, the Prime Minister, head of Cameroonian government (Chimtom, 2019). This great step by the president was applauded by some individuals but at same time looked by others as fake and unserious. This notwithstanding, a series of proposals were however suggested at the dialogue with aim of ending the crisis (Chimtom, 2019). The suggested proposals are: (1) The adoption of a special status for the two Anglophone regions, (2) The restoration of the House of Traditional Chiefs, (3) The election of local governors, (4) The immediate relaunch of certain airport and seaport projects in the two Anglophone regions, (5) The rapid integration of ex-combatants into society, (6) The name of the country be returned to the former name, the United Republic of Cameroon, (7) Implement the law that government officials declare their assets, in order to tackle corruption (Chimtom, 2019).

A major outcome of the national dialogue was the idea of granting a “special status” for the English-speaking population of Cameroon. This was decided at the house of parliament in a bid to stop the violence perpetrated by the separatist’s fighters in the restive Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon. According to members of the parliament, the above mentioned regions were to benefit from a “special status” due to their “linguistic particularity” and historic “heritage” (ALJAZEERA, 2019). The legislation specifically made mention of the educational and the judiciary system to be those areas to benefit from this special status, but this offer was rejected by many and equally perceived by the founder for Humans Rights and democracy for Africa, Agbor Balla as not being a perfect measure to end the ongoing crisis (Cameroon4, 2020). Agbor Balla however believed the best action to be taken by the government as per ending the crisis is by creating a two-state federation as he says: *“A two state federation is the solution to the crisis. Any other solution be it decentralization, 10 state federation or a special status are only stop-gap*

measures. We shall have to go back to the drawing board to address the fundamental issues” (Cameroon4, 2020).

The above mentioned outcome of “national dialogue” dealing with a “special status” for the former British Cameroon, was the most vital in which the Cameroon government made attempts implementing amid the 7 points we mentioned above, in trying to end the crisis in the restive English-speaking regions of the country. These efforts however by the government none the less yielded no fruits as the crisis is still ongoing and continues to consume lives daily. The Separatists fighters however were invited to be part of the dialogue but they did not attend or participate in the national dialogue, since their only option for the crisis to end was “total independence” from La Republic du Cameroun(French speaking Cameroon) (ALJAZEERA, 2019). They equally gave a condition for the Cameroon government to release all those in prison as a result of the crisis and equally have the English regions demilitarized, only then were the separatists ready to come for any dialogue (ALJAZEERA, 2019).

The government after been pressured by local and international organizations, as to getting the perpetrators of an attack that occurred on February 14th 2020 in Ngarbuh, a remote village in the Northwest region of the country, finally published a press release announcing that the involved persons have been arrested and so will face trial according to the law(le journal du cameroon, 2020). This step was applauded by some Cameroonians as a sign of the government wanting the area to return to normalcy. The United Nations Diplomat, Herman J. Cohan, equally applauded the efforts of the Cameroon government as a significant step for peace to return to the Northwest and Southwest regions, as he makes it clear that the United States of America is ready to mediate so as to bring total peace in Cameroon.(le journal du Cameroon, 2020).

1.7 Reaction of Religious Authorities towards the conflict

The church in Cameroon suffers from fissures between Anglophones(English speaking Cameroonians) and Francophones(French speaking Cameroonians), in addition to ethnic division (Group I. C., 2018). Out of the five ecclesiastic provinces in the country, all under the National Episcopal Conference of Cameroon(NECC), four are French speaking

while just one(the ecclesiastic provinces of Bamenda) is in charge of the southwest and northwest regions of the country (Group I. C., 2018). We therefore see that there is an issue of French being dominant over English even in the Church in Cameroon. The

Church authorities irrespective of these differences decided to mediate so as to see peace return to the country.

The ongoing conflict no doubt has immense effects on the religious activities in the Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon, but it should be noted that the religious bodies through their religious authorities equally play a role as per the conflict. The separatist fighters look at any religious authority who does not stand in line with what they are fighting for as a “traitor”, thus treating the individual(s) with suspicion and hostility (Ngong, 2019).Some indigenous religious authorities who have always been highly respected in their communities, have been at one point in time been under hostile conditions since the beginning of the conflict. Some religious authorities have equally been assassinated by separatists’ fighters, and others equally have fled their community to other parts of the country for their safety (Ngong, 2019). In line with hostility of religious persons, the Presbyterian church in Cameroon (PCC) through its authorities on Sunday 19th January 2020 said an ordained pastor was after church service arrested in a church compound in Bali Nyongha, Northwest region of Cameroon, where he was brutalized, imprisoned and later released (Foguem, 2020).They however drifted their interest from religious persons to the local population by condemning some barbaric acts such as gunshots, killings and destruction of properties through the burning of houses perpetuated by separatist fighters and the Cameroonian military in some localities and villages in the two English speaking regions of Cameroon (Foguem, 2020).They equally have been so angry with the perpetrators and continue to be of the opinion that: “*the acts of violence do no good to the fragile efforts on the ground to return people and activities to normalcy*” (Foguem, 2020).

Amid the numerous suspicions of religious authorities by separatist fighters, the religious authorities have in one way or another stood for peace to return in the two English speaking regions of Cameroon. To begin with, the only Roman Catholic Cardinal from Cameroon, Christian Cardinal Tumi, in 2018 intensified efforts to organize an Anglophone Conference with the sole aim of bringing together elites of varied believes so that they could try to provide solutions as per ending the conflict through a dialogue (Ngong, 2019). They went ahead making a declaration to the government of Cameroon bringing to their notice that they were very ready to be mediators between the government and the separatist fighters so as to put an end to the ongoing crisis (Group I. C., 2018). These religious authorities have always stood their grounds and putting in some efforts when it comes to ending the crisis as they keep calling on the separatists fighters to drop their weapons so they can together seek a lasting solution to the crisis, stop the continuous flow of blood thus making peace to return to the English speaking part of the country

1.8 Armed Separatists Groups

There are said to be several separatists groups (locally called “Amba boys”) fighting for what they term independence of Southern Cameroons, as the people in the English speaking regions are said to be proud of their Anglophone heritage with most important for them being their legal and educational institutions (Chothia, 2018). Some of the “armed separatists” groups that have been formed since the outbreak of the conflict, with the sole aim of fighting for the independence of the English-speaking regions of Cameroon include: The Red Dragons, The Tigers and the Ambazonia defense Forces (ADF) (Chothia, 2018). These groups were a great threat to security in connection with the presidential election that took place in the country in 2018 and they have continued to be a great threat to political situations in the country and to the Cameroonian military as they continue in fatal armed confrontations in the Northwest and Southwest

regions of Cameroon since the outbreak of the conflict till present (Chothia, 2018). According to Cameroon analyst Nna-Emeka Okereke, these armed separatists groups have *“approximately 500 to 1000 active fighters, but more importantly they have the morale and the determination to fight for the independence of what they term Ambazonia state”*

(Chothia, 2018). Below is a picture showing how armed these separatists groups are, with all readiness to fight for the independence of the Anglophone regions.



Source: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45723211>

CHAPTER 2

STAKEHOLDERS

In this chapter, we discuss the various actors that have been in different ways involved with helping the IDPs regain a livelihood. This constitutes the state, non-state actors, private donors and Church authorities. During our interview collection process, we discovered that one of our chosen organizations\association is a Cameroon diaspora association based in Denmark and like most diasporas do not only try to contribute to the development of their country of origin, but equally try reaching out to individuals in need in the form of humanitarian assistance. It is vital to pinpoint that this thesis had no initial intention to discuss the Cameroonian diaspora, but was rather a coincidence that enables us to give a brief look into what a diaspora actually is all about. We will further in our analysis chapter concentrate more on the exact activities they have been involved in as per helping the IDPs in gaining a livelihood.

2.1 The Cameroon Government

As mentioned earlier, the *AFRICAN UNION CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION AND ASSISTANCE OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN AFRICA*, also known as the 2009 Kampala Convention stipulates that governments are responsible for the internally displaced persons on their territory. (Kampala Convention, 2009, Art..)

This makes each government the major stakeholder as far as the well being of the IDPs is concerned. How then are these governments organised in order to provide the highly needed assistance to the internally displaced persons as they struggle to regain their livelihoods and economic activities? What are the structures of the government of Cameroon in charge of the management of such emergencies?

Cameroon is an executive focused democracy with a parliament that adopts bills(introduced by the executive arm only, as of now) , which are subsequently promulgated into law by presidential decree. This procedure was respected diligently with the ratification of the Kampala Convention

on 06/04/2015 and was sent to the African Union(AU) on 24/05/2017. (AU Kampala Convention status, 2019).Before these dates though, the government has been respecting and following the convention since it entered into force on 6 December 2012 after its 15th ratification by member states.

Under the control of the presidency of the republic, and the supervision of the office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Territorial Administration, is in charge of issues related to all internally displaced persons in Cameroon through the directorate of civil protection, located in the capital city, Yaounde. (un-spider.org).

The work of the ministry is further decentralised in the ten regions with Governors' offices, each of which holds a regional office in charge of civil protection matters.

These structures are responsible for the wellbeing of internally displaced persons in Cameroon. However, owing to the complexity and difficulties reaching out to all the IDPs, and notwithstanding governments responsibility as per the Kampala Convention, many other stakeholders are involved in the humanitarian drive to assist the IDPs.

2.2 The Cameroon Diaspora

This part of our thesis simply gives a definition to what a diaspora is all about with emphasis on the Cameroon diaspora, as we realized during our data collection the active participation of the Cameroonian diaspora as per helping the IDPs in Cameroon regenerate a livelihood in their host communities. Like we mentioned earlier, diaspora is actually not our point of focus in this thesis. A diaspora *“refers to the spatial displacement of people from an existing or imaginary homeland, maintaining a sense of collectivity over an extended period of time”* (Kleist, 2008 p.1129). This definition is just to have in mind how a diaspora can be defined, but we won't go further into diasporic activities or influence because it is not our main focus in our thesis.

2.3 United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)

Created on 14th December 1950, the UNHCR is a UN non-profit organisation with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. It is in charge of refugees, Internally displaced persons, stateless persons, returnees and their resettlement (unhcr.org). By definition therefore, this organisation has a responsibility to see into the wellbeing of internally displaced persons wherever they may be, and in the case of IDPs, support governments in organising and facilitating humanitarian aid. Despite the fact that the UNHCR has demonstrated absolute capacity in responding rapidly and robustly to humanitarian crises with large-scale forced displacement, cognisant of the fact that its capacity to save and secure lives, to protect rights and pursue solutions to forced displacement has been built over decades and is part of their culture and reflex, the commission is well placed to play a positive role in the lives of IDPs.

However, UNHCR acknowledges that its operational engagement with the internally displaced have not always been as consistent and predictable as its support to refugees, coupled with the variably reduced volume, scope and results of its activities in situations of internal displacement. (PUES IDPs/UNHCR/Jordi Mata, 2019).

This prompted the organisation to come up with the "Policy on UNHCR's Engagement in Situations of Internal Displacement", in 2019. Amongst other objectives, the policy will

"Promote the primary responsibility of the State, and where relevant, non-State actors, to prevent, respond to and resolve internal displacement while complementing and reinforcing national response efforts, and taking into account the political complexities and particular challenges presented when displacement is itself a result of government action or inaction".

(PUES IDPs/UNHCR/Jordi Mata, 2019)

and furthermore it will

"galvanize and contribute to government-led efforts to address the needs of IDPs – including those who are integrating locally, returning to places of origin or settling in another part of the country, as well as the wider displacement-affected community"

(PUES IDPs/UNHCR/Jordi Mata, 2019)

This policy document shows the awareness of the UNHCR to take its responsibility in times of crisis related to IDPs with its capacity to organize, coordinate and dispatch Humanitarian aid . To further affirm the responsibility of the government and avoid any conflict of leadership and execution, the policy clearly stipulates when the UNHCR has to withdraw:

“UNHCR will disengage responsibly when local and national actors can meaningfully take over operational delivery, coordination and monitoring in relation to protection and solutions for IDPs. This will require UNHCR, from the outset of its involvement, to undertake interventions and measures aimed at enhancing national response capacity, including technical advice and support for national laws and policies on internal displacement, training and capacity development. UNHCR will work alongside others in the UN/Humanitarian Country Team to support the gradual de-activation of clusters in support of government-led coordination arrangements, including in the transition of any IDP sites to governments and/or other agreed approaches”. (PUESIDPs/UNHCR/Jordi Mata, 2019)

It is imperative therefore to pay attention, in this paper, to the contribution of the UNHCR as a stakeholder in the efforts deployed in a bid to help the internally displaced persons in Cameroon to regain their livelihoods.

2.4 United Nations Office For Humanitarian Affairs(OCHA)

This is a United Nations office for Humanitarian affairs established by the United Nations general assembly in December 1991. Its headquarters are found in New York, in the United States, and in Geneva, Switzerland. The mandate of OCHA stems from the General assembly resolution 46\182 of december 1991 which states: “ *The leadership role of the secretary General is crucial and must be strengthened to ensure better preparation for, as well as rapid and coherent response to natural disasters and other emergencies*” (UNocha.org). OCHA is guided by the “*humanitarian principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality, diversity, trust, gender equality, independence, national and local ownership*”(UNocha.org). OCHA is therefore the

UN office providing support to the Emergency Relief Coordinator(ERC), with its mandate further giving it the responsibility in taking care of affected people in internally displaced situations through the coordination of assistance and protection towards the IDPs(UNocha.org). OCHA equally through the ERC makes the voice of the affected heard by championing humanitarian principles, actions, and equally providing solutions aimed at reducing humanitarian needs, risk and vulnerability. It is vital to know that OCHA is not an agency directly engaged in delivering humanitarian services but literally acts as a facilitator in providing support to the humanitarian systems, by ensuring that the affected people get the required protection and assistance(UNocha.org).The agency equally tries to prevent or eradicate any obstacle(s) preventing humanitarian assistance from getting to affected persons in need in crisis situations, and equally through its leadership skills mobilizes resources and assistance on behalf of the humanitarian system.

The voice of OCHA has also been felt by the Cameroon authorities since the outbreak of the ongoing crisis. Ursula Mueller, the United Nations Assistant secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs and Deputy Emergency Relief Coordinator was in Cameroon for a four days visit in february 2018, where she met with the minister of external relations and governor of the Far North region of Cameroon(OCHA, 2018).She reiterated on the need for Humanitarian assistance to the affected persons in the Far North region, displaced as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency. She equally visited the Minawao refugee camp and the Zamai site for internal displaced persons in the far North region of Cameroon, with the aim of viewing the impact of the crisis on the people and also the devastating security issues caused by the Boko Haram insurgency(OCHA, 2018).

Mueller's visit equally saw the discussion with the Cameroon authorities as per the sociopolitical crisis in the North-west and South-west regions of Cameroon that has left hundreds to thousands displaced internally(OCHA, 2018). Mueller in concluding her four days visit to Cameroon made the following statement:

“The UN remains deeply concerned about the situation in Cameroon, including in the south-west and north-west. We are again calling on all parties to avoid further escalation of violence and to protect civilian populations, further fact-finding missions will be taking place as early as next week, and we are putting into place assistance to the internally displaced persons, who are estimated in the tens of thousands”(OCHA, 2018).

On 31st December 2019, Cameroon's minister of territorial administration and decentralization, Paul Atanga Nji announced the over 500,000 plus figures of IDPs stated by national and international organizations as fake and equally was of the opinion that Cameroon was not facing any humanitarian crisis. This prompted OCHA to mediate through a post and reiterated *“Again these figures are not fake news. The Humanitarian situation in Cameroon needs more attention in 2020, as Hundreds of thousands of people remain in serious need of assistance”(le journal du Cameroon, 2019).*

We see here that OCHA has been actively present as per crisis situations in Cameroon which necessitates humanitarian awareness, assistance and protection of the affected persons.

2.5 NorthWest Association of Cameroonians in Denmark. (NOWECAD)

The Cameroon Diaspora is involved in many ways in the four year old crisis in the country. Some groups and persons participate actively in the conflict while others focus on helping those affected by the conflict. One of such groups is the North West Association of Cameroonians in Denmark(NOWECAD).

Created in 2015, NOWECAD is an apolitical, non-governmental, non-profit-making, philanthropic organisation that seeks to make life better for people who originate from the North West Region of Cameroon, wherever they may be. (NOWECAD statutes, Art 3)

Registered under the Copenhagen Municipality, the association has thirty-five registered members from all walks of life. Membership is open to residents of Denmark who originate from

the North West Region of Cameroon or are tied to this region by virtue of matrimony. (Chi K. Lind, Nowecad)

The main objective of the association is to create a platform where they meet to revisit and enjoy the cultural heritage which they have left back home. More so, it provides a means where through free will donations, together, they can help indigenes of the North West Region in times of need. (Chi k. Lind, Nowecad)

In our analysis, we will explore some of the actions carried by NOWECAD these past few years in relation to the displaced masses in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon.

2.6 Loving Hearts Foundation

This is a legally registered non-governmental and not for profit Organization created in 2012, with approximately 5000 members in Kenya, Cameroon, Nigeria, Uganda, Ivory coast, Europe, Asia and America (Lambert, 2012). According to the founder and Global Coordinator, this Organization was legally registered with the government of Cameroon in 2017(Audio1, 45s to 55s). They equally have volunteers in almost all the member countries with the majority of their volunteers found in Cameroon. This Organization is composed of young individuals with varied talents, skills, services, and resources wanting to enhance humanitarian action and sustainable development by reaching out to vulnerable people as much as they can.

Loving Hearts Foundation has an objective reaching out to the vulnerable and less privileged for a better society and equally “*envisions a world where political and social action is driven by love*” (Lambert, 2012). Like most humanitarian organizations, this organization equally has a mission of meeting the basic social needs of the less privileged in different communities by making use of varied innovative ICT platforms.

This Organization operates through the development and implementation of what they term “loving Heats Projects” by use of innovative ICT platforms and other channels, with the sole aim of connecting those in need with those giving, without having to touch the items meant for the

needy as they believe it actually eliminates the many intermediaries existing between the needy and charitable heart. We will explore their projects in our analysis chapter.

2.7 Private Donors

This part of our thesis lays a foundation as per private donors, which we will later on use in our analysis chapter so as to understand the humanitarian actions taken by some private donors in Cameroon as per the restitution of the livelihood of IDPs.

Many countries in the globe face financial challenges, thus making it hard to meet up with the ever increasing humanitarian needs by depending solely on governments or NGOs. Sustainable growth however is a phenomenon experienced around the globe by many countries, hence leading to significant changes in support that usually come in from NGOs and some official donors to the needy(Brian, et al., 2012). This has led to private donors being figured out as playing vital roles in developmental and humanitarian issues both nationally and internationally, either as direct operators, in partnership with governments, NGOs and civil society organizations as giant givers(Brian, et al., 2012).

Many well known NGOs however trace their beginning from private individuals wishing to give money for charitable or humanitarian purposes both nationally and internationally. Some of these private donors however seek to meet the needs of vulnerables either in person or through family members. It is in this light that we seek in this paper to make use of some individuals that have either single handedly or in groups, but not as a registered organization, impacted\and are still impacting the lives of people that have been displaced in Cameroon as a result of the ongoing crisis, hence playing a role as per the IDPs regaining a livelihood. More of this will be discussed in the analysis chapter through obtained data from interviews.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological considerations for this research paper. We begin by giving an overview of the research design used in our paper, followed by the research process, ethical considerations, study area, interview process, motivation of respondents and lastly, the data collection methods, the scope, limitations and delimitations encountered. We therefore through this chapter present and justify the research methods used in this paper. This research however is based on existing literature such as, the Kampala Convention on internally displaced persons, displaced Livelihoods(Jacobson, 2014), Sustainable livelihood framework(Pokharel, 2010), Rural livelihood systems(Pokharel, 2010), Displacement Economies, using Amanda Hammer who presents the best perspectives required to better answer our sub research question linked with the economic activities of the IDPs(Hammar, 2012), informal economy(Schneider, 1986), UNHCR reports, local newspapers and TV channels reporting and writing on persons displaced in Cameroon as a result of the ongoing conflict ravaging the two English speaking regions of the country. The research is also supported by interviews conducted via Skype, mobile phone calls and a contact person with participants in Cameroon and Denmark.

3.1 Research Design

In this part of our work, we present the overall research design. We however through this paper seek to find out the role played by state and non-state stakeholders in the restitution of livelihood of IDPs in Cameroon.

We establish our field of study in two of the major French speaking cities (Douala and Yaoundé) in Cameroon, where some IDPs are set to be hosted by family members, friends, social networks and churches.

We primarily intended to travel to Cameroon in the month of April for a field work that was to last for a month, but due to the outbreak of the Coronavirus, COVID-19 pandemic, which resulted in international border closures, Denmark and Cameroon included, equally closing their borders and banning international passenger flights from entering or leaving the countries as a measure to limit the spread of the deadly virus, we could no longer travel and so had to sort for alternative means of data collection for our research. We also had to join in the fight against the spread of the virus, by staying in Denmark, and seeking alternative means of data collection. It should be noted here that most of our participants had already been informed of a one on one interview but due to this uncertainty, we had to change from our initial plan. It was not easy trying to get our participants to accept our alternative form of interview with them since Cameroon constantly faces electricity and internet issues. With most of the IDPs trying to earn a living in their new communities, it is also difficult for them to meet up with internet subscription bills. In this light, we none the less quickly sort to implement a complementary method of data collection in our research since it was no longer possible to do a one-on-one interview with our participants.

In line with some academic researchers like Valeria Lo Iacono(2016), we made use of an internet-based form of communication as a tool for qualitative research. We made use of a Voice over internet protocol (VOIP) technology by use of SKYPE. We sort to use Skype as a method of our data collection since it *“provides us with the ability to interview research participants using voice and video across the internet via a synchronous(real-time) connection with the option to also use written text”* (Valeria Lo Iacono, 2016). This form of data collection, also called “Epistolary interviews” according to Debenham(2001), is a synchronous, one-to-one form of interview mediated by technology. Another reason for using skype is because the interaction that occurs between a researcher and participant during a face-to-face interview, could to an

extent be felt with interviews via skype. Most importantly, skype interviews engage the researcher with the data and relive those moments of interaction and refreshes the personality and emotions of the respondents (Valeria Lo Iacono, 2016). Amid the fact that Skype as a tool of qualitative data collection has advantages, a disadvantage could be affecting areas of rapport, non-verbal cues and ethics by creating limitations.

3.2 Research process

At the start of this research, during the thesis seminar in February, 2020, coordinated efforts were made by the program coordinator for Global Refugee studies which aimed at making sure the researchers understood critically the task ahead of them by providing guidelines with strict restrictions to follow and respect them. To begin the research study proper, a meeting was then scheduled with our supervisor, with the primary aim of setting the required outline schedule to realize the academic work. A clear understanding of the topic at hand and how it should be approached was discussed and fine tuned as we proceeded with the feedback through mail and in regular meetings both physically from the onset and due to the coronavirus pandemic, digitally from time to time.

3.3 Ethical considerations

As is the case with every other method of data collection, ethics is a vital factor to be considered with interviews via skype (Cohen, 2007). Some of our participants could be seen as vulnerable persons, who to an extent are in precarious situations, thus making us to highly consider ethics.

We however practised the principle of doing no harm to participants as it would further increase their vulnerability (Bryman, 2012). The aspect of confidentiality was taken into account by seeking the permission of participants as per obtaining and using their names in our thesis. By this we mean letting our respondents know that the information they provide us with is strictly for academic purposes and their identity will be made anonymous if requested, but fortunately, all of them gave their consent for names to be mentioned in this thesis.

Carrying out Skype interviews in our research, we made sure we followed the above listed ethical considerations and procedures. We made sure that we pre-informed our respondents (experts only) through mails by sending our interview questions before the date of interview and we requested and obtained their consent as per recording the interview session. In line with Ferguson, 2009, we set up an interview formality pattern with the sole aim of making sure that our selected online format (skype) was to facilitate talks between the interviewer and the respondents. Our interview was sorted into four categories with one being expert interviews, government representative, while the other was with some IDPs and lastly with private donors. Even though our research seeks to find out what has been done or is being done by state and non-state actors as per the restitution of livelihood of IDPs in Cameroon, we decided to equally include IDPs in our interview because they are the ones that have been “victimized” or are seen as vulnerable and so are in the better position to give a recount of how the hand of relief from the stakeholders has helped them re-establish a livelihood.

3.4 Study Area

This part of our work describes the chosen area hosting the IDP population under study and also the entire interview process with the said IDPs, private donors and chosen organizations. As earlier mentioned, our area of study is focused on IDPs displaced from the English speaking Northwest and Southwest regions into urban cities of Cameroon such as Douala, Yaounde and Bafoussam, and some safe urban areas in both regions such as Bamenda, Limbe and Buea. Some of our private donors however were not staying in Cameroon as at the time of our research but did their philanthropic work through assistance of friends, families and the Church. It is worth noting that even though we set our IDPs study area as the above mentioned towns, our chosen private donors and Organizations extend their activities to IDPs in Cameroon with no specification of them being displaced within the same region or into different regions of the country.

During our 8th semester field work in Cameroon, we came into contact with Mr Ebot who was our “gatekeeper” throughout our fieldwork process which took place in April 2019, thus helping

us locate and meet the IDPs we interviewed back then. We again in our present research sought to make use of Mr Ebot as our contact person in Cameroon to help connect us to some IDPs and a local government official, as will be detailed below, since we could not travel to Cameroon for reasons earlier explained. Mr Ebot is a volunteer in social welfare who has been helping to identify and help situate internally displaced persons in the littoral region, Cameroon.

3.5 Interview Process

Our first set of interviews was conducted on Tuesday April 26, 2020 with the Global Coordinator for Loving Hearts Foundation and the acting Treasurer for Northwest Association of Cameroonians in Denmark(Nowecad), at 15:00GMT+1(14:00 Cameroon time) and 17:00GMT+1(16:00 Cameroon time) respectively. Both interviews were done via Skype(audio call). The interview with Loving Hearts Foundation lasted for 28mins27secs while the interview with Nowecad lasted for 8mins53secs. It is worth mentioning that both interviews took place under good and calm environmental conditions as both the interviewers and interviewees could hear each other clearly. Loving Hearts Foundation however seeks to meet the needs of the vulnerables with their little available resources solely from its members or through its “Loving Heart Projects” , where donations are made by those willing to impact the lives of those in need, and they as an organization carry out their field projects without any external help. Nowecad is an association based in Denmark composed of migrants solely from Cameroon(Audio 2, 40s to 1min10s). This organization however did not have humanitarian initiatives in their initial works but due to the current crisis in Cameroon, they sort to include philanthropic activities in their works so as to help IDPs in Cameroon(Audio 2, 1min30s to 2min10s).

Our second set of interviews was conducted on Saturday May 2nd, 2020 with two IDPs in Cameroon, whose names we got as Mrs Ebonkem Monique and Mrs Ngum Elisabeth respectively. Monique is a lady originally from a small village called Malende, in the Southwest region of Cameroon, now settled in Douala as an IDP. The interview session with Monique took place at exactly 13:30GMT+1(12:30 Cameroon time) and lasted for 5mins24s, via mobile

phone call and was recorded using a recording device. Mrs Ngum Elisabeth on the other hand is a lady originally from a remote village called Mbatu, Northwest region, Cameroon, now settled in Douala as an IDP. Our interview with Elizabeth lasted for 6mins22s, via mobile phone call and recorded by aid of a recording device.

An interview session with Mr Ignatius kukwa, delegate for Social welfare, littoral region, Cameroon was conducted on Saturday May 2nd at exactly 20:00GMT+1(19:00 Cameroon time), via mobile phone call. The interview lasted for 7mins27s. One of the interesting discovery was the fact that there are about 200,000 IDPs in the littoral region of Cameroon but with just about 20,000 so far officially registered by the authorities(Audio 5, 1min to 1min24s).

The next interview was conducted on Monday, May 4th. 2020 at exactly 21:00GMT+1(20:00 Cameroon time), via mobile phone call. The interviewee is a youth by name Ebai Baudwin originally from Kumba, Southwest region of Cameroon, now settled in Yaounde as an IDP. He stays with some friends who opted to help him out with shelter, but he did not give us the exact number of persons in the house but rather told us there are many people living in the said house (Audio 6, 1min20s to 1min55s).

Our last interview was done with a Cameroonian born philanthropist whose name we got as Mr Milad. The interview took place on May 13, 2020 at 17:00, with the interviewee and interviewers based in Denmark as at the time of the interview. The interview was done by phone call, recorded by aid of a recording device, which lasted 26mins31secs. Mr Milad is motivated by the principle of “*Global distributive Justice*”, which depicts how the world's resources can be evenly distributed (Audio 7, 52secs to 1mins50secs). He is equally motivated by what he calls “*giving back to the society*”(Audio 7, 3mins20secs to 3mins35secs).

3.6 Motivation of respondents

There are a wide number of things that could be considered to work as motivational tools depending on the type of research, type of respondents and not forgetting the cultural setting

around the research. We acknowledge that every research can however be influenced by motivation of respondents to participate or complete the research(Ewing, 2011).

The aspect of motivation of respondents to participate is made use of in this research, mostly for the case of IDPs. As we earlier mentioned, we kept bugging our respondents for an interview with them but they were reluctant. This therefore left us with the option of applying financial incentives(extrinsic motivations), which according to Ewing(2011) is very vital if that's actually what the respondents have always looked up to for motivation to participate and complete any research. We sort this method of motivation so as to create the awareness of respondents to how important their participation is towards completing our research. The sum of 5000FCFA(about 56 Danish kroner) was provided to each IDP as motivational incentives.

3.7 Data Collection

The primary data needed for the analysis and subsequent answering of our research question was obtained through skype and direct phone call (not internet mediated) in the month of April and May 2020, by use of semi structured interviews. Semi structured interviews according to Bryman (2012) enables a researcher to have a more open mind about the scope of the knowledge and concepts needed “*so that concepts and theories can emerge from the data*”(Bryman, 2012, p.12).

The primary method of data collection used for this research involves interviewing two experts, one private donor, a government representative, who are directly involved with helping the IDPs in Cameroon regain or regenerate a livelihood. A private donor and some IDPs were equally interviewed. The choice of experts was due to the fact that they have a clear understanding of the happenings as per the ongoing conflict and have been\are actively participating in humanitarian actions towards IDPs in Cameroon. In order to establish a dynamic and smooth conversation between the researchers (interviewers), the experts (interviewees) and the IDPs (interviewees) , a jovial environment was created, avoiding a tense, deep and classical interview setup (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Four separate semi-structured interviews (appendices A,B,C

and D) were used with planned open-ended questions for the varied participants, giving the researchers the flexibility needed to modify and customize the wordings and order of questions (Abawi, 2013). This permitted a coherent and consistent account of the interviews recorded via a recording device, after requesting their consent at the beginning of the interview. Due to the strategic stake of the chosen experts regarding humanitarian activities in Cameroon, the information gotten from them was not only specific but could be viewed as accurate as it blended with some preliminary findings after bringing theory and literature to real empirical and practical case implementation. As preliminary findings, we did some desk research whereby, we, through local newspapers (such as le journal du Cameroon, Cameroon Tribune, The Guardian Post, The Media and Cameroon daily Journal), international and local radio and Tv Channels such as Al Jazeera, the BBC, VOA Africa, Canal 2 English Tv and Equinox Tv respectively, and official facebook pages gathered information on the ongoing conflict in Cameroon and some Organizations that have been helping the IDPs since the conflict sparked off in 2016. The semi-structured interviews constituted of open ended questions sorted to understand expert views as per the ongoing crisis in Cameroon, what measures the government and other stakeholders are putting in place for the crisis to come to an end and help the IDPs regenerate a livelihood, and what are the difficulties they face while doing the above mentioned task. Another part of the semi structured interview meant for the IDPs was intended to find out what the IDPs are involved in individually or through the help of stakeholders so as to generate a livelihood for themselves and families.

In line with the global crisis, Covid-19, limited time and resources, the researchers sort to adapt methods through use of digital platforms.

3.8 Scope, Limitations and delimitation

The scope of this study focuses on the role of state and non-state actors as per the restitution of livelihood of IDPs in Cameroon. Our scope takes into account just persons displaced from the

Northwest and Southwest regions of the Country due to the ongoing conflict ravaging the zones since 2016.

Every study has limitations irrespective of how perfect it may have been done and constructed. One of the limitations of this study is the nitty gritty factor of the Coronavirus, COVID-19 which slowly influenced and altered our methods and time schedule of data collection. However, the interviews conducted with experts could have been influenced by their strategic positions and knowledge of happenings in the ministry of territorial administration and decentralization which promotes and encourages humanitarian activities in Cameroon. Another limitation was the distance of the researchers from the case study country at the time of the study, which nonetheless entailed increased financial cost which were not easy to meet as a student. As financial cost, the researchers spent 500 Danish Kroner buying calling time used for interviews with the IDPs in Cameroon, since they complained of internet and light irregularities, with some not versed with the use of VOIP like skype, whatsapp etc. The researchers equally spent 339 Danish Kroner as motivational incentives.

Furthermore, given the time limitation factor for the research with the fact that most of the experts are often busy, we found ourselves bugging them to respond to our request for an interview with them as time and deadline for the research did not make things any easier.

The delimitations of the study remains in the objectives, questions and research method carefully crafted by the researchers.

Chapter Four

Theoretical Framework

This chapter explores the theoretical aspects of our paper that will be used in the analysis of obtained data, so as to critically provide answers to our main and sub research questions. Our choice of theory however is related to the activities engaged in by the IDPs in Cameroon, thus we can easily relate the selected theories to our collected data at hand so as to be able to answer our research question.

Converting obtained data into analytical findings requires a way or a sort of lens to look at the collected data. This part of our work gives an overview of the lens through which the data at hand has been examined. Our research has as aim looking or examining the role played by “stakeholders” and private donors in the restitution of the livelihood of the internally displaced persons in Cameroon, not forgetting the difficulties they encounter in doing so and also how the IDPs actually use what is provided by stakeholders and private donors to regain a livelihood. It should however be noted that our choice of theoretical framework is highly connected with our choice of methodology as it is vital for obtaining relevant data for the concrete purpose of our thesis. It is on these basis that we discuss our selected theories below:

4.1 Displaced Livelihood

People are continually being displaced forcefully around the globe, with some of the displaced staying in Camps but seek to do everything possible to create a supportive system to themselves and their families with the very minute or no assistance from humanitarian organizations or governments and citizens of the host country or area. It is true that displaced persons personally try to regain or regenerate a “livelihood”, but equally need to be assisted in such efforts by the governments of host countries, some philanthropic activities and humanitarian organizations.

This part of our work looks at “displaced livelihoods” as it gives a clear distinction between the livelihood pursuit of persons forcefully displaced and those of migrants (such as voluntary migration for reasons such as studies, work) or from poor or discriminated migrants (Jacobsen, 2014, p. 1). People forcefully displaced often face some difficulties as per pursuing a livelihood while in their new area of settlement and so getting help from the governments of the host country per say could go a long way helping the displaced psychologically.

Jacobson concurs with Chambers and Conway’s 1992 definition of livelihood as being “*the means of gaining a living, including livelihood capabilities, tangible assets, such as stores and resources, and intangible assets such as claims and access*” (Jacobsen, 2014, p. 2).

Individuals that have been forcefully displaced either within the same country (internally displaced persons) and those forced to cross internationally recognized boundaries (refugees), must be able to access their livelihood assets even though it is often difficult for most of them to make use of their human capital such as skills and experience acquired in their place of habitual residence as they often face discrimination at their place of work in their new settlement (Jacobsen, 2014, p. 2). Relating to the internally displaced persons in Cameroon, they constantly face discrimination in their new area of settlement. The discrimination in this case is mostly due to language issues since the IDPs are from the English speaking part of the country and have been forced to seek refuge in French speaking regions of the country where most persons there find it hard expressing themselves in English. This discrimination constitutes a mechanism of

exclusion, which is very vital in understanding the livelihood experience of forced migrants (Jacobsen, 2014).

According to Jacobson (2014), there are three basic factors that influence the abilities of people forcefully displaced to regain their livelihood. To begin with, the joint aspects of loss, trauma and impoverishment have a significant impact on the displaced persons. These migrants forced to leave their homes most often in precipitation, abandon all they have labored for all their lives as they resettle in typically new areas with varied life settings, thus becoming traumatizing for them as they need to start from a point of almost nothing to regain their livelihoods (Jacobsen, 2014, p.3). It should however be noted that people often move so fast when displaced forcefully, thus leaving behind their assets. Their assets could be farmlands, houses, documents like birth certificates, national ID card and passport. We perceive the internally displaced persons in Cameroon as a perfect example of persons displaced forcefully as a result of a conflict. They had to flee leaving behind their farms, jobs, houses and business and seek refuge in non-violent French speaking cities in the French speaking regions of the country where they seek refuge while trying to re-establish a livelihood either individually or by help of some humanitarian organizations, private donors or the government. Talking about loss, it is associated with economic and non-economic assets. Loss in economic assets is seen to relate to instances where migrants in their new location face certain challenges to their livelihoods and integration (Jacobsen, 2014). Such challenges could include freedom restriction policies in a case where states impose strict restrictions on migrants owning businesses, properties or deciding where to stay in their new location. Displacement however also comes with the loss of non-economic assets, such as the loss of cultural space or social status. It is also common for forced migrants to have suffered different types of traumas, for example the loss of family members, and other types of mental, physical or emotional trauma (Jacobsen, 2014). The ongoing conflict in Cameroon has resulted in many families losing their loved ones with children inclusive, which

still remain in their minds causing psychological trauma to some especially the elderly who lost their children who were their support system for survival. Another connection with the crisis in Cameroon, in line with physical loss, is the burning down of houses, schools, churches, farmlands, which has left many homeless. Many people have been forced to reside in bushes within the conflict zones since their houses were burnt down to ashes.

Jacobson (2014), stands with the fact that the ability of the forcefully displaced in regaining a livelihood is negatively influenced by the aspects of documentation and legal status. There is equally a long waiting period which could sometimes yield no fruits. This long period of waiting which most times ends negatively, often kills the morals or motivation of some displaced persons.

The terminology livelihood could also refer to the means that secure and support one's existence. We therefore make use of this term in our thesis as per the practices and structures essential, used by the government, humanitarian organizations and private donors in supporting the daily life of the internally displaced persons in Cameroon. The pursuit of livelihood by IDPs however is often affected by varied factors and new settings in their host countries, as is the case with IDPs in Cameroon. These factors could be physical or emotional. The physical factors however could be seen as those factors that have not been part of the IDPs former life, such as responses from the state and non-state actors either in the form of policies, practices and regulations, the resources of the host community, individual and family livelihood assets (Pokharel, 2010). Talking about emotional factors, "internal constraints" and "strengths", psychological situations (such as fear) of individuals, trauma experience, and readiness to participate are vital components not to be left out in the study of livelihood pursuit by IDPs (Pokharel, 2010).

In line with displaced livelihoods, we make use of two concepts namely: Sustainable livelihood Framework (SLF) and Rural Livelihood system (RLS) as conceptual grounds in examining the livelihood of IDPs in Cameroon. The SLF was established by the Department for international Development in the United Kingdom, and it is made use of in international development projects, while the RLS came into existence with the purpose of introducing some aspects not

considered by the SLF, and equally lay grounds for conceptual basis in examining IDPs livelihood (Pokharel, 2010).

4.2 Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)

In the quest for understanding the livelihood strategies of people, the SLF established by the United kingdom's Department for international development (DFID) is often used. The SLF however is perceived to be more realistic in rural to urban settings, and its main argument relies on the fact that it makes it possible to be able to identify those factors affecting livelihoods of persons, thus making the relation between them known (Pokharel, 2010). The DFID framework has however at one point been referred to by many scholars as an *"oversimplification of a complex reality"*, as it does not consider emotions, feelings and memories of the concerned which are very vital aspects to be considered in research as per the livelihood of the displaced (Pokharel, 2010). This therefore enables us to bring into play the concept of the Rural livelihood System (RLS) discussed below.

4.3 Rural Livelihood System (RLS)

According to Pokharel (2010), the RLS was established by the Swiss scholars Baumgartner and Hoegger, in collaboration with their Indian research team as they carried out their research work in India. The RLS operates just like the SLF but differs in some aspects as it looks critically at elements of decision making such as individual orientations, experience, emotions, attachments and worldviews, that are not considered by the SLF in connection with livelihoods (Pokharel, 2010). The RLS on one hand gives us the ability to look at the *"complexity of countless forces and factors, in addition to the lean notion of income sources, to understand how IDPs keep their household going"* (Pokharel, 2010). The varied life experiences of IDPs has tangible and intangible symbolic aspects, as the experiences of most IDPs(especially in conflict situations) are usually emotional and traumatic, as is the case with persons displaced in Cameroon as a result of the ongoing conflict(discussed in a previous chapter) that continues to keep people in fear and trauma. It is in this light that we sort to jointly make use of the RLS and the SLF as an analytical

framework so as to be able to study the livelihoods of IDPs in Cameroon, not just from the physical aspects but also basing on emotional aspects and views of persons be it at collective or individualistic levels.

In conclusion, in line with Jacobson, Pokharel et al., we focus on those aspects that affect the ability of the internally displaced persons in Cameroon as per the pursuit of creating or regenerating a livelihood for themselves at their host communities either at individualistic levels or through the help and assistance from the government, humanitarian organizations and some private donors. We equally seek to know what difficulties are encountered by the IDPs and most especially the stakeholders when it comes to the livelihood restitution of the IDPs in Cameroon. Having this theory as base, goes a long way in analyzing our obtained data as will be elaborated in one of our chapters below.

4.4 Displacement Economies

In a bid to understand and find answers to why some IDPs do not wish to register, as requested by the government, in order to receive aid officially, our focus drifts towards the notion of displacement economies. This concept will enable us to find out if the internally displaced persons are involved in some economic activity(formal or informal) which contributes to their livelihoods.

Amanda Hammer, in her editorial of the work "Displacement economies: paradoxes of crisis and creativity in Africa" developed what she termed:

"an approach to (not a theory of) displacement that focuses on the relational qualities and the paradoxes of displacement in general, and on both what produces displacement and what it in turn produces (Hammer, 2014,)"

An analysis of this approach, displacement economies will guide us in seeking answers to the above mentioned question. In this approach Hammer answers a series of dynamic questions, the

most important being on how the value of things, bodies, spaces, natural resources and money are altered or maintained during very serious crises and displacements (Hammer, 2014, p. 4).

The work puts to vision the complexities and contingencies of the African social, political and economic realities during periods of crisis and violence (Hammer, 2014, p.13). This will enable us to look at the situation of IDPs in Cameroon, bearing in mind these complexities and contingencies of the approach of displacement economies.

Hammer expatriates on the notions of enforcement, movement and mobility. Most importantly for our work, we pay attention to the fact that the approach looks at force from the angle of political, economic, socio-cultural and environmental factors which cause people to carry out certain activities that would normally not do (Hammer, 2014, p.14). Hence, informality in economic activity

It is in this light that we intend to use this approach to uncover the mystery behind the refusal to be registered and the economic activities which the IDPs now engage in, away from their original homes. In line with displacement economies, we drift our interest more into the informal sector of economy as per the activities engaged in by the IDPs in regaining their livelihoods. This is because we discovered\observed in our 8th semester project while we did interview some IDPs in Cameroon, that they were basically using the informal sector of business to improve or regain a livelihood for themselves and families. The concept of informal economy with specifics to Cameroon will be discussed below and later be used in the analysis of our obtained data in subsequent chapter.

4.5 Informal Economy

This part of our thesis seeks to examine the informal employment sector with emphasis on the Cameroon setting. Informal employment is regarded as, *“income generating activities that are legal(non-criminal) but are either not covered or insufficiently covered by the regulatory system”* (Zhang, 2017). A few reasons such as scarcity of modern or formal sector jobs do exist

as to why people get involved with informal employment, especially in the global south. According to Zhang (2017), informal employment however is seen to be of two categories namely: informal waged employment and self-employment. The informal sector of employment in Cameroon basically sees the IDPs to a larger extent involved in street vending, which is defined as a *“type of informal self-employment, as it generally involves a lack of business permits, the violation of zoning codes and a failure to comply with tax or sanitation regulations”*(Zhang, 2017).

Cameroon, just like many developing countries in the world, depends on a wide informal economic sector for its Gross Domestic Product(GDP) and to curb unemployment that the formal sector cannot handle. Most people, in order to earn a living and participate in economic growth, undertake mostly medium and small scale businesses and activities without legal registration and tax payments. Before we take a deeper look at this concept and how it affects our paper, it is important to present a definition of the term.

According to Kingsley Awang Ollong, in his paper “Cameroon's Informal Sector: A Lever for Poverty Alleviation”, one of the most widely accepted definitions of the informal economy was given by Schneider(1986). Schneider's definition states that,

“The informal economy is the sum of all economic activities that contribute to value-added and which should be included in national income in terms of national accounting conventions that are presently not registered by national measurement agencies ”(Schneider, 1986).

However, Awang goes further to present an explanation of informal economy in other terms which ties with the aspects we look forward to utilising in our paper. Awang explains further by stating,

“by informal economy, we mean all enterprises and activities that the government is willing and able to capture but which for one reason or the other do not comply with standard business norms such as filing taxes, adhering to labour laws, being registered with chambers of commerce etc”(Awang, nd).

According to a study published in November 2011 by the National Institute of Statistics (Institut National de la Statistique - INS), more than 2.5 million production units of informal sector are found within the Cameroonian territory, of which close to half (49.5%) are situated in rural areas and over 33.3% in the cities of Yaoundé and Douala, respectively, the country's political and economic capitals(INS 2011). At the same time, in this same study, a detailed structure of production units with regards to specific sectors of activity is also given. Showing that 34.1% of informality takes place in industry, while 33.6% operate in commerce and almost the same number, 32.2%, in services.(INS 2011)

These statistics place Cameroon amongst the countries with a very large informal sector, and are very useful to our paper in that they serve as a pointer to the activities of IDPs, and their non-registration to government records.

The impact of Informal markets as seen by Achua and Lussier in their article “Entrepreneurial drive and the informal economy in Cameroon” published in the journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship in 2014, in which they describe the informal sector as the life force of Cameroon as a nation and the central African region's economy, in particular, encompassing complexity and opportunity (Achua and Lussier 2014).

They further explain in their study that most people get into this sector as informal entrepreneurs mainly by necessity and only few of them are driven by opportunities (Achua & Lussier, 2014). They also take a close look at the pull factors which according to them, are those identified with the longing for development, quest for freedom, and the eagerness to be self employed among others. Thus the quest to be identified with self-improvement and personal satisfaction (Achua and Lussier, 2014).

These aspects of informality in Cameroon revealed above will be very useful in our bid to understand and answer one of our sub research questions in the later part of our work.

Chapter Five

ANALYSIS

The analysis at hand, seeks to probe what shapes the livelihood pursuit of the internally displaced persons in Cameroon, thus answering our main research question focused on understanding the actions put in place by the state and non-state actors as per IDPs in Cameroon regaining their livelihood. The analysis therefore devotes itself in describing and examining obtained data concerning the actions of the Cameroon government and some Organizations while helping the displaced regain a livelihood in urban cities. This will be realized by use of the theoretical framework of Displaced livelihood, Sustainable Livelihood frameworks and Rural livelihood systems, previously described. To further examine these livelihoods, and the difficulties associated with them, some above mentioned concepts such as informal economies and displacement economies will be linked to discuss in conceptual terms, hence making it comparable with studies of such magnitude. This analysis however goes from a description of particularities obtained from our interviews, towards more general conceptualizations. It will so take us on a part going into specifics of our first sub-research question: *What are the difficulties encountered and why?* followed by *What income generating activities are the IDPs involved in?*, *What impedes the quest for livelihood by the IDPs?* And *Why are IDPs reluctant to register with the government?*

We however structure this analysis into three parts, with the aim of addressing the different actors involved in supporting the livelihood pursuit of IDPs in Cameroon at individual or

administerial levels. This division permits us to chronologically provide answers to issues related to our research question and the different steps involved in the pursuit of livelihood. Each scale will be elaborated upon at the beginning of each specific part. Hence the aim of the analysis is a scale by scale intended to examine what the actors and the IDPs themselves underpin while trying to establish and structure a livelihood in their host communities, with concepts such as informality and informal economies integrated into the analysis.

Internally displaced persons in Cameroon are currently facing hard times, thus leaving them with the option of practising varied ways of making a living either individually or through some stakeholders. Most of the IDPs we interviewed are from rural areas where land and land-based livelihoods were their primary source of subsistence and income. Most of the IDPs were however forced to move from their rural setting of life into urban and semi-urban areas of the country(Cameroon), which they perceive to be safer for them. Displacement however is accompanied by effects such as dispersion of communities, families separated from each other, regular support systems shattered, culture oppressed, thus forcing the affected population to depend on the government, Humanitarian Organizations, religious authorities, friends and relatives for the basics of survival(Korn, 1999). This simply implies that displacement brings about significant ontological changes. Our analysis is structured below in a bid to provide insights to our findings.

5.1 Factors affecting livelihood of Cameroon IDPs in host communities

This part of our analysis seeks to bring out some of the impending factors when it comes to the IDPs regaining or establishing a livelihood in their host communities, after being displaced and their economic activities virtually displaced or shattered alongside the displacement process.

The displaced persons from rural areas, now settled in urban cities in Cameroon put in the best of efforts in regenerating a livelihood either individually or through assistance from individuals, government or humanitarian organizations. The economic activities that were in place in their respective communities before the set conflict forced the people to flee, were also displaced,

shattered or altered alongside the people. Regardless of the difficulties the people went through in getting to their present communities where they settle as IDPs, they still find varied motivations or reasons to engage in some activities so as to put food on their table and meet up with other basic needs. Regarding the degree of difficulty encountered while trying to flee and settle in a safer environment, we interviewed one IDP who said “ *Due to the crisis in the southwest and northwest, the boys were attacking us so i had to pass through Mbanga, Dibombari before getting to Douala*”(Audio 4,1min to 1min30secs). This journey is a very stressful and tiring one which can only be completed in days and in difficult and horrific conditions which entails going through bushes. After going through such terrible journeys and one finally settles in a city like Douala or Yaounde, some factors that are seen as impeding the motivations of the set IDPs in their livelihood pursuit include:

a) Issue of identity

The aspect of identity with displaced persons as discussed by Jacobson(2012), is a situation also faced with displaced persons in Cameroon. Most of the IDPs we interviewed gave a recount of the issue of “identity” giving them a special social status in their former local communities, unlike their present situations where they are in Camps or with friends and families in an entire different setting which see them being addressed to as “displaced persons”, thus giving them a new unwanted identity which to some extent is a stigma to them. People that have been displaced face not only changes in their physical identity, as they move involuntarily from rural to Urban cities, but have equally been categorized with a new label “IDPs”, and have equally been placed under new and strange environments with new regulations and interventions as compared to their former rural settings. All of this therefore gives them a new identity.

A power relationship is also set up with the host in the Socio-economic space of livelihood pursuit by mere mentioning of the label IDP. This simply imply most displaced persons see themselves being looked in their host communities as outsiders when referred to as IDPs,

therefore a sense of not belonging in the set community and to an extent seen as infringers on the resources and facilities of their host population.

b)Personal orientation

We through our interviews got a recount from most of the IDPs as leaving in fear, depression, frustration, with some seeing the future to be uncertain. This was the case with Madam Ebonkem who said “ *home is home, the fact that I am here makes me feel like a stranger*”(Audio 4, 4mins to 4mins31secs). Such personal decisions however could be guided by individual orientations, personal aspirations, visions and hopes. Madam Ebonkem went ahead to say for her, doing business where people know you is more profitable than where you are a stranger. They mostly compare life struggles in their host communities to their former habitual rural community activities, thus leaving most of them with the thinking of the huge harvest they would have made from the usual day to day farming activities. For example, one the IDPs we interviewed said “ *i was a farmer and when I farm I eat some and sell some, I cultivate cassava, maize, egusi and groundnut*”(Audio 4, 30secs to 1mins). This lady was initially a farmer in Malende, southwest region of Cameroon, who had a good livelihood established in that part of the country, but had to engage in a petty business of selling garri. This type of business in Cameroon is categorized under the informal sector as it does not entail the payment of any taxes or respecting of any zonal codes.

We through our interviews realized that the young educated persons remained the most motivated in the IDP setting, as they expressed their greater aspirations with some seemingly integrated already in varied sectors. Some youths have used their level of education in getting jobs such as teaching in primary and secondary schools, where they have a monthly salary that

enables them meet up with their basic needs, thus regenerating a livelihood for such a category of persons is not a problem.

As for the elderly, their visions and aspirations were simply to re-establish their lost socio-economic and political status in their place of origin. All they wanted was to return to their normal rural lifestyle as they mentioned not feeling at home in their host country. An elderly person who has for a greater part of his life been dependent on farming activities as a source of livelihood, now settled as an IDP in a son or daughters house in a rural area where he basically can't do anything to make ends meet since the economic activities in the urban setting differs from that of his initial rural setting. Again as an elderly person staying in a house with so many people is hard as they most often need to be in very quiet environments, which is beneficial for their health status.

Internal displaced persons like some migrants live in economic conditions shaped by the existence of almost saturated labour markets that do not provide many employment opportunities(Schutte, 2005). This therefore has seen a rise in competition, conflict and mistrust between the IDPs and their host communities. The presence of the displaced has been accepted in their host communities as an expression of the countries ongoing internal conflict, although some of the displaced still face discrimination. IDPs are often seen by host communities, governmental and non-governmental agencies, private donors, religious authorities as persons in distress and in need. This could be felt by the actions of some agencies and individuals stepping up to provide basic needs for the IDPs. For example Loving Hearts Foundation through its volunteer members and their connecting hearts have reached out to *“approximately 15000 vulnerable persons, with 5000 among them being IDPs in Cameroon and other member countries with basic needs such as food and health care services for the IDPs”*(Audio 1, 5mins20s to 5mins50s). One of their humanitarian activities was a very effective and holistic medical campaign carried out at the residence of a traditional ruler hosting about 200 plus IDPs in the city of Douala. General medical consultations were done by help of loving Hearts medical team and volunteers, with activities such as the treatment of common diseases, provision of first

aid box with drugs, health talks and education. They in one of their activities reached out to and paid hospital bills to some sick and hospitalized IDPs in a medical center in Yaounde.

c) Language barrier

Cameroon is a country with official languages being English and French. The French language is mostly spoken and practiced by persons from the French speaking parts of the Country such as Bafoussam, Yaounde, Douala, etc while English language on the other hand is more often spoken by persons from the English speaking parts of the country. This issue of language has however made many persons in the country face discrimination and a sort of hindrance at their place of work, community and other parts of the country. This is the case with most of the IDPs from the English speaking part of Cameroon, now settled as IDPs in Douala, Yaounde. For example, Ebai who is originally from Kumba, an english speaking region of Cameroon, now battles with a form of discrimination in the nature of language barrier as he narrated facing serious difficulty with the French language in Yaounde where he presently stays as an IDP, *as he says we are forced to learn the french language by fire by force*”(Audio 6, 5mins to 5mins20s). This therefore makes it difficult for him to earn much money from his bike business since it's difficult to communicate with his passengers, thus making livelihood pursuit in his new area of settlement difficult due to language issues.

5.2 Government action to assist IDPs

The government of Cameroon has predefined budgets and timeframes which we according to our findings, perceive as being far less than required to properly respond to the basic needs of the displaced.

Since the beginning of the conflict in 2016 that continues to result in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Cameroonians to areas in and out of the affected regions, the authorities of Cameroon have undertaken certain actions to provide relief aid to the IDPs. Under the control of the ministry of territorial administration through its department of Civil Protection,

the government of Cameroon has been offering basic necessities to IDPs in areas where they have been identified and their immediate needs noted.

Some of the actions include amongst others the provision of beds, blankets, clothing, food items and toiletries. According to a report by Cameroon Tribune, the daily national state newspaper, the minister, speaking in one of such ceremonies in Bafoussam, on 19th of September 2019, told the public that the items given, were selected at the request of the IDPs, who are more concerned about daily survival than starting a new livelihood altogether.

According to the government minister, focus is on making peace to return to the regions so that the displaced masses can return to their homes and to their normal lives. This however, may not seem very likely, as the conflict continues to ravage the regions months after the national dialogue which the minister had hoped will bring lasting solutions.

Government action takes place basically in secured areas like Douala, Yaounde and Bafoussam in the French speaking area, and in some towns like Bamenda, Buea, Limbe, Mamfe, Kumba, etc in the Anglophone regions. These actions which are limited to these urban areas is due to the insecure nature of the sub-urban and rural areas where fighting persists making it difficult to access and meet those basically living in bushes and dying of hunger. According to a report by VOA Africa's journalist Moki Edwin, in January 2019, a wide majority of the IDPs cannot receive aid due to the remoteness of their areas of escape where they are trapped in between the government soldiers and separatist militias(Edwin, 2019).This can therefore be argued to have placed the people as the vulnerables between a fight that concerns the state and the armed separatists groups. The government therefore has as first major difficulty, access to most of the displaced, making it quite a difficult task to get basic aids to them, talk less of helping them establish a livelihood.

Another major difficulty faced by the government in the distribution of aid, is the refusal to register and be identified as an IDP. During our interview with Mr Ignatius Kukwa, an official of the Douala municipality, he points out that they can only help those who are registered and so far

in their region, only over 20.000 IDPs have been registered and are taken care of(Audio 5, 2mins30s to 3mins).

This notwithstanding, they still carry out their regular missions of distributing whatever relief aid they have to those they have identified in the region.

Government action, though in most cases limited to the provision of basic necessities, goes a long way to enhance the IDPs quest for a balanced and stable livelihood. It might seem insufficient to provide just food, household needs and clothing, but it is worth noting that a healthy and well-fed person thinks better and is likely to have better ideas on how to fend for him or herself as opposed to someone who is unable to eat, stay healthy and sleep well. We can therefore say, to a large extent, that government action, despite the difficulties, is favourable to the IDPs in a bid to regain a livelihood.

5.3 Difficulties encountered

A major set back we noticed during our findings in March 2019 field work for the 8th Semester project, was the inability of the government to provide housing to the displaced. No camps are available to host the IDPs and no provision is made to lodge them. (Field notes, April, 2019)

In a situation where the government is expected to take the lead role in line with its responsibilities as stipulated by the Kampala Convention(2009, Art...), it is surprising to observe that not even a single IDP was\is been lodged by the government. On the contrary, churches were mostly at the forefront either by letting the IDPs sleep in their halls, or getting Christians who have extra rooms at home to take a good number of IDPs to temporarily live with them. (Field notes, April, 2019)

The final option to those who could not find a place in any of the above mentioned locations is to turn to friends and family for accommodation. From the interviews we recorded both in 2019 and 2020, Mr Niba lives with nine other relatives in a single room provided by their uncle. (Neba, April 2019, 4mins10s). Ngum Elizabeth lives with other friends in an apartment. (Audio 3, 2mins15s).The same goes for many other people whom we met and talked to during our fieldwork in April 2019, who preferred to remain anonymous. (Field notes)

Another major weakness observed in government action towards IDPs is the inability to provide solid activities, training and tools that can enable the IDPs to regain a livelihood. It is true that from a political perspective, government would love to see peace return and all, if not most, of the IDPs returning to their original homes, but we think it would be more appropriate to help the IDPs to be self-sufficient and independent by providing them with the necessary tools that can enable them earn a living. Without contradicting the fact that basic necessities are important for the IDPs, we think the inability of the government to provide or facilitate professional integration and economic insertion, is a major setback in the IDPs quest for a livelihood.

Last but not the least, the inability of the government to make it possible for the citizens to trust in its actions. It should be noted that for the past years Cameroon has been classified amongst the most corrupt countries in the world by the global anti-corruption coalition, international NGO, Transparency International. This together with the bottlenecks involved in all official procedures is a great impediment to the citizens trusting their government. The untrustworthiness of the government as we were told by those we interviewed (Ngum, Ebai, Ebonkem, April 2020) who are IDPs and from Kukwa Ignatius, a government official, is one of the reasons most IDPs are not registered and as such not being able to receive assistance from the government, no matter how small aid may seem.

These shortcomings from the government are partially put to right by some non-state stakeholders whose actions we will discuss below.

5.4 Organizations activities towards IDPs in Cameroon

Some non- governmental Organizations have since the outbreak of the crisis in Cameroon been actively involved in humanitarian activities to persons displaced within the southwest and Northwest regions and equally those that have been displaced into other parts of the country. We however discovered that a vast majority of humanitarian aid is only made available to those persons displaced out of the conflict zones, into different parts of the country. This is simply because the Northwest and Southwest regions are still under conflict and so making it hard to

access a typical conflict area for most people who attempt to get into such areas have been kidnapped, or denied access by the military and the separatists groups. We discuss below some initiatives put in place by our chosen organizations towards helping the IDPs regain a livelihood.

It is clear that the immediate needs of every displaced person should be housing, feeding, health etc but we believe giving them something more sustainable could enable them generate income irrespective of how small it may be, thus affording basic needs no longer depends on some individuals, organizations or the government. Loving Hearts Foundation is one of many organizations in Cameroon that has been actively involved with displaced persons in Cameroon since the outbreak of the crisis in 2016. They in 2016 reached out to some IDPs in a remote area called Malende in the Southwest region of Cameroon. Some cocoa farmers in Malende had been displaced and were staying in huts in their cocoa farms without access to any basic need, so loving hearts foundation was at their call with some basic needs such as food through their volunteers within their sphere of influence. Some families are living in desperate situations as a result of the ongoing crisis which has had a huge negative impact on many persons. This is the case of a displaced family that settled in Bamenda, where they stayed 32 persons in a two room house, *“we again provided food stuff to this family in desperate need for food to survive”* (Audio 1, 16mins to 16mins50secs). This organization does everything possible to avoid the too many intermediaries that might exist between the IDPs and the giving heart. For example, they identified an IDP youth in Yaounde who needed education and decided to pay for the child's tuition fees directly to the school administration rather than given the money to the child or the parents as it might not serve the purpose for which it is intended (Audio 1, 9mins50secs to 11mins30secs). Aside from providing basic needs such as food, shelter, education, loving hearts foundation has been able to provide some empowerment skills to some IDPs in Cameroon, with the aim of helping them generate income to meet up with their basic needs and that of their immediate family. Talking about empowerment, loving Hearts foundation has actually put in some vital efforts. This organization in one of its initiatives, through the skills and expertise of its members reached out to some vulnerable persons in Yaounde who like many other needed just food to survive, but they came up with the idea of providing the set vulnerable persons with a

bag of flour(50kg) and other stuffs used for baking purposes. The vulnerable persons were taught how to bake what is commonly called “puff-puff” by using the provided flour and ingredients. *Loving hearts foundation told us that they had to motivate these vulnerable persons by advising them to bake the puff-puff, sell to their community and by doing so they generate some income for themselves and also feed on some of the puff-puff*”(Audio 1, 19mins20secs to 20mins30secs). Another skill taught to some IDPs by loving Hearts foundation was the fabrication of locally used beads(Audio 1, 20mins31secs to 20mins52secs). It should be noted that the raw material for such beads is to be made available to them by the loving hearts volunteers. During one of their outreach programs to the vulnerables, they came into contact with an IDP who was a tailor in the Northwest region but lost everything due to the crisis. This organization after many talks with the set IDP and their volunteers, decided to use their resources in making a sewing machine available for the set IDP, so that he could use that to continue his already acquired skills, thus establishing a livelihood for himself, his immediate family and equally help in training other youths willing to learn how to sew(Audio 1, 21mins13secs to 22mins25secs).

Another interesting discovery was the fact that the loving Hearts foundation actually believes so much in creating something sustainable for IDPs as per helping them regenerate or establish a livelihood for themselves. According to the global coordinator for loving Hearts foundation, they are “ *developing an innovative business idea to help some IDPs start it, while monitoring the political environment in the country*” (Lambert, 2020).

All the above mentioned sustainable activities put in place by Loving Hearts Foundation in helping some IDPs in Cameroon regenerate a livelihood, are mostly geared towards the informal sector of economy, thus meaning the benefactors do not have to pay for any tax(Awang,nd). We therefore see that the informal sector is highly impacted in the country as a result of the crisis which has left many to go into petit businesses(tax free) so as to make ends meet.

Another prominent association/organisation currently involved in assisting the displaced persons in Cameroon is NOWECAD(North West Association of Cameroonians in Denmark). The

association forms part of the very vibrant and influential Cameroon diaspora, which plays a major role in impacting the lives of Cameroonians in general, and the IDPs in particular.

In a project financed by contributions from members of the association, Nowecad embarked on supporting the IDPs in two phases, one in the North West Region and the other in the South West Region. Coordinated by the Bishop of the Bamenda Archdiocese, the association offered basic necessities for daily household use and some groceries to over 50 IDPs in Nkwen, Bamenda, Northwest region of Cameroon. The distribution took place at the Futru parish after a Sunday mass in September 2019.(Audio 2:From 4m10s to 5m2s)

A similar ceremony was held in the South West Region by the Bishop of Buea, while the AYAH Foundation was in charge of distributing the relief material to those IDPs dispersed into the bushes. The action of Nowecad, according to the treasurer, Mr Chi Kenneth who spoke to us, is to give hope to the needy and pave the way for better things to follow. (Audio 2, 5mins30secs to 6mins20secs).Showing a hand of fellowship to the IDPs, is in a bid to participate, in a small way in rebuilding the shattered livelihoods of hundreds of people. (Chi Kenneth). Below are some pictures depicting the humanitarian works of this organization.



Source: From Chi Kenneth, Nowecad

5.5 Effective Private Donor initiatives

This part of our analysis seeks to examine the individual actors and physical components structuring the daily lives of the internally displaced persons in Cameroon. It will further make use of the concept of informal economies in discussing the varied ways in which the IDPs have been impacted by creating space, which generates livelihoods and homes for themselves and families.

Each time a humanitarian crisis befalls a people, some philanthropists step in to help change the situation by generously donating to those affected in order to sustain a living and re-establish a livelihood where possible. The case of Cameroon is not an exception. Since the beginning of the crisis that has resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people within the national territory, some politicians, business men and women, members of the Cameroon Diaspora amongst others, have undertaken certain relief aid initiatives geared towards the restoration of the livelihoods of the displaced masses.

One of such initiatives has been carried out by Senator Honore Ngam, member of Cameroon senate of the Boyo constituency, in the North West Region. According to The Horizon Newspaper No 428 of Tuesday 21st May 2019, Senator Ngam had previously carried out several humanitarian missions to distribute basic necessities to distressed IDPs from Boyo division in a project dubbed “Gamti Boyo”, meaning, help Boyo. During this past phase of the humanitarian activity, the Senator focused on providing for the immediate needs of the displaced persons (Horizon, 2019).

The new phase of Senator Ngam's initiative is much more relevant to our work as it is now directed towards the livelihood goals of families within and out of Boyo division, North West Region. The program targets thirty families of Boyo origin spread in towns like Yaounde, Douala, Bafoussam, Bamenda, Bertoua, etc. The article specifies that the activity is directly linked with providing ways and means for these families to regain their livelihoods.

“The importance of this new, urgent initiative lies in the fact that it seeks to provide secure-livelihoods to the selected families through the provision of seed funds that enable them kickstart entrepreneurial journeys for their families.” (The Horizon, 2019)

The Senators' actions are not limited to consumables which must be replaced as soon as they are finished, but more on the establishment of displacement economies which if managed can sustain the families for a far longer period, if not forever.

“The Senator's move is informed by the philosophy that it is preferable to teach someone how to fish rather than continuously giving somebody fish, this is also key to ensuring continuous learning as a way of empowering people with skills that they will use for the rest of their life.”(The Horizon, 2019)

It is in this light that, coupled with the packages of essential needs and basic household items offered to each family, Senator Ngam puts at the disposal of each of the displaced families a sum of 50.000cfa (equivalent to about Dkk 575) to start up a mini business which can help the family to regain their livelihood (Horizon, 2019). This amount if diligently used in some informal business, such as buying and selling of food items and household commodities, and the gain ploughed back into the business, it can steadily grow into a good family business hence the successful establishment of livelihoods.

In the same light, a woodcraft man based in Buea, Southwest region of Cameroon seeing the way most youths are jobless, decided to launch an empowerment program through his skilled job. He impacted the lives of youths between the ages of 14 to 19 years, based in Buea(Mimi, 2020). The first face of his empowerment program saw 10 youths benefiting from a three year skilled training program geared towards arts, carpentry and crafts(Mimi, 2020). The young craftsman narrated his gesture to be his own way of showing gratitude, an opportunity to help alleviate poverty in his community and also preserving the quality of his profession. This training however is free, as his not focused on making money but is rather bothered about empowering the youths so that they will in turn impact others tomorrow and thus help them establish a livelihood.

Another individual philanthropic activity geared towards helping the IDPs in Cameroon meet up with basic needs and thus establish a livelihood is that of Mr Milad, a Cameroonian based in Denmark. During our interview, he gave us a series of motivations for gearing into philanthropic activities, especially in Cameroon. Firstly, he based his motivations on the “Principle of distributive justice, which according to him seeks to see the world's resources evenly distributed so that human beings can meet their needs and live a better life”(Audio 7, 1min8secs to 1min43secs). Another motivation stems from the fact that he is a Cameroonian who has benefited from the country's resources, education and aids from family or friends, and so he thought it wise to do what he terms “giving back to the society”(Audio 7, 3mins30secs to 3mins34secs). One of the most interesting motivation is the fact that he believes individuals and citizens need to come in so as to fill the gap left behind by government and non-governmental organizations in trying to help the IDPs(Audio 7, 2mins55secs to 3mins25secs). These motivations made him go into helping the vulnerable persons in Cameroon, as he believes having enough to eat and drink for oneself while others die of starvation or lack basic needs is not worth it. He then decided to set up a foundation to help facilitate his philanthropic activities towards the displaced persons in Cameroon. With some displaced in need of shelter, some orphanages now host some of the IDPs in Cameroon. So these IDPs while in the orphanages depend on philanthropic activities for some basic surviving needs like food. Mr Milad in his quest of helping the needy came to the aid of some of the IDPs hosted by an orphanage in Buea, Southwest region, Cameroon by providing food and some clothing especially to women and young girls. The set crisis has eventually led many in the rural areas displaced in to bushes where they stay in small huts, without drinkable water, food, clothing, with some women haven to put to birth new born babies in bushes under horrific conditions. It is in this light that Mr Milad through his foundation try to identify such women and provide them with financial incentives and some baby dresses(Audio 7, 6mins5secs to 6mins58secs). One of the interesting needs mentioned and taken care of by Mr Milad is the “Psychological needs of women and young girls”(Audio 7, from 16mins30secs to 17mins47secs). More interest is drifted towards women and

young girls as they are most often the most vulnerable during conflict situations, thus could be prone to engaging in activities such as prostitution as a source of income, which definitely destroys their personality accompanied by a stigma as is always the case in Cameroon. This therefore needs the young girls to be preoccupied.

One of the most interesting point concerning Mr Milads works in helping the IDPs regenerate a livelihood, was the fact that He believes “*every activity towards helping the IDPs needs to be “sustainable”, thus having a long lasting impact on the lives of the IDPs*”(Audio 7, 22mins to 25mins50secs). The idea of creating sustainable solutions was backed by a one year vocational training program in tailoring and hair draising. This program is meant solely for girls with the aim of preoccupying them towards learning a skill. The beneficiaries will benefit from a “small workshop” set up by the philanthropist, to enable the IDPs generate some income for themselves and their family (Audio 7, 5mins11secs to 6 mins 2 secs). These activities however do not only help the IDPs generate income but equally contributes to the informal sector of the country and to an extent displaced economies established again.

5.6 Reactions of IDPs in Cameroon as per livelihood pursuit

We agree with arguments in an article on rural migrants in China, written by Him Chung (2018), where he talks about ways in which some new migrants negotiate their daily lives from a disadvantaged position (Chung, 2018). Migrants need to be “active agents” with their own desires, dynamics, and identities, shaped by the entire migration process (Zhang, 2001). Applying this to the context of IDPs in Cameroon implies that the IDPs, displaced from their rural settings of livelihood should not be put in a restricted position as per their pursuit of livelihood in their host communities but rather should be at the forefront as persons who are active with alternative routes, jobs and communities within and together with the city. Thus, rural migrants should not be regarded as powerless, displaced and losers, but persons who have the potential to reshape themselves and establish their own lives in the urban cities they now settle (Chung, 2018). Caroline Wanjiku Kihato (2011) argues in one of her write ups on the daily

life's of migrant women in Johannesburg, where she pinpoints that there is a sort of network generated between the displaced and the host community, which are conceptualized as daily practices of exchange thus indicating that urban settings of live are produced and structured by varied regimes of authority, social norms, and moral codes hence creating new urban social orders(Kihato, 2011).The daily networks created between the IDPs and their host communities can be argued as been established by their varied daily practices of exchange. For example, the case of an IDP who has a daily job getting into the community markets where he helps transport the items bought by persons, to cover his needs in exchange of his services. These exchange practices are perceived as integrated networks which see the IDPs being able to establish a livelihood for themselves and their families.

5.7 Networks and informal economic activities

This part of our analysis seeks to examine the various activities engaged in by the IDPs through informal employment as they struggle to establish a livelihood, and equally what they do concretely in trying to replace their displaced economic activities. We hereby make use of the conceptualization of informality (Roy's, 2009) which is intended to understand the various systems created in their respective host communities as they struggle to establish a livelihood. It is interesting to note that the concept of informality in Cameroon is established by all actors involved in helping the IDPs, and not single handedly by the sovereign power as stated by Roy

The current crisis in Cameroon has seen a large scale increase in rural- to- urban migration, which has made many to venture into informal or non-taxed paid activities in their respective host communities by creating income generating activities either individually or by assistance from friends or some social networks. During our interview with Mrs. Ebonkem, she recounted *"I now buy and sell "garri" as a way to make money so I could meet up with my needs"* (Audio 4, 3mins20secs to 3mins30sec). This can be argued as being a result of the formal sector of economic activities not being able to create sufficient income generating activities to the influx of displaced masses.

The escalation of urban street vending in the global south is commonly viewed to be a consequence of unemployment(Zhang, 2018), but this claim is argued to be different in Cameroon with the crisis that has pushed many into street vending in various urban cities, in an attempt to improve or establish a livelihood for themselves and their families.This can however be argued through a theoretical approach of informal employment(Zhang, 2018). Street vending as a method of improving one's livelihood is perceived in most countries as a motivation for persons with the ability of going into the formal sector of employment for fear of reasons such as paying very high taxes, as is the case with Cameroon.

In a bid to find out why IDPs are reluctant to register with their local government offices, we looked into their activities and noticed that most of them are engaged in informal economic activities, which are well known to the government, but tolerated as they contribute to the GDP of the country(Awang,nd),and enhance or improve living conditions of IDPs.

Before touching on the aspect of informality, we look at the effectiveness of Amanda Hammer's(2012) principles and approach to displacement economies in relation to the IDPs we interviewed.

Hammer's notions of 'what produces displacement and what it in turn produces, how the value of things and money is altered or maintained in times of crisis, and, enforcement which pushes people to carry out activities which they will normally not do' , is quite visible in the activities of the IDPs we interviewed.

Monique, Elizabeth and Baudwin have been displaced by an armed conflict which has caused a change in their activities. Monique was a farmer in Malende(a village in the southwest region, Cameroon) growing her own crops and selling directly, but now being displaced she is reduced to retailing what she buys from others (Audio 4, 35s to 55s) .Elizabeth has to abandon the more dignifying job of a teacher she used to be in her hometown of Mbatu, to embrace the less privileged position of a housemaid due to her new status and environment and the need to survive.(Audio 3, 25secs to 35secs). Finally, Baudwin, who worked in a soap production factory

in Kumba is forced to become a commercial bike rider in Yaounde during his displacement.
(Audio 6, 30secs to 50secs)

Generally, no official reason can be given for the IDPs' refusal to register, but judging from what those interviewed had to say, we argue that this decision is influenced and facilitated by involvement in some tax free economic activity, thus the fear that if identified, they may be constrained to pay those taxes.

Speaking to Mr Kukwa Ignatius, a social welfare official of the Douala municipality, and asked why he thinks the displaced persons shun registration, he had this to say,

“Many do not trust the government. The government is the problem. The displaced persons think the government is not reliable enough for them to reveal themselves to its officials. And, others easily find some tax free activities. Meaning if they register officially, they may not be able to evade the taxes. That's why we have some very limited numbers registered so far”(Audio 5, 1m27s to 2m15s).

This can be illustrated empirically from the activities of the IDPs we interviewed. Though not directly stated), the refusal to register is connected with the ease in carrying out a tax free activity which is more beneficial to them.

When asked what she does to earn a living, Ebonkem Monique said that she received money from the church which she used in opening a small business whereby she is a retailer of cassava powder(locally known as garri), to sustain her family. (Audio 4, 30secs to 3mins30secs). We believe that having this informal activity which keeps her and her children alive, influenced her decision not to register.

During our interview with Ngum Elizabeth, she told us that though she had received some food items from the government she was not really interested in registering with the authorities, adding that she thinks it's not necessary(Audio 3,2mins30secs to 2mins47secs). In order to survive as an IDP in her new settlement, she works as a housemaid to a family.

"I am a maid in a house. I do cooking and cleaning in a family house" (Audio 3, 4mins40secs to 4mins50secs). Working as a housemaid in Cameroon is an unregistered and nontaxable activity which falls under the informal sector. Elizabeth's engagement in this activity helps her to sustain a living thus the declaration of no interest in registering as an IDP.

Meanwhile, Ebai Baudwin, is a commercial bike rider in the nation's capital Yaounde where he settled after fleeing his area. He too is not registered and carries this activity, which, according to him, does not give him as much income as his activity back in his home area, but permits him to survive. He says, *"I was working in a soap factory in Kumba"* But now in Yaounde he is a commercial bike rider, which is very challenging (Audio 6: 3mins25secs to 3mins55secs).

The above examples of activities carried out by the IDPs ties with Awang's explanation of informality, that is, 'activities which do not comply with standard business norms(Awang,nd) No regular registration and tax follow up. And the fact that all our cited IDPs carry out these activities against their wish relates to Achua and Lussier who see informality as "driven by necessity and not by opportunities" (Achua and Lussier, 2014).

Chapter Six

6.1 Findings

We in this section of our thesis bring out the interesting findings while we went through our entire writing and data collection process. This thesis as earlier said provided answers to our research questions intended to see into the actions put into place by the stakeholders, be it the state or non-state stakeholders, in trying to help the displaced persons establish a livelihood. During our interview process with our respondents, some interesting facts were acquired, and some more insights gotten from some other academic works, local newspapers, local Tv and Radio networks.

Most IDPs in Cameroon sustain their livelihoods outside the Camp settings, as a great number of them have managed individually while some through assistance from families, some humanitarian organizations, philanthropic individuals, and their social networks. Some of the IDPs however see themselves with other poor migrants in what is termed “informal settlements” in some cities such as Douala, Yaounde and Bafoussam, thus sharing rents with the poor migrants. It should however be noted that a relatively small fraction, mostly political leaders, village elites such as chiefs who had houses in urban cities could be seen to continue their lives

normally without any significant problem. A great number of the displaced persons because of the said conflict now settle in neighboring Nigeria as refugees were, they continue to seek humanitarian aid.

The government of Cameroon does not fully carry out its responsibilities as it is stipulated by the Kampala convention (2009), which indulges states with the sole responsibility of meeting the needs of displaced persons within their country. Firstly, there are no settlements provided to the displaced masses by the Cameroon government. This can be argued to an extent to be an act of negligence as per their own citizens and thus it helps increase crime rate since the government is not able to meet up with simply providing accommodation. Looking at the Cameroon setting which the researchers are very much familiar with, most atrocities caused by youths in the country are carried out by youths who are homeless and have no means of survival. Another loophole as per the government's actions, is the inability of the government doing all it takes for its citizens to trust in them, reason why most of the IDPs see no reason to get registered with their respective local governments. The only findings as per the government helping the IDPs is merely providing basic needs which we perceive as mere "charity work". As a government, citizens look up to them for extreme support which should go a long way helping the displaced masses forget their trauma and loss if well treated, so much so that they don't feel like strangers in their own country simply because they have been displaced by a conflict in which they are mere victims and not participants of the set conflict. For development to be long lasting, the impact must be sustainable, meaning the assistance provided to the IDPs need to be sustainable and not just meeting their immediate needs for if not made sustainable will certainly collapse someday. When we interviewed a local government official, he basically mentioned the works of the government as providing food, clothing and other basic needs to some of the displaced, without plans of any long term or sustainable solutions.

Some organizations and philanthropic individuals with the Cameroon diaspora in Denmark being part of this action, however believe so much in carrying out sustainable actions towards helping the IDPs sustain a living which need not be short term but long term as it will help them

even after effective return when the crisis ends. Our interviewed organizations carry out sustainable projects towards the IDPs, by teaching them some skills after which they try to fulfil the sustainable part of it by setting the trained IDPs through opening a shop or small business places, which will establish them definitely thus providing long lasting livelihood systems.

The livelihood of the IDPs should be supported and underpinned by offering not only food, shelter, but they should also be integrated into the social and economic structures of their host communities. One of our discoveries during our research is the lack of long-term solution implementations, especially with the government of Cameroon. Agriculture was the main source of livelihood for most of the displaced persons we interviewed, as it was their primary source of income in their respective former areas. For example the case of Madam Ebonkem who basically had farming as an established livelihood in a rural locality called Malende. Malende is a rural area in the southwest region of Cameroon where most of the villages practise agriculture as their major livelihood activities. Instead of giving say 20-50kg of rice per day\month, the state holders should rather encourage farming by providing the IDPs with seed money, or providing seeds for the initial investment and training on urban methods of agriculture. This will be effective as it will reduce the number of IDPs going into street vending businesses which are most often risky in Cameroon especially to the girl child. Engaging in productive occupations would be better as it will help the IDPs forget their loss and grief and consequently help them in their respective communities in the case of effective return.

The IDPs engage in various forms of minor income generating activity, generally in the informal sector, avoiding taxes in order to earn a living and enhance their livelihoods. Settling in areas where informality is at its highest rates in Cameroon, Douala and Yaounde, which hold 33.3% of the country's informal market, (INS, 2011), they join a good percentage of the local population in carrying out these activities to help regain a livelihood.

6.2 Conclusion

On the grounds of puzzling facts and practices put in place by the state and non-state stakeholders in Cameroon in relation to the livelihood of internally displaced in Cameroon, the aim of this thesis at hand has been to examine the structures put in place by state and some of its Stakeholders towards helping the internally displaced persons regain or establish a livelihood from almost a point of nothing, and what difficulties encounter not forgetting the reasons behind the set difficulties. This thesis specifically referred to those persons in Cameroon displaced from the Northwest and Southwest regions of the Country because of the Anglophone crisis that has been ongoing for over four years now. Many scholars have done various studies on people who end up in various urban cities, with focus on the causes and inducers behind persons ending up in urban cities. Some of the obvious reasons associated with such movements include poverty, war, and climate change, but in relation to Cameroon, war has been the significant catalyst that continues to result in rural to urban migration in the country. Most of these displaced persons while in the urban cities, try to develop the ability to create networks and resources needed to help them form a survival strategy in their host communities. With such situations where most persons are displaced from rural into urban cities, the set urban cities are seen to constitute the end points for most of the displaced, holding them in a position with only the lowest paid jobs and most often in very harsh and vulnerable environments totally different from their habitual rural setting.

This thesis, facilitated by Voice over internet protocol(VOIP) approach of data collection provides an account of a conflict that has been ravaging the country of Cameroon since 2016 and is still ongoing, with specifics looking into the role of Stakeholders in establishing the livelihood of those displaced due to the set conflict. The analysis shows how the government of Cameroon steps up to the needs of the displaced persons mostly by meeting up their basic needs, with no long term sustainable solutions, pinpointing some difficulties they encounter while meeting up with the basic needs of the displaced are also elaborated in the analysis. Additionally, the analysis shows some inspiring and long-term sustainable efforts put in place by some non-state stakeholders in Cameroon, with some Cameroon Diasporas equally included in the efforts. We

can on the grounds of our research during this thesis say that the livelihood of some of the IDPs is structured by the interaction with the surrounding actors(stakeholders and the host communities), both supporting the daily life of the displaced. It is interesting to note that such interactions at the respective host communities have created networks that see some of the IDPs getting jobs for themselves, most often in the informal sector with few in the formal sector irrespective of the constraints. Such networks are conceptualized by Kihato as daily practices of exchange as they mutually work to see everyone's needs covered or met. This network could be felt with the IDPs involved in the actions put in place by some Organizations like Loving Hearts Foundation, where they are constantly in daily contact with the IDPs through some workshops and skill driven opportunities and communications. We believe such daily exchanges generate networks that ensure the livelihood of the displaced persons in their host communities be it in short- or long-term view. Thus, the thesis at hand diligently provides answers to the livelihood pursuit of IDPs in Cameroon supported by stake and non-state stakeholders and some private individuals, most often from the Cameroon diaspora.

What may be claimed to underpin the livelihood of the displaced in Cameroon is the involvement in small business in the informal sector, with the aspects of shelter, food, health made available to a greater extent by family members, social networks, friends, the government, humanitarian organizations and some philanthropists of Cameroonian origin

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR IDPs

- 1)What is your name?
- 2)Where are you from?
- 3)What were your activities in your hometown?
- 4)How did you get here?
- 5)Where is your residence here and what are the living conditions?
- 6)Have you registered in your new Municipality as an IDP? If no, why not?
- 7)Have you received any assistance from the government since you arrived here? If yes, what form of assistance?

8)Have you received any assistance from any group, association or organisation? If yes, what form of assistance?

9)Have you received any help from private donors? If yes, in what form?

10)Have you been constrained by any of the donors in any form?

11)Do you carry out any income generating activity(job or personal business) while you are here?

12)Do you have any short term or long term plans in your new settlement?

Appendix B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PRIVATE DONORS

1)What is your name and profession?

2)Where do you live?

3)What motivates your philanthropic activities?

4)What specific actions have you engaged in to help IDPs in Cameroon?

5)How effective were the activities?

6)From your feedback, what was the impact of the activities on the livelihoods of the IDPs?

Appendix C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ORGANISATIONS

1)What is your name and function in your organisation?

2)Briefly present the organisation .

3)What are the objectives of the organisation?

- 4)What motivates your organisation to engage in philanthropy?
- 5)What specific activities have you carried out to help IDPs in Cameroon?
- 6)Who assisted you on the field?
- 7)How effective were the activities in enhancing the livelihoods of the IDPs?

Appendix D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

- 1)What is your name and what is your function in your region or municipality?
- 2)How many IDPs do you have to cater for in your region?
- 3)How many IDPs have you registered so far?
- 4)Why do you think the majority of IDPs are not officially registered?
- 5)What do the IDPs have to benefit if they register in your office?
- 6)What precise assistance does your municipality offer to IDPs?
- 7)What difficulties do you encounter? And, how do you try to overcome them?

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