

Impact of Social Capital on the Resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons in Kenya

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines the impact of social capital on the resettlement of internally displaced persons in Kenya. A survey design was adopted in which both qualitative and quantitative data were collected from households, leaders of community groups, local level government administrators and group members. The sample for the analysis included 400 respondents from two counties: Nakuru county and UasinGishu County. Cross-tabulation analysis indicated social capital had a positive contribution towards the resettlement of the internally displaced persons. The analysis revealed that in the absence of institutional support, IDPs make use of their acquired social capital to resettle. Their social networks serve as the primary forms of insurance that they depend on to smooth out the adverse effects of unforeseen exigencies. It also revealed that norms of reciprocity, values such as being trustworthy, and the belief that other people will reciprocate are essential features of community life. Subsequently, people are able to exhibit attitudes of benevolence and make sacrifices in order to help others in times of need. The analysis has useful policy and practice implications. The findings suggest that resettlement programs should focus on strategies that enhance the development of social capital as an essential element in the resettlement of the displaced populations. In addition, policy makers and social service providers should consider strengthening and building capacities of grassroots associations through training and provision of resources to make such associations more vibrant and sustainable.

Key words -Internally Displaced Persons, Reciprocity, Resettlement, Social Capital, Trust

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I. INTRODUCTION

Social capital to the extent that it is the property of social environment, produces valuable resources that can be used to solve a broad range of problems in the society. Social capital is instrumental in facilitating the achievement of some societal good such as economic growth, social and political developments [1]; [2]. As a result, social capital is gaining global recognition particularly among international organizations such as the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development especially in the sustainability of development projects [3]; [4].

In Africa, social capital is increasingly being recognized as an important resource for influencing development outcomes. [5]; [6] found out that social capital had positive effects in improving household welfare of the poor people in Africa. The government of Kenya also recognizes the importance of social capital in the pursuit of long-term development goals of the country. The Kenyan blue-print for development popularly known as the Kenya Vision 2030 for instance, recognizes that Kenya's progress towards becoming a globally competitive and prosperous nation involves among other things the building of a just and cohesive society [7] The political pillar of the Kenya Vision 2030 envisions a country with a democratic system that reflects the expectations and aspirations of its people. It envisions a country in which equality is guaranteed regardless of one's background either by race, religion, ethnicity, gender or socio-economic status and a nation that harnesses and respects the diversity of its people's values and traditions [7].

However, the realization of development goals in most of the African countries including Kenya has largely been hindered by frequent violent conflicts and political instability. It has been reported that since the post-independence period, conflicts in Africa have tended to be widespread, more diverse and violent and have

blighted hope for Africa's development agenda. According to [8]; [9] conflicts in Africa in the past decades have affected over 300 million people directly or indirectly. As a result, about seven million of the total global refugee estimates comprises of Africans and nearly sixteen million out of the twenty five million IDPs globally are in Africa [10].

| Page

Internal displacement of populations in Kenya has been happening since the colonial period and has persisted to the present. In the early 20th century, the British colonialists displaced indigenous communities by evicting them from their most fertile land, turning those areas into White farmlands [11]. In the recent past, the phenomenon of displacement has increased at an unprecedented rate. For example, in 1992, 1997 and 2000, mass displacement of people occurred in the country. In 1992, 300,000 people were displaced in the Rift Valley, parts of Nyanza and Western provinces [12]; [13]. Due to displacement, livelihoods are either significantly disrupted or completely destroyed. This does not only impoverish the affected households but it also stifles poverty reduction strategies put in place by the government.

Internal displacement of persons is one of the greatest development challenges confronting both the national governments and international community [14]. To deal with the crisis experienced around the world as a result of internal displacement, a set of Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement were developed in 1998. However, these principles are not binding on the states. Therefore, IDPs unlike refugees are not recognized under international law. This effectively places the primary responsibility of their protection and assistance on the national government. In Kenya, this poses challenges as the legal framework on IDPs is yet to be implemented. On the international front, the situation is accentuated by lack of a systematic approach for assisting and protecting IDPs despite having a huge proportion of them around the world. Also, unlike refugees, there is no specialized agency at the international level to provide humanitarian response to the IDPs.

The attempt to resolve the problem of IDPs in the country by the Kenyan government included the various resettlement programmes through the Ministry of State for Special Programmes (MoSSP) and the provincial administration with the *Operation Rudi Nyumbani* (Operation Return Home) being the most famous initiative. As at 2009, the program had facilitated the return of 255,094 displaced persons to their homes/business areas or new locations [15]. However, although the IDPs were provided with building materials and farm inputs to help them resettle, most of them still remained in poor conditions because the support given was inadequate [16]. In the absence of sufficient institutional support by the state and the international community, victims of internal displacement depend on community networks to collectively resolve problems they face in common. They organize themselves into associative life in the form of community-based associations as a means for addressing their needs [17]. These associations which arise as complements of informal institutions (kinships) allow their members to express their needs and to generate financial and human capabilities necessary to support their welfare improvement efforts.

Evidence exists around the world that these associations improve economic efficiency by reducing costs, facilitating access to markets, agricultural inputs and access to credit [18]; [19]; [6]. Although the number of studies focusing on social capital is increasing, the available studies on social capital in Kenya have focused on other aspects but not in relationship with resettlement of internally displaced persons. For example [20] focused on the impacts of social capital on household consumption in rural Kenya and found out that households with large social capital endowments are able to meet their basic needs through non-cash transactions. [21] found out that people who were rich in social capital in terms of membership to many groups had the higher probability of accessing loans especially from commercial institutions. [22] studied social capital, collective action and access to water in rural Kenya and found out that social capital may be necessary albeit not sufficient for improving access to water and sanitation in marginalized communities. However, despite these studies; empirical evidence on the contribution of social capital in the resettlement of displaced populations in Kenya is largely scarce. Therefore, there is a glaring gap in knowledge on the impact of social capital in the resettlement of IDPs in Kenya. This article attempts to fill this gap.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

It is well established that social capital helps households escape from poverty [5]. [23] argues that societies with high stocks of social capital are less vulnerable, and have greater capacity to resolve their own conflicts as well as take advantage of new opportunities for improvement. Hence the central idea of social capital is that networks and the associated norms have value [24]. Studies on social capital in Bolivia, Burkina Faso, and Indonesia by [25]; [5]; [26] respectively revealed that certain aspects of social capital contributed significantly to the household welfare.

Empirical evidence shows that social capital has positive impact on household well-being [27]; [5]; [18]; and [28]. These studies show that households particularly the poor ones draw additional resources that enables them meet every day needs through social connections; thus the reciprocal relationships serve as wells

of financial, social, or political support from which they can draw during times of need. Furthermore, [5] found that households with active ties in local associations have better access to credit, even if financial matters were not the primary objective of such associations.

[29]; [30]; [31]; [32]; [33]; [34] and [35] argue that where there are no formal financial institutions and insurance opportunities, especially in developing countries, many people rely on informal community structures to provide not only financial security, but also social security and reduce exposure to risks. For example,

| Page

[18] noted that social capital may serve as an informal insurance thus mitigating the consequences of adverse outcomes. This suggests that communities with higher stocks of social capital may pursue higher returns but riskier activities because there is greater sharing of household risk. This in turn would result to higher income. A key role in this respect is played by kinship network whose membership is ascribed using the criteria of bloodlines, clans, marriage, or adoption.

Research has also shown that social capital encourages co-operative behavior, thereby facilitating economic welfare through improved information sharing and reduction of opportunistic behavior because of norms that sanction behavior [36]; [37]; [38]; [2]; [39]; and [28]. In a similarly, [18] contends that communities with higher stocks of social capital are more likely to lower transaction costs, and reduce uncertainty because such communities have more and better information, therefore they don't suffer from information asymmetry.

[40] explains that entrepreneurs rely on their networks to reduce information asymmetries by facilitating flows of information about previous conduct, the present situation and the anticipated behavior of their trading partners, debtors and creditors. [41] found out that entrepreneurship was encouraged by social capital based on solidarity. [42] also found out that networks can affect enterprise performance directly by providing entrepreneurs with information about the world, especially with regard to technologies and markets. Thus, according to [42] social capital increases the capacity to share knowledge. [43] recognizes social capital as an important aid to adaptive efficiency, creativity, and learning. Hence social capital is central in understanding institutional dynamics, innovation and value creation.

Social capital also plays a significant role in enterprise performance. This is evidenced by [2] work in Italy where it was reported that for institutional reasons, some regions had prospered while others were static. The explanation provided for the difference between the southern and northern regions of Italy, was that communities in northern parts of Italy were more successful because of strong norms of reciprocity and dense networks of civil engagement that made co-operation more likely as opposed to communities in south of Italy [44]. [45] concurs with [2] conclusion about the differences in prosperity between north Italy and south Italy by arguing that the quality of interaction among people has a strong influence on business enterprises and economic performance. [46] makes a similar opinion; that abundant stock of social capital produces a dense of civil society which facilitates the functioning of modern democracy.

[18] expounds the argument that abundant stock of social capital facilitates the functioning of modern democracy by pointing out that there are various ways in which social capital could lead to improved social welfare. First, they argue that higher social capital improves efficiency in the provision of public services and the performance of government. This is possible through high levels of voluntary participation and enhanced monitoring of public services. Secondly, higher social capital may facilitate development of cooperative behavior within the community which can help in avoiding the "tragedy of commons" through collective safeguarding of public utilities. This would result in better utilization and sustainability of common property within a community.

[18] points out that membership to highly interconnected systems has a positive correlation with the early adoption of innovations. Thus, new technology may diffuse at a quicker rate in communities with higher social capital, consequently achieving higher economic growth and development. For example, [47]; [6] provides evidence from rural households in Tanzania on how the characteristics of social structures affect the adoption of fertilizer and improved seeds. Social capital has also been widely used in the context of disadvantaged and marginalized territories especially at a village or neighborhood level to explain trends of neighborhood improvement and social unity within the wider society [48]; [49]. [50] had made an assertion that initiatives of neighborhood improvement are more effective in areas rich in social capital. [28] have argued that having social ties and relation with others in society can have positive socioeconomic outcomes not only for the individual, but also to the wider community. Moreover, they have argued that communities endowed with higher stock of social capital are perceived to be in a better position to deal with poverty and vulnerability and the converse.

Studies at the micro-level have examined the relationship between social capital and household income. For instance, [18], found that social capital is one of the most important determinants of households' income in rural Tanzania. They further found that households in villages with more social capital in the form of reciprocity and sharing of information are more likely to enjoy better public services, use advanced agricultural practices

and use credit for agricultural improvement. Other studies have examined the role of social capital in relation to employment and career success. For example, it has been found that social capital does not only help workers find jobs [51]; [52]; [53]; [54] but it also influences career success [42]; [55]; [56].

Social capital is also very useful particularly in organizational growth and development through creation of intellectual capital between and among organizations [57]; [43] and also in facilitating exchange of resources and product innovation between firms [56]; [58]. Other studies argue that social capital reduces the rate of turnover and rates of organizational dissolution as well as facilitating development of new forms of association, innovative organization and start-up companies [59]; [60]; [61]. In Kenya, social capital played an

instrumental role in the formation of various groups such as agricultural marketing groups, land buying groups, housing groups, sand harvesting groups, handcraft and fisheries among others [62]. The overall effect of these groups and organizations is improved livelihood of the rural people. Social capital since independence in 1963 has been the key driver of education development in Kenya [63]; [64]. The success of *Harambee* [self-help] secondary school project is largely attributed to the willingness of the community members to come together and take charge of educating their children. To come up with the *Harambee* schools, it involved fundraising and physical participation of all members of the community, an exercise that would have been in futile if social capital was not abundant. Indeed, according to [65], the *Harambee* schools were spontaneous grassroots community initiative to enhance greater access to secondary education than what the government could provide at the time

III. METHODS

Data for the analysis come from field survey conducted on 400 randomly selected respondents. To sample 400 respondents, a multi-stage cluster sampling was used. Three levels of clusters were defined: constituencies in each of the counties sampled were the primary clusters, the Constituency Assembly Ward was defined as the second level cluster and village units were defined as the third level cluster. In every county, five constituencies were randomly sampled. From each of the selected first level clusters, two constituency assembly wards were randomly selected. This resulted to ten second level clusters from each county. From the ten second level clusters, a total of twenty village units, two per constituency assembly ward were randomly selected. The same was done in the other county. After the village units were randomly selected, households list of victims of internal displacement for every village unit was developed with the assistance of the local administration. From every county 200 respondents were interviewed. Since there were 20 clusters in every county, ten households were selected from each cluster using systematic sampling method. Other components of the sample included key informants who were purposively selected. They included four group leaders and four Chiefs (local administrators). The key informants were selected on the basis of their knowledge of internal displacement and the general community life in the area of study. Thus the actual number of respondents to whom structured questionnaires were administered was 400. The other eight (8) were the key informants. The study embraced methodological triangulation in order to improve the overall outcome. These included interviews with respondents, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions. Interviews with the respondents were conducted by administering the questionnaire directly to the respondents.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 *Demographic profiles of the respondents*

At least 52.0 per cent of the respondents were male while 42.0 per cent were female. The variance in gender distribution is due in part to the patriarchal system characteristic of many African communities which does not allow women to head households when adult males are available. Secondly, due to the male dominance, it is highly unlikely that women will comment or make decisions on household matters when adult males are present. Thirdly, men are always expected to provide protection and shelter for the family; a responsibility that gives men authority over women and the entire household.

The age group of the majority of the respondents was between 29 years to 39 years comprising 43.2 per cent of the total respondents. This indicates that the population in the communities where the data was collected is relatively young and falls within the economically active group. The majority in the sample (73.3%) were also married. From the data presented in Table 1, it is evident that the married and the people within the economically active age group are the most vulnerable to internal displacement.

Literacy levels were significantly high among the respondents with 66.8 percent of the respondents having attained secondary school education. The generally significantly high literacy levels among the IDPs can be attributed to the Free Primary Education (FPE) Policy introduced in 2003 by the government. This may have largely contributed to high completion rates at the primary level and the subsequent large transitions to secondary schools. The corresponding figures for college and university literacy levels were 17.8 per cent and 9.3 per cent respectively. The high literacy levels for tertiary education may be attributed to the expansion of tertiary education in Kenya. Both counties have at least a public university and several satellite campuses for private and public universities are established to meet the increasing demand for university education. Only one 6.3 per cent of the respondent had the basic primary education. The high levels of education among the respondents points to the presence of significant amount of human capital within the studied population. This further suggests that with proper institutional arrangement the available human capital can be tapped to bring about positive social change at the individual level and the community level.

Table 1: Household Demographics

Variable	Frequencies	Percentage
Sex of respondent		
Male	208	52.0
Female	192	48.0
Total	400	100.0
Age		
18-28	95	23.8
29-39	173	43.2
40-50	132	33.0
Total	400	100.0
Level of education		
Primary school	25	6.3
Secondary school	267	66.8
Post-secondary school(college)	71	17.8
University	37	9.3
Total	400	100.0
Employment		
Yes	92	23.0
No	308	77.0
Total	400	100.0
Income (Ksh)		
0-10000	239	59.8
10001-20000	89	22.2
20001-30000	43	10.8
30001-400000	29	7.2
Total	400	100.0
Marital Status		
Single	61	15.2
Married	293	73.3
Separated	46	11.5
Total	400	100.0

Most of the respondents 77.0 per cent were not employed. Only 23.0 per cent were employed. During the time of displacement, the victims' first priority is their safety. Thus the majority take flight leaving behind their property and essential documents including their academic credentials which are used to seek employment. This suggests that the majority of the respondents seek employment and earn their living in the informal sector which does not necessarily require proof of skilled training and further education. As a result, average monthly incomes were low for most households. Average monthly earnings ranged from Ksh 0-10,000 (59.8%) to Ksh. 40,000 (7.2%). However, nearly 60.0 per cent of the respondents earned not more than Ksh. 10,000 per month. This is consistent with the [66] view that employees in the informal sector hardly attract substantial incomes to cater for the needs of their families. The meager earnings by the majority of the respondents mean that meeting their everyday financial obligations comes with a lot of strain. For example, the family economic situation may determine whether or not children will be sent to school. These findings correspond with view that despite the existence of a robust network of poverty reduction strategies, progress towards poverty reduction in Kenya remains dismal especially when measured against international development targets [67]. Some of the strategies put in place include the devolved funds that are aimed at reaching out to the underprivileged populations at the grassroots level. Some good examples of such funds include the Constituency Development Fund (CDF), Youth Enterprise Development Fund (YEDF), and Women's Enterprise Fund. However, it is paradoxical that high levels of income poverty among IDPs were witnessed in an environment with elaborate poverty reduction strategies. The fact that the majority of the sample was married and also not employed implies that there is a

high dependency ratio, a situation that also negatively influences the well-being of households. Economic inability can compel IDPs to engage in illegitimate ways of earning a livelihood; a circumstance that can easily lead to an increase in crime rates in the community.

The fact that the majority of the IDPs are not employed, calls for alternative courses of action in order to enable them provide for their families. For this reason, it is becoming increasingly common among the internally displaced persons to pool resources together and organize into self-help groups. The rationale for forming self-help groups is that they have tangible payoffs to individual members and they contribute either directly or indirectly to higher levels of well-being even at the household level.

4.2 Groups and social networks

Community groups and social networks are commonly used by Kenyans as a strategy of accessing community resources, working and learning together in order to improve livelihoods. According to [2], groups are said to provide avenues for civic engagement and for recreational and socio-political activities. Thus the mere participation in such groups can have an economic impact by providing opportunities for members to share information, enforce informal transactions and coordinate on cooperative outcomes [68]. Moreover, community groups can improve access to resources and services such as improved seeds and livestock breeds, farm technology, and household items; provide collective labour, create opportunities for income diversification, provide moral and spiritual support, and empowerment; and access to sources of power and decision making [69]; [70].

Table 2: Group Membership

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Group membership		
Yes	295	73.8
No	105	26.2
Total	400	100.0
Criteria for Joining a group		
Required to join	7	1.8
Invited	65	16.2
Voluntary choice	223	55.8
Total	295	73.8

On examining the extent to which households belonged to community groups and the criteria followed to become a member, it was found that a large number of the sampled households belonged to social groups. The data in Table 2 show that 73.8 per cent of the sample belonged to social groups. Using membership as a predictor of social capital, it is evident from the data that there are high levels of social capital among the sampled households. Social capital is said to have the potential of reducing the likelihood of being poor and the benefits that households generate from social capital are more particularly for the poor [19]. Based on [19] argument, the large membership to social groups by households can be attributed to the anticipated returns from investment in such groups that are perceived to bear immediate and desirable influence on the household welfare. Moreover, the widespread poverty, evidenced by the low income levels by majority of the respondents interviewed, implies that individuals were compelled by poverty to adopt strategies beyond individual level and incorporate systematic mobilization and coordination of activities at the village and community levels. Indeed, this was confirmed by a group leader from Nakuru County who revealed that:

“We came together not by chance but out of necessity. We realized (IDPs) that we could not address our basic needs as single individuals, and even if we could, it would be with so many struggles. Therefore, we formed into groups where we help each other in turns”.

In terms of the criteria used to join social groups, majority of the respondents (55.8 per cent) said they voluntarily joined the groups while 16.2 per cent and nearly 2.0 per cent said they were invited into the groups and required to join groups respectively. The failure to voluntarily join the group and await invitation or prompting by others may have obtained from the diverse sociocultural and economic situation of the population residing in the study area. A participant in a focus group discussion pointed out that:

"I delayed to join a social group until I was invited because of my economic situation. I did not have money to pay membership fee. However, when I knew that I could make my contribution in form of work in order to remain a member, I gladly accepted the invitation". This corroborates what was expressed by a key informant in UasinGishu County:

"We (local administration) realized that we have people here (in the village) who are extremely poor and could not afford to pay membership fee. Yet, these groups are instrumental in improving their economic well-being. In order for them to also join and remain as active members, we approached the group leaders and advised them to invite them and device alternative ways of becoming a member even if it meant making contributions in form of work. They accepted our suggestion and those who could not pay in form of money got the opportunity to become members".

4.3 Social capital and mutual support

Mutual support is a vital indicator of social capital since it is created through social ties and expectations of reciprocity within a network of people connected by shared values and enjoying high mutual trust. In this article, mutual support was examined through participants' experiences and perceptions of willingness to engage in altruistic behavior by contributing to others' well-being. The survey questionnaire asked respondents three sets of questions on the social networks and mutual support category of social capital. First, whether members of the association or community helped each other out. The responses were ranked using the Likert Scale from "always helping" to "never helping". Second, the likelihood that some people in the community or from the association would get together to help in case something unfortunate happened, such as severe sickness, or bereavement of a relative. The five responses ranged from "very likely" to "very unlikely". Third, whether there are people other than the nearest family and immediate kinship members from whom one can approach and borrow money enough to pay for expenses for the household for one week and would be willing to provide. The responses were ranked from "definitely" to "definitely not".

The respondents demonstrated quite high levels of mutual support. For example, nearly 89.0 per cent of the total respondents indicated that members of their association and community always help each other out. Another substantial proportion of 87.5 per cent felt that it is highly likely that members of their community would be willing to provide support during an emergency. A female participant in a focus group discussion in respect to helping during emergencies said:

"When we have an emergency like serious sickness at night, we usually call our neighbors to help us take the patient to hospital. In other cases we call them to come and keep watch on our children so that they are not left alone while we are in the hospital". (A female participant during focus group discussion, Nakuru County).

Another female participant in a focus group discussion from UasinGishu County said:

"When there were only few bodabodas (motorbikes-commonly used for transport especially in the rural parts of Kenya) in our village and you had plans to catch up with the bus as early as 4:30am, we would request to be escorted by the young men in our village".

The link between social networks and mutual support is perhaps represented by the following sentiments of a male participant in a focus group discussion in UasinGishu County:

"Death, though inevitable, is a terrible experience. It devastates the bereaved not only emotionally but also economically. I can't imagine how life would be if a bereaved household has nobody to turn to for help. I am glad that in our community we have funeral associations that step in to help households bury their deceased members. Neighbors also provide a lot of support in cash or in kind when a member loses a relative".

More evidence that households indeed call on social networks and community associations during emergencies is given in a narration of the experience of one of the interviewees in a focus group discussion whose the only house had completely burned down.

"My house caught fire and got completely destroyed together with everything inside. It was a very difficult moment for me because I had lost everything I had. It rekindled the memories of

the horrors of post-election violence because all my houses were burnt down. I was traumatized because my life seemed to be a life of misadventure. On that day my neighbor hosted me and the following day other people from the village organized themselves and in a period of one week they had put up a new house for and stocked it with household items. Everything was restored back as if nothing had happened”.

Nearly 69.0 per cent also expressed confidence that they would receive support from outside relatives and friends. Only 9.0 per cent were completely uncertain of receiving support from outside their relatives and friends while 2.0 per cent were not sure and only 1.0 per cent of the respondents felt no one would be willing to help them.

Table 3: Social Networks and Mutual Support

N=400			
Variable	Responses	Frequencies	Percentage
Regularity of members of community associations helping each other out	Always helping	355	88.8
	Helping most of the time	37	9.3
	Helping sometimes	8	2.0
Willingness to provide help during emergency	Very likely	350	87.5
	Somewhat likely	42	10.5
	Very unlikely	8	2.0
Help from outside relatives and friends	Definitely	274	68.5
	Probably	78	19.5
	Unsure	36	9.0
	Probably not	8	2.0
	Definitely not	4	1.0

The in-depth analysis of the participants’ responses reveals that social networks are the primary forms of insurance that are used by poor people to smooth out the adverse effects of exigencies. It also reveals that norms of reciprocity, values such as being trustworthy, and the belief that other people will reciprocate are effective in the community. Consequently, people are able to exhibit attitudes of benevolence and make sacrifices in order to help others. This suggests that trust in neighbors and community, and participation in network structures and associational ties may improve the quality of life for vulnerable households.

4.4 Social capital and resettlement of IDPs

As one of the primary tasks of this article was to establish whether social capital influences the resettlement of internally displaced persons, a correlation test was carried out to establish whether any association between social capital and resettlement exists. To achieve this, trust being one of the most important and widely discussed component of social capital was used as a proxy of social capital. The other feature used an indicator of social capital was the support or help provided during the resettlement process. The following question was asked to capture information on trust “In general, do you agree with the following statement? Most people in this village can be trusted”. The respondents were required to use Likert’s five point scale where 1 meant agree strongly and 5 disagree strongly.

The question on support provided was “After you were internally displaced you later decided to return to your former habitual place of residence or resettled elsewhere. Did you receive any support from your association or networks to facilitate your resettlement?” The information obtained from the two questions was used to run cross tabulation of social capital against resettlement. The results are presented in Table 4 and Table 5 respectively.

Table 4: Cross Tabulation for Aggregate trust against Level of Resettlement

Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
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Pearson Chi-Square	23.709 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	23.983	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	400		

The results in Table 4 show that there is a statistically significant association between trust (social capital) and resettlement of internally displaced persons at 5 per cent level. This means that social capital is an important asset particularly to the marginalized and vulnerable populations.

Table 5: Cross Tabulation for Social Support against Level of Resettlement

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2sided)	Exact Sig. (2sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.337 ^a	1	.004		
Continuity Correction ^b	7.097	1	.008		
Likelihood Ratio	7.539	1	.006		
Fisher's Exact Test				.006	.005
N of Valid Cases	400				

On whether there is an association between support/help provided by the association or group in which one is a member and resettlement, the results in Table 5 by and large indicate that other things being equal, support or help from social groups provided to the internally displaced persons positively influenced their resettlement. This implies that for many households, resources acquired through social relations and social support was significant in their resettlement process. It further shows that the villages or neighborhoods have residents who are concerned about others and can be depended on by others in times of need.

V. CONCLUSION

This article has revealed that in the absence of institutional support, IDPs make use of their acquired social capital to resettle. Their social networks serve as the primary forms of insurance that they depend on to smooth out the adverse effects of unforeseen exigencies. It also reveals that norms of reciprocity, values such as being trustworthy, and the belief that other people will reciprocate are essential features of community life. Subsequently, people are able to exhibit attitudes of benevolence and make sacrifices in order to help others in times of need. This suggests that trust in neighbors and community, and participation in network structures and groups can improve the quality of life for vulnerable households.

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