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## The dynamics of social, cultural, human, and economic capital in food insecurity among the forced migrants

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### Abstract

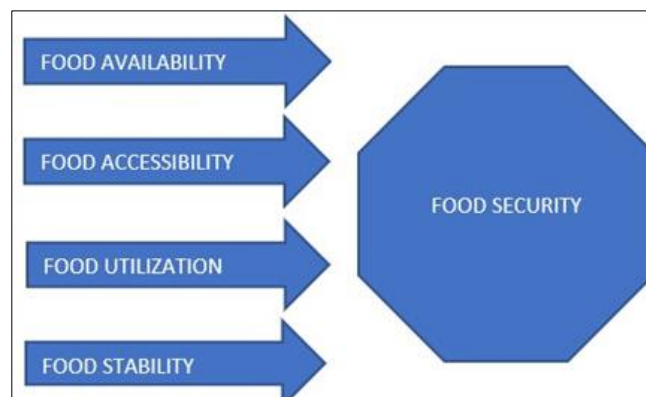
Food insecurity signifies limited access, expertise, and capacity to affordable safe food. Food insecurity creates different experiences in the daily lives of people worldwide. Food insecurity is common among forced migrants due to changes in cultural norms, space, politics, and economies. While it is readily apparent that forced migration is associated with food insecurity, the details of how the changes in their social, cultural, human, and financial capital affect their food security are not well understood. This matters for finding ways to address food insecurity for those who are, forced to migrate to help improve their food across the migration trajectory. The objectives of the study are to find out how social capital improves the migrant's sources of livelihood and ensures their food security before the violent crisis. Find out how they lost the capital and the implications for food security. Find out the efforts made by forced migrants during and after migrations to ensure food security. This article draws on twenty-five (25) in-depth narrative interviews with people who had experienced conflict-induced migration in Nigeria to address this gap. Their responses were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed and written in English. The contextual data was, subjected to computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), and the data analyzed. Analysis of this data provides critical insight for explaining and addressing the dynamic relationship between social, cultural, human, and economic capital and food insecurity experienced by forced migrants. It revealed that social, cultural, human, and economic (financial) capitals are significant factors shaping the participant's livelihood sources before and after the crisis.

**Keywords;** Food insecurity; Social; Cultural; Human; Economic capital

### 1. Introduction

Food security is the ability to afford or have unrestricted access to food without an undue burden and the ability to utilize food knowledge or expertise and physical capability to access food [1]. The four pillars of food security indicators, which are food availability, food accessibility, food utilization, and food stability must be met to ensure food security as shown in Figure 1 below. On the other hand, food insecurity means limited access, expertise, and physical capability to affordable, safe food [2;3]. Food insecurity creates different experiences in the daily lives of people. These experiences may include deep worries and anxiety, leading to depression, emotional stress, malnutrition, and body weight loss [4; 5; 3]. Food security/insecurity may be influenced by changes in cultural norms, space, politics, and economies due to forced migration [6; 7; 8; 9]. The condition of being forced to migrate affects their level of food accessibility due to the crossing of different cultures and limited space, time, and lack of cooking equipment. This is in addition to a sudden change in their social, cultural, human, and financial capital [10; 11; 12].

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**Figure 1** Four pillars of food security according to the United Nations' definition.

The changes in social, cultural, human, and economic capital experienced by migrants may influenced their food security/insecurity [13; 14; 15; 16]. However, It is unclear how the changes in these capitals (social, cultural, human, and economic) may have strengthened or reduced the capacity of forced migrant families to sustain their source of livelihood and ensure their food security through the migration trajectories.

The common forms of capital known to many are human and economic [17]. This is probably because they constitute physical resources required to produce values, items, and social gains in society [17; 18; 19]. Other forms of capital, such as cultural and social capital are as necessary as human and economic capital in wealth creation [20; 17]. The previous studies categorized social and cultural capital as intangible [21; 22]. These types of capital are found in concentrated and improved culturally based skills and knowledge and social cohesion for creating wealth resulting in the well-being of the people [23; 24; 2; 25]. Cultural values and social relationships define individuals, their emotional investment, and their general lifestyle [23; 24; 2; 25]. Practicing and exercising basic cultural norms and indigenous skills to create values constitutes cultural capital. Human capital represents an integrated factor such as skills, knowledge, competencies, and all other productive talent found in someone necessary for one's sustenance and economic development [20; 26]. Time plays a vital role in acquiring these skills and may serve as a measuring standard for acquired skills. E.g., the time spent in schools and training before attaining a certain level of qualification. Human capital is an individual economic behavior on how acquired skills and knowledge are used to guarantee wealth creation and improve earnings for their general well-being. It may also be termed an investment in skills and knowledge to enhance individual economic value [20; 27]. It does not depend on a formal structure alone, such as an educational institution, but also on an informal training framework. The improvement in skills and knowledge depends on the use of competence to produce wealth that improves their economic well-being. Learning new skills and acquiring knowledge may not be determined by age, gender, or ethnic divide but by circumstantial factors of an individual at a particular time. [20; 27].

Social networks, built on trust and mutual help to improve and strengthen the relationships and well-being of the people, form social capital [28; 29]. Cultural and social capital are more intangible resources necessary for economic and human capital development [21 et al; 4]. In social capital, people network for the collective benefit and achieve more success without much hardship than when a lone individual is involved in a drive to success [30]. Social capital is the value gained from good social interaction among a particular group. This could be among family members, household members, community members, groups of workers [31; 32], etc. The group may seek to improve the quality of their lives or to protect their collective interest [33; 34; 35].

People with strong and comprehensive social networks enjoy each other's goodwill; they enjoy solidarity with one another; they enjoy fellowship and sympathy of one another; they enjoy the trust and social interaction of one another, which tends to improve their well-being at all times [36; 28; 31; 32]. Diverse ideas brought to work in the form of a social network improve people's lives and values and quicken the resolution of contemporary problems [37; 38]. Social capital becomes more endearing and potent when combined with cultural capital strengthening the adaptive capacity and improving the resilience of the people to livelihood sustenance [39]. This may play an essential role in food security/insecurity among the forced migrants before and after the crisis.

There is an intricate link between cultural, social, and human capital, causing an increase in the economic well-being of the people [40; 19; 41]. There is also a complex link between community engagement and social networks. Social capital may also help resolve a community's internal and external social problems bordering on people's well-being [36; 28; 18].

Good social relationships and interdependency of the people in the community are vital in providing a solution to myriad problems in that community, which could be in the form of defending against external attacks, food insecurity, and health issues and improving the general well-being of the people [30]. Social capital may be a powerful tool for smallholder farmers to combat food insecurity as it enhances their adaptation and resilience and may help maintain food security [13; 14; 15; 16]. This works for the farmers due to a high level of trust and reciprocity of assistance to one another in their farm operation. [43] and [44] also buttressed this position. Good relationships and interconnectedness of people strengthen social networks of the people, which helps in the adaptive capacity of people and improves their resilience to food insecurity [39]

However, how the loss of social, cultural, human, and economic capital among the forced migrants impacts food security/insecurity remains unclear. A detailed understanding of how the interaction and links between social, cultural, human, and economic capital are required to unpack how they shaped the forced migrant's food security/insecurity. Due to the variable that constitutes them, e.g., culture, social relationships, traditional ethics, norms, and social belief, it is often challenging to separate them from one another [45]. This, therefore, shows close links and interactions between the capitals. How the availability and non-availability of the intricate roles of these capitals affected food security/insecurity among the forced migrants form an integral part of this investigation.

The objectives of the paper are to find out how social, cultural, human, and economic capital improves the migrant's sources of livelihood and ensures their food security before the violent crisis. To find out how they lost the social, cultural, human, and economic capital and the implications for food security. To find out the efforts made by forced migrants during and after migrations to restore the capital and ensure food security again.

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## 2. Methods

A narrative interview method was employed to gain an in-depth understanding and to assess the diverse issues of food insecurity/security among forced migrants. The consent of Twenty-five (25) participants who experienced conflict-induced migration from the north and around north-central into the central region of Nigeria was sought and obtained for the study. They were, subsequently interviewed. Only those who experienced conflict-induced migration were recruited for the study to enable the collection of appropriate and valid data. The quality, exactitude, and integrity of the data collected depend on the knowledge and experiences of the participants concerning the issues under investigation [38]. The participants are both men and women aged 25 years and above. The researcher recruited both men and women because both genders are affected; both genders assumed the responsibilities of providing for the household members on the migration trajectory after losing their husbands or wives to crisis or separation. Participants aged 25 years and above were recruited because the investigation covers 20 years, and people below the age of 20 may not have witnessed or experienced the consequences of forced migration (see Table 1). However, those who were at least five years old when their parents migrated may not have forgotten the memory of all that happened while migrating. Although such participants may not remember the exact facts of what happened to their family when they decided to migrate, they will undoubtedly remember the subsequent experiences as they mature on the migration trajectories. The participants have different backgrounds regarding religion, tribal affiliation, and social behavior. Terrorist attacks, religious crises, ethnic clashes, and land-related crises caused their movements. Most participants lived in the same city before the conflicts but now live in different parts of the study region.

Semi-structured interviews with a high proportion of open questions were used to collect data from the participants. This allows a wide range of responses from the participants regarding information on their diverse backgrounds ranging from religion, ethnicity, occupation, and regional differences and their experiences with food insecurity while on the migration trajectories.

Their responses were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed and written in English. Their names were anonymized with random names to protect the identity of the participants as opined by [47]. The contextual data resulting from transcriptions were subjected to computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Using CAQDAS made recognizing trends in data and grouping extensive data more accessible and quicker [48; 47; 42]. This facilitated easy organization and management of data [28; 39;]. The data were analyzed and the result was discussed as follows.

### 3. Results and discussion

**Table 1** The social demographic information of the participants

Part.	Name of the participants	Age of the participants	No of children	Numbers in household	Education level	Income before the crisis per month in (₦)	Gender
A	Golla Umar	54	5	7	National Diploma	₦150,000 (£263)	M
B	Ali Hadiza	41	8	9	Primary Certificate	₦100,000 (£176)	F
C	Liyatu Ayuba	47	6	8	Secondary certificate	₦150,000 (£263)	F
D	Idris Ibrahim	67	4	6	First degree	₦130,000 (£229)	M
E	Abraham Jenifer	41	5	7	Secondary Certificate	₦120,000 (£213)	F
F	Abubakar Mustapha	36	Nil	10	Secondary Certificate	₦80,000 (£141)	M
G	Aminu Abubakar	35	2	4	First Degree	₦150,000 (£263)	M
H	Abubakar Katum	47	4	6	National Diploma	₦180,000 (£316)	M
I	Hajia Dogo Shefiyat	54	11	13	Secondary Certificate	₦100,000 (£176)	F
J	Audu Umar	25	Nil	8	Secondary Certificate	₦90,000 (£158)	M
K	Ibrahim Ayishetu	32	4	6	Primary Certificate	₦100,000 (£135)	F
L	Buba Hajji	34	5	13	Primary Certificate	₦95,500 (£168)	F
M	Isah Fatima	28	4	6	Primary Certificate	₦80,000 (£141)	F
N	Buba Hauwa	38	4	6	Primary	₦10,000 (£18)	F
O	Jabir	37	4	6	Primary Certificate	₦120,000 (213)	M
P	Dairu Fatima	29	5	6	Primary Certificate	₦54,000 (£95)	F
Q	Seidu Omuya	42	4	6	National Diploma	₦90,000 (£158)	M
R	Ibrahim Adijat	48	8	10	Primary Certificate	₦75,000 (£132)	F
S	Mariam	35	5	6	Primary Certificate	₦10,000 (£18)	F

T	Ali Falimatu	58	10	18	Nil	₦70,000 (£123)	F
U	Mustapha Abubakar	47	2	5	Primary Certificate	₦1,500,000 (£2,631)	M
V	Ogbonna	40	2	4	First Degree	₦200,000 (£351)	M
W	Cosmas	30	Nil	5	Secondary Certificate	₦170,000 (£299)	M
X	Buba Fatima	38	4	6	Secondary Certificate	₦70,000 (£123)	F
Y	Umar	26	2	6	Secondary Certificate	₦40,000 (£72)	M

#### 4. Social capital and food security/insecurity among the migrants

Social capital is an essential factor and a valuable asset for the success of a group of people in their social environment [30]. It enhances and strengthens people's resilience to solve various problems that a lone individual may not handle adequately. This may include food insecurity, community defense, and health challenges. This investigation reveals that the participants were food secure before the violent crisis due to good social relationships and interdependency of the families built on trust, the main hallmark of social capital. The participants enjoy the goodwill and solidarity of one another in the family, which enables them to work hard in various spheres and then pull their resources together to ensure the family's food security. The participants worked selflessly together to ensure their family's food security until the violent crisis caused a separation between them, especially among the couples. The participant revealed that they worked and pulled their income together to ensure their food security. If they had worked and each depended on individual income alone, they may not have been able to guarantee their family's food security before the crisis. However, they lost food security after a series of ethno-religious crises that prevented the Christians and Muslims from social interaction, and the trust built over the years between the two faith practitioners was broken. This prevented them from entering each other's residential and commercial spaces, which led to their forced migration.

However, the social relationships and trust that existed among the participants' families before migrating guaranteed their food security for years before their forced migration. For instance, Idris and his family were food secure before the crisis. After they migrated to Jos, Idris molded blocks for people to earn money, the wife sold vegetables in the market to earn income, and the children served as domestic help to earn money. They put all their earnings together to ensure their food security. This social bond and interdependency between Idris and his family made their food secure until the wife was killed while returning from the market during a crisis in Jos. The death of his wife created severe setbacks in the social relationships and the level of trust between them when they got to Abuja. This situation later created food insecurity for them because they began to do things individually with mutual suspicions. They never care for one another again as before. This probably led to the death of his two children in Abuja because there was no care, no goodwill, and no solidarity for one another that could have guaranteed their success.

- **Idris** "When I lost my wife who had been supporting me to provide food for the family during the crisis in Jos, our access to food significantly reduced and we became more food insecure because the burden of getting food for the family fell solely on me. My remaining two children decided to go on their separate ways when we got to Abuja. They began to do things for themselves because they felt they were mature and thought I was over-protecting them. They did not allow me to monitor their activities and therefore do their things individually. Probably they would not have died at the IDP camp if they had fed well and had good medication".

The remarks of other participants also revealed that good and well-managed social capital guarantees food security for families and groups of people and could create a food insecurity situation when it is not well managed. See the remarks of Abubakar, Golla Umar, Omuya, and Adijat below.

- **Abubakar** remarked, "I moved to the Muslim area immediately after the crisis in Jos since I am a Muslim, so we can get help from our Muslim compatriots. We moved to Angwa-Rogo in Jos and stayed there for a while. The Muslim brothers organized houses for all the Muslims affected by the crisis in Christian areas. The Christians

in Angwan-Rogo, an area dominated by Muslims, also escaped to the Christian-dominated areas. Some of the houses vacated by the Christians were used to accommodate those affected in the Christian regions who had come to stay in Angwa-Rogo. Some of the houses vacated by the Christians were converted into food banks where all the food donated by Muslim organizations to help those affected is stored. There were varieties of food in the food banks in carefully chosen locations across the area for easy access to those affected by the crisis.”

Abubakar’s remarks suggested that there were no excellent social relationships, mutual trust, and interdependency between the people practicing the two faiths (Christianity and Islam) in the city. That is probably why Abubakar, a Muslim, relocated from a Christian-dominated area to a Muslim-dominated area immediately after the violent crisis to ensure his safety and food security. His remarks suggested that he felt safer amid his Muslim brethren than staying among Christians. In his remark, he stressed that a food bank was set up in the Muslim areas to assist the Muslims fleeing from other parts of the town. As a religious group, this action aimed to provide food for their members affected by the crisis. This shows the social bonds, trust, goodwill, solidarity, and interdependency among Muslim members. The food bank set up by this group attracts food donors from across the Muslim faith, both within the crisis town and from outside the town, to ensure the food security of their members. In his remarks, he stressed that the food bank was located centrally to ensure easy accessibility for its members. The participant would probably be food insecure if the social network that created the food bank did not exist. He would probably have been like other participants who suffered severe consequences of hunger, starvation, and food insecurity at the early stage of the crisis. Explicitly Abubakar may not have experienced food insecurity at the early stage of the crisis because he enjoyed a wealth of social capital through his Muslim brethren.

The case of Abubakar is however different from that of Falimatu whose family separated due to violent crisis and lost their social capital and experienced food insecurity see the remarks of Falimatu.

- **Falimatu** said, “The crisis separated my family members. My husband and some of my children are in Borno state, while the rest are in Abuja. My husband refused to migrate with us because he felt that at his age of over seventy years, he would rather stay and face the outcome in his country home than die in a strange land. This has created problems of insufficient food and hunger for us. If not for the crisis we would not have separated and we would have continued to work together to ensure food availability in the house. Although we are not divorced, I am unsure when we will likely be together again.”
- **Aminu** said, “When the crisis started, all the extended family members ran in different directions and were scattered. Some ran across the country’s border to the Niger Republic, and some ran to the Benin Republic. My wife and I ran to Jos initially because we have some of our extended relatives in Jos that we can stay with for some time to ensure our food security. We stayed in Jos with our extended relatives for some years. Later, when the Jos crisis started, we migrated to Abuja, where we are right now. I have not heard from some of my family members who migrated to the Niger Republic since 2014.”

Participant’s remarks suggested that their extended families were together before the crisis, and they enjoyed food security before the crisis. They were, however, separated during the crisis as they ran in a different direction. While others ran across the border to another country, Aminu and Falimatu’s families instead chose to migrate to Abuja, where they were confident of support from other family members residing in Abuja, especially Aminu. He enjoyed good social relationships, trust, goodwill, and solidarity from his extended family members before separating. This must have included food security because, in his story, he narrated that they were food secure before the violent crisis. This is probably why he also chose to go to another extended relative in Jos, where his food security and other assistance will be guaranteed. In his remarks, he mentioned that they stayed with their relative in Jos for some years before relocating to Abuja after another crisis in Jos. He enjoyed food security for years; he stayed in Jos with his relative. The social bond, trust, and interdependency between him and his relative must have enabled them to stay together and be food secure.

- **Omuya** also said, “My wife initially left my children and me and later divorced me. Her absence has affected the family because all the responsibility of providing for the children is now left to me alone. However, she has been supportive right from Jos in providing food for the family. Now that she has gone, the responsibility of providing food for the family falls on me alone. This has pressured me and my ability to meet all the family’s food needs.”

The participant’s remarks showed that the social bond, trust, and spirit of working together with each party contributing to the family’s food needs made them food secure before the crisis. However, their food security situation changed after the crisis when his wife left him, and they became food insecure. His wife’s departure created pressure for him and the children on food security. The wife’s support for the family before the crisis may be food provision and other social needs for the family’s well-being. The wife’s departure distorted the social cohesion and relationships that made them

strong and to work together for food security. This shows that social capital when utilized in a family or group of people helps to strengthen food security and is resilient to food insecurity.

- **Golla** said, “Accessing food currently takes much work for me and my children because my wife decided not to follow us to Abuja. Instead, She went to Kaduna, where she could cultivate crops and make money for herself. I proceeded to Abuja with my children and allowed her to go. This brought lots of hardship and disunity among the family. It has led to a divorce from my wife and the separation of family members. As I speak with you, we are no longer together as we used to be before the crisis. Even my children in Abuja here hardly visit me, and I hardly see them either. My social life has changed significantly. All my social activities, like visiting friends, beer shops, and clubhouses, have all stopped. My friends are no longer with me, and I do not have money to drink or get involved in all other social activities as before the conflicts”.

The hardships experienced during the crisis may have caused disunity and disarray among the family members and shattered their social bonds and trust. Emotional distress, frustrations, and low resilience to problems may have caused the wife to divorce her husband and search for a new life devoid of their current difficulties. The wife’s absence caused further problems for the rest of the family when they arrived in Abuja. The family’s financial capacity was reduced, which made the participant unable to access his social life as he used to before the crisis. Their food access was also severed. This may have made the children copy their mother’s actions, believing that separating themselves and working for themselves will pay more than working together. This probably led to their separation from their father when they arrived in Abuja. In this situation, they lost their social capital. In the long run, this caused the family a reduce access to food and other social benefits that would have enhanced their well-being if they had worked together. In addition, he is currently experiencing poverty and dysfunctional psychosocial activities. Probably due to a lack of financial capital to carry on with his social life before the crisis. Because he needs money to drink beer, go to clubhouses, and enjoy his social life, which he can no longer enjoy, in addition to hunger, starvation, and food insecurity.

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## 5. Cultural capital and the dynamics of food security/insecurity among forced migrants

Cultural capital is an integral part of the people, indicating how culturally acquired skills can enhance people’s well-being. Some cultural skills are developed around cultural norms, good ideas, and historical backgrounds to add value to people’s well-being [36; 28; 29]. When cultural capital is utilized correctly with the right human capital, it promotes the use of local technology and advances the course of people’s well-being. This includes ensuring food security and improving people's living standards since it involves using local talents to develop cultural resources for financial gain. A robust financial base ensures food security, enabling participants to access food. Cultural capital enhances the financial and social values of the people [50; 51]. Developing cultural skills by strengthening cultural education invariably helps develop social relationships among people and human capital [50; 51]. This, in the long run, helps to create wealth and values in the forms of food security, improved healthcare, and providing solutions to other problems in society. This investigation reveals that most participants relied on their cultural capital to ensure food security before the crisis. The cultural capital was later lost due to their migration, as they moved from one region to another. For instance, Hadiza Ali knits caps to make money to ensure food security, Dairu Fatima produces local perfume mainly used by Hausa women before their migration, and Abubakar was a cattle breeder. All these are cultural activities carried out by the participants to ensure their food security before their forced migration. The government also hired Hadiza Ali to help train other women in cap knitting, which enhances the human capital development of the people. All of these were lost during the crisis and their migration. They subsequently lost their financial strength and food security because of their inability to put their cultural capital to work. Consequently, the participants became food insecure because they could not access food until much later when they gradually began to settle and re-establish themselves in their new destinations. The farmer participants were affected more because of regional differences, which also required different cultural practices to ensure food production on the farm.

See the comments and remarks of some participants below;

- **Falimatu** said, “I was a great farmer; I had up to six hectares of land on which I cultivated different crops. I use human labour and animals to do most work on the farm. About five donkeys do most of the work for me on the farm and help convey my farm produce to the market or house. I also hire people who control the animals to work on the farm. I harvested my farm produce in bags, especially rice, beans, and guinea corn. We do not have to buy food before the crisis; we usually go to the farm, harvest whatever quantity of food is needed, and bring it home for meals. In addition, my children are grown up, they are all adults, and they work and bring money for our feeding too. There was nothing like hunger before the crisis. I make about ₦150,000 – ₦200,000 by selling my farm produce every three months. It was after the crisis that we started experiencing hunger and starvation.”

Falimatu's remarks reveal that she was food secure before the crisis because she was a farmer who did not need to struggle for food before her family could access food. Her remarks also indicated that she uses cultural practices in crop production. She does this by engaging the services of animals in most of her farm operations; this made her cultivate a large expanse of land of over six hectares. The adoption of the cultural ways of farming must have prompted a large yield of farm produce and made her earn large sums of money when the farm produce was sold in the market. These are indications that she was food secure while deploying her cultural capital in food production. However, after the crisis, she became food insecure, and they ran for their lives. Although they later used the same cultural farming techniques to gradually gain access to food when they got to Abuja, where she loaned a piece of land and started cultivating crops as she used to. This may have indicated that her cultural capital was not entirely lost like physical property. In this case, she was later able to put her cultural capital to use after several years of migration to guarantee their food security again.

- **Bala Ayishetu** said, "As a family, we had good access to food before the crisis. I sold Rice, Millet, Guinea corn, and other cereals in a big store. I used to go and buy foodstuff from the villages where they are cheaper, convey them to the city, and re-sell them to the public. I make a lot of profit from the business. We also take out of the foodstuff in the store and eat in the house. We do not need to repurchase them from anybody or the market; the only things we use to buy are other things for making soup. My husband was also working for the NASCO group of the company where they produce biscuits in Jos. We were using his salary to pay for our children's school fees, and medical care and to help our relations that needed help. The situation changed during and after the crisis when my store was burned down. I lost everything in the store and had to run for my life."

The participant's remarks indicated that she was food secure before the crisis because she traded on grains. She learned the skill over the years by interacting with the various communities and villages. She travels from one village to another buying these products and later takes them to town for sale. She must have learned when these products are harvested on the farm and when the prices are lower to enable buying at lower prices and make a profit or gain on it when she takes them to the market in the urban Center. However, this was not their only source of income that guaranteed their food security. Her husband also worked for the NASCO group of companies and earned money which they combined with Bala Ayishetu's income to care for the family's food needs and other things. It takes a wealth of cultural experience to go into the interior villages with different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and religious divides with strong traditional practices and trade with them not just once but on a routine basis.

- **Hadiza Ali** said, "I worked in a women's support welfare program under the local government as a hired informal trainer for cap making. I also had a shop where I sold clothing materials. One cap can go for twenty thousand (₦20,000) naira. My husband was a businessperson who sold locally designed shoes, traditional agricultural chemicals, and other products. Therefore, before the crisis, there was no problem with food for my family. We had good access to food. We used to have enough food in the house and even gave some food items to needy people".

Hadiza Ali's remarks showed that she was culturally skilled in cap-making. She was making good returns from cap-making in two ways. Firstly, she makes the cap and sells it to the people known for wearing such caps for either religious or traditional reasons. She sells a cap for about ₦20, 000. Secondly, the local government hired her to teach other women how to make caps and receive wages for such services. Therefore, she earns a lot of money from her cultural skills as a cap maker. This guaranteed her family's food security all the time. Though, in her remarks, she also sold clothes in her stores, this may probably include the cap that she makes. In addition, her husband also sells locally designed shoes and traditional agrochemical products. All these are cultural capital that brings in much money for her family, enabling them to have food security before the crisis. They, however, became food insecure during and after the crisis when her husband was killed, and they fled from their town to another, as narrated in her story. She could not put to use her cultural capital for several years. She was food insecure for some years and could not make a cap or engage in productive cultural activities. She became food secure again when she started making and selling caps in Abuja.

- **Mustapha** said, "I worked as an iron bender for people building houses in my community, and they paid me a lot of money. I used part of the money to buy food for my parents and myself. My income before the crisis was quite over one hundred thousand (₦100,000) naira. We used to have enough food always to eat. However, my access to food became tough during the migration because I could no longer work. There were times I went for several days without food to eat. I almost died of hunger and starvation at a point".

Mustapha's remarks showed that he uses his cultural skills as an iron bender in the community to earn income. What he earned was sufficient to secure him and his family food. According to his remarks, they always had enough food at home, and none of his family members had ever gone hungry due to food insecurity. This shows that his cultural skills



as an iron bender guaranteed Mustapha and his family food security before the crisis. Mustapha said they became food insecure after migrating from their town due to a violent crisis. This is probably because he could no longer use his cultural skills as an iron bender to work and earn money. This may have been because he had lost his working tools or was unable to carry his working tools along. Even if he had carried his working tools, he would probably be new in his new environment and unable to understand how things work there. It may take him time to earn the people's trust in the community before they start engaging him. Therefore, he remains food insecure when he cannot put his cultural skills to work and earn income.

- **Audu** remarked, "As the family's last born, I did bricklaying work to earn income. I was earning up to one thousand five hundred naira daily (₦1,500), which was okay to feed myself and give a little to my aged parents. I used to have all kinds of food at home, like, cereals, grains, fruits, and tubers crops. Whichever one I wish to prepare; I prepare and eat. I also used to give my neighbor's children some food, especially fruits, to eat, mainly when I knew they would spoil if I kept them longer than necessary. However, the situation has changed since the crisis, which led to my migration".

Audu's remark indicated that he learned bricklaying and could earn income by using his skills to work for people in the community. His remarks revealed he earned about ₦1,500 daily which was enough for him to be food secure. Moreover, he is the last born of the family and has yet to marry, he has no dependency responsibility that would have made the amount he earns insufficient for him. However, he still gives little out of his earning to his aged parents, who does not depend on him for food, probably because Audu had elder brothers and sisters who should be responsible for providing for their parents based on African culture and tradition. He used to have enough food at home and sometimes gave some to his neighbors' children, who probably needed more food. However, Audu became food insecure after he migrated from his town and could not earn income through his cultural skills. Just like Mustapha, he was probably unable to carry his working tools while running away from the crisis. Even if he could carry his working tools, he would be new in his new environment and, as such, not known enough by the people to be given any work to do until much later. Therefore, he remained food insecure when he could not work with his skills to earn income. This takes us further into discussing human capital and the dynamics of food insecurity/insecurity among forced migrants.

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## 6. Human capital and the dynamics of food security/insecurity among forced migrants

The human factor is significant in the proper utilization of both social and cultural capital. It is crucial to ensure the financial success of the people, which guarantees food security. Human capital involves integrated skills, knowledge, competencies, and all productive talent required for financial and economic development. Wealth is created by relying on human skill through technology and institutional capital, ensuring people's well-being, guaranteeing food security, and solving other economic problems confronting them. Time is, however, pivotal in acquiring skills that help guarantee economic development and increase people's financial capacity. For instance, one needs certification as qualified to undertake specific tasks. Developing human skills also requires substantial financial investments, especially when such skill acquisition is through a formal educational system with a fixed number of years. For instance, acquiring a university degree in any chosen field. It is, however, much easier and cheaper when skills are acquired through informal educational systems [20]. However, both require time and financial resources for human skills to be fully developed to ensure economic development, guaranteeing the social well-being of the people [20; 27], which includes the ability to be food secure.

The participants engaged in different sources of livelihood with the appropriate skills required before the crisis. They work using these skills to sustain their income, guaranteeing good access to food and food security before the conflicts. As they moved across the region for safety, food, and peace of mind, their human and cultural capital became untenable and irrelevant in their new destination. The once vibrant and hardworking participants with good knowledge of farming, bricklayers, trading in farm and locally manufactured products, producers of perfumes, Caps knitting, and taxi drivers suddenly became unproductive due to changes in their culture and environment. This is because they could not put their skills into practice in the new place due to differences in culture and regions to guarantee their food access [52; 53]. Their inability to use their former skills to secure jobs might also be partly because most participants are low-skilled. Most participants had just primary school certificates, and only a few had up to secondary certificates. This may have made it difficult for them to get jobs in their new environment, and therefore need some new skills to secure jobs to guarantee their food security. Since acquiring skills requires much time and financial resources, the migrants remain food insecure for the period they undergo skill acquisition. At times, they cannot acquire skills due to their financial poverty, loss of financial capability, and being forced to migrate. Therefore, they remain food insecure for a long time. This is probably why some Non-governmental organizations and private individuals volunteered to train the participants in specific areas to ensure their quick return to food security as they use such skills to work in their new environment. Some participants learned new skills, while others strived to update and improve their former skills. They

learned new skills like soap making, Vaseline production, mat making, tiling, using bikes for commercial transportation, and baking Akara. Others set up new businesses such as restaurants, catering services, cooking food, and selling to the public, as envisaged by [54; 55, & 56]. However, as stated above, the acquisition of new skills varied in time and resources needed for the training; some lasted for just six months, some a few weeks, and others from one to two years. See the remarks of some participants on human capital development through new skills acquisition in their new environment to guarantee their food security.

- **Mustapha** said, “Before the crisis, I learned how to bend and tie iron rods at the construction site where the decking of houses is involved. I arrange iron rods and secure them before casting is done. When I came to Abuja, initially most construction companies did not engage me because they were not sure of the job quality I could do. I tried to learn their ways of arranging and tying rods on the platform before casting. That improved my skills and ability to work for a longer time. Due to the additional skills acquired, most construction companies now invite me to work for them. This has improved my access to food. In addition, I had never done Okada in my entire life until I got to Abuja when I discovered that I could make money from it. I learned to do it even though I do not have a motorcycle of my own. I rented from people to work with it; and share my gain with the owner at the end of the day. The new skills have increased my access to food. Since I left the IDP camp, I have never gone to beg anybody for food again.”
- **Audu** said, “I started learning to drive a motorcycle and lay tiles. I included training on how to lay tiles because I already have an idea of bricklaying, which is like laying tiles. I finished the training and started working for people within a short time. I combine this work with driving a motorcycle to make money. I started buying food from whatever I made daily to support what my brother brought to the house. We have continued like that now for the past two years. When I work for people using the new knowledge, they pay me about three to four thousand naira daily. We buy food like yam, cassava flour, potato, and local rice in quantities that take us long before they finish”.

Mustapha’s remarks showed that his forced movement from his hometown affected his general well-being and reduced his ability to access food. He initially could not get a job in his new environment due to skills limitations. His inadequacies in the required skills at his current place may have restricted him from getting jobs until after acquiring additional skills that made him fit for new roles. Before the crisis, his skills seemed inadequate or fit for the jobs in his new environment, which initially constrained him from getting a job. This automatically restricts the amount of food he can access and his food security. How does he get food to feed himself if he cannot work? This prompted him to learn new techniques on skills simultaneously how to drive motorbikes for commercial transportation. The new skills he learned later gave him good access to food and guaranteed his food security, and he even began to assist other family members. These newly acquired skills made him fit to secure a job and earn income in the host community. This goes for Audu who learned tiling and how to use a motorbike for commercial transportation to earn income in his new environment.

- **Dairu Fatima** said, “After saving some amount of money from the little my husband earns from his motor park work, I started my usual production and sales of local women’s perfume. The people liked it very well, and they patronized me. I started making some money from it, and it increased our food accessibility. This continued until I delivered my baby and could buy all things required for the baby while our accessibility to food also increased reasonably.”
- **Idris** said, “I acquired a new skill in molding blocks for constructing and building houses. I was taught how to use local materials to mold blocks at no cost. The skill increased my capacity for food access because I now earn income from molding blocks for people. I used locally sourced materials and tools for molding. This has assisted me to be able to buy food. I would not have been able to do any other job to buy food for my family.

Idris’s remarks indicated that he learned how to mold blocks using locally sourced materials and tools in his host community. He learned the new trade to enable him to access food; otherwise, he may not be able to secure a job with his previous skills in his new destination. The local materials and tools used for the molding block must be unique to the people in the host community. This may have made it difficult for him to get a job until he acquired the new skills. After learning the new skill, he was able to work with the skill, earn income, and provide food for himself. The new skill now guarantees him access to food and ultimately gives him food security. Developing new skills in using local materials for the molding block, which now gives him access to food, indicated the importance of human capital development in capacity for food access.

- **Hauwa** said, “I learned different skills while in the IDP camp in Abuja; different organizations came to train women and men alike on different skills and trades. They come to train us to empower us so that we can be able to start a business on our own or to be doing something that will enable us to be able to feed our family.

They trained us on how to make soap, catering, how to make Vaseline, and new technology in agricultural practices”.

- **Hadiza Ali** said, “While at the IDP camp, some non-governmental agencies came to train women on various skills and animal husbandry. They also brought some animals for us to raise and earn money from it. In addition, I learned to do hairdressing for people using various machines. We were also taught to tie and dye dresses and make predominantly liquid soap. The training was free, while a woman called Chizom brought about twenty-five (25) sewing machines, fingerlings (small fishes), and about seventy-five Birds for the women at the IDP camp. She also trained people to sow dresses and do fishing farming and brought in people to teach the young boys how to do poultry farming”.

The participant’s remarks indicated that they learned new skills during their migration. They received training in different fields to help guarantee food security in their current and future environments. They are meant to use the skills acquired to produce some items that will, in turn, help them generate finances that may empower them to be food security. Hauwa may have been food secure before the crisis because she had something doing that guaranteed her food security. For her to start learning new skills now in another environment shows that her old skills are not guaranteeing her food security in the new environment. Learning new skills such as making soap, catering services, making Vaseline, and application of new technology in agricultural practices may help guarantee their food security quickly because these are products needed by people in everyday life. This will make them make good product sales and earn money that will guarantee their food security. In summary, this guaranteed their financial capacity to be food secure. This leads us to the dynamics of financial capital to food security/insecurity among forced migrants.

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## 7. Economic capital and the dynamics of food security/insecurity among forced migrants

Financial capital is the most common form of capital known to many people and is often the most sorted capital in society [17; 19]. This is probably because it is one of the most required resources in addition to human capital to produce value, items, and other gains needed for people’s well-being in society [17; 29; 19]. The effective combination and utilization of other forms of capital, such as social, cultural, and human capital, helps to create financial capital [20; 17]. In turn, the financial capital bonds with other capitals to help guarantee the people’s excellent well-being, which includes food security.

The good financial strength of the participants before the crisis makes them food secure. The combination of social capital, cultural capital, and human capital by the participants, as discussed in the previous sections above, strengthens their financial capability, which enables them to be food secure before the crisis. The participants earned a good income, with the highest income of ₦1,500,000, while the lowest earned ₦40,000, as reflected in Table 1. The amount they earned before the crisis was enough to guarantee their food security. The participants did not just come to earn this amount of money (economic capital); it was through the collective hard work of the family (social capital), using their cultural and human skills (cultural and human capital) as discussed in the sections above. Because the participants were financially strong, they had good food access and food security before the crisis. They, however, became food insecure as soon as they lost their financial sources. They remained food insecure for as long as they did not have access to financial capital, except those who went into farming by tilling the land and eating their crops without going to buy from the market. Others became food secure again when they had the significant financial strength to afford food. The participants’ remarks show that they were food secure before the crisis because they could afford to buy a variety of food with their money and, however, lost their food access when they could no longer afford it. See the participant’s remarks as shown below;

- **Abraham Jennifer** said, “My husband and I were working before the crisis, I was a caterer, and my husband was a taxi driver. We used to realize four thousand (₦4000) naira daily as our income”.

The participants’ remarks reveal that they both worked and combined their earnings summing up to ₦4000 daily. The amount they earn daily guarantees their food security. They, however, became food insecure after the crisis when they were forced to relocate. The sources and means by which they earned income that guaranteed their food security were lost due to forced migration. This means they can only become food secure again when they have access to financial capital, as it were through the means and sources they were earning income from before the crisis.

- **Buba Haji** said, “We had good access to food before the crisis, I was working as a tailor, and my husband owned a big poultry farm. My late husband earned a lot from selling poultry products like eggs and broilers, providing both income and protein for the family. We used to have enough food at home and even help others needing food before the crisis. The situation became hard for the children and me after losing all that, including my

husband's life. We can no longer feed ourselves; we depend on people's assistance before eating. We went through hunger for a long time before I re-married my current husband."

Buba Hajji and her family were quite comfortable and had good food access, which guaranteed their food security before the crisis. They earn a lot of money from multiple sources. They, however, lost their food security after the crisis, when they lost their sources of income and her husband, with whom she was working to earn money. In her remarks, she was food insecure for a long time until she re-married. Implicitly, she became food secure again after remarrying, which indicated that her new husband started working with her or assisting her in earning enough money as she used to before her former husband's death. The improvement in her financial earnings due to her remarrying may have increased her food access and guaranteed her food security.

- **Katum** said, "I had good access to food before the crisis. I was a good farmer who cultivated crops such as rice and beans. In addition, I also rear cattle. We eat out of whatever I produce from the farm and sell the remaining to the public. Whatever we make out of it as money was, used to pay our children's school fees until the crisis forced us out. I could sometimes make up to ₦180,000 a year; it could be higher".

Katum's remarks showed he was food secure and earned good money before the crisis. In his remarks, he indicated that he could make up to ₦180,000 from his farm and could be higher when he experienced a good harvest from his farm. In addition to tilling the land to produce crops, he rears cattle to make extra money. All these multiple sources of financial capital guaranteed his food security before the crisis. He, however, lost his financial strength when he lost all the sources of his income during the crisis. This ultimately resulted in his being food insecure throughout his migration.

**Omuya** said, "I had no problem providing food for my family before the crisis. Even after the first crisis, I still did not have problems providing food for my family. We used to have enough food at home throughout the months. Then, once I receive my salary, my wife will travel to Miango in Bassa local government to buy food in large quantities. At times, the food she bought will take us throughout the month. We also had a big supermarket that brought in lots of money. We could buy enough food for the family, have good access to health facilities and treatment whenever anybody was sick, and pay our child's school fees until after the third crisis, which made my employer lay me off. After a few months, I was laid off; we started having issues with feeding. We cut down the food we consumed in the house by half. We also started buying food on credit until I could not repay the debt".

Omuya revealed that he had two sources of financial capital before the crisis. According to him, he earns a salary from where he works, and he owns a supermarket in conjunction with his wife. While he earns a salary and brings it to the table, his wife also earns money from the supermarket, which she also brings to the family to enhance their well-being. These double sources of financial capital made their food secure. His wife goes to the nearby villages where food is cheaper and buys enough for the family. From his remarks, they never lack food or anything else in the house, even after the first and second crises. After the third crisis, they started having financial problems when he lost his job and the supermarket. Gradually, they started buying food from people in debt and could not repay them. They subsequently migrated to Lokoja, hoping to get access to financial fortune. However, the situation never changed until much later when he loaned a motorbike from someone and used it for commercial transportation so that he could have little access to food. Omuya and his family became food insecure when he lost his job and the supermarket, which incapacitated them financially. Moreover, they could no longer afford food because they lost their financial sources. Therefore, they lost their food security and became food insecure. This investigation has revealed that the participants were initially food secure because they had good financial strength. That made them food security until they lost such financial strength due to the crisis and became food insecure.

The findings of this investigation revealed that the participant's livelihood sources are shaped by the social, cultural, human, and economic capital (financial, property, and working tools) attained at any given time. It also revealed that intricate relationships exist between the loss of capital, such as social, cultural, human, and economic capital, and food insecurity. Since the participant lives in a closed political kingship/traditional system where clan and communal system adheres [58; 59; 60; 61], social, cultural, human, and economic capital plays a significant role in their food security/insecurity. The capitals, primarily social, cultural, and human, are linked and ensures the participants' financial sustainability, which is also a measure of food security/insecurity. The interwoven nature of the capital makes it possible for the participants to enjoy food security before the violent crisis, particularly cultural and human capital that revolves around applying skills to making or producing material things sold for financial gain as envisaged by [62; 40]. The ability to make large quantities of such materials things depend on social capital, which is centered on trust to work together, social cohesion that ensures the flow of information in real-time, networking on contemporary technology to produce more materials and even resulted in the division of labor among the participants' families which enhances their productivity. In the end, all this enhances their economic values and financial sustainability. The investigation showed

that all the capitals work together and enhance the well-being of the participants, especially ensuring their food security and the protection of their families. This deviates from [36; 28; 29] who emphasize that social networks (social capital) alone through community engagement improve the well-being of people. The working and integrated nature of the capital tends to strengthen the capacity of the participants to be food secure. However, where the links and interwoven connections between the capitals are not well managed, it results in the poor financial status of the participants, poor access to food, and the well-being of the participant's families. This is probably why the participants experienced food insecurity and poor health because these capitals were either lost or poorly managed during their ordeal.

The findings of this investigation also reveals that physical and emotional distress resulting from the crisis caused distrust, limited social relationships, and interdependency among the participants. This resulted in the loss of social capital they enjoyed over the years. This is evident in the case of Golla and Idris's family, who had worked together to enhance their food security, but separated when they got to Abuja and later lost their food security. Idris lost the remaining two members of his family. This confirms [63], who opined that people make more progress, especially in food security, when socially connected than when an individual operates alone. Although their progress may not be because they are socially connected, the quality of such social connection matters, as envisaged by [64 & 65], because it determines how resources are shared among the participants. Quality social interaction and relationships may be challenging to achieve as long as they remain physically and emotionally traumatized. They cannot re-establish the social bond, interdependency, and networking attitudes between them, which could have helped improve their food security. However, the situation differed in the case of Hadiza and some other participants who were quick to reorganize themselves, re-established their social capital, and put their cultural capital to work. Hadiza started making caps after some years in Abuja, and her grown children took them to various offices to sell. They also waited at some strategic junction of the city, targeting the politicians who used the cap primarily for good patronage. After some years in Abuja, the re-established social bond and relationships between Hadiza and her children, with the application of cultural and human skills, made them work together to guarantee their food security.

The ethnolinguistic and religious diversity among the people in the region [66] may have also worked against their social relationships and networking, which would have helped their food security. This is evident in the case of Abubakar and Fatima Isah, who, because of religious divides, relocated from the Christian-dominated area to Angwargoro, where a food bank was established for only the Muslims. However, the Christian victims were deprived of the opportunity to benefit from the food bank. This was due to differences in their religion founded on cultural beliefs.

This study also revealed that most participants have low skills because they do not have higher educational qualifications. Most participants are either primary school certificate holders or secondary school certificate holders, which makes them low-skilled. This indicates that they have low human capital development. This is probably why they engaged in small-scale businesses such as producing local perfume, Cap knitting, farming, and tailoring. Even though they have multiple businesses as sources of income (finances), they lack proper and advanced coordinating skills that would have helped them stay food secure despite the crisis. Their low human capital development before the crisis made it necessary for them to acquire new skills that required a short time to acquire in their new environment to cope with food security. Higher qualifications are not required for the training they had in their new environment. The participants were trained in an area that could quickly return them to food security with little effort. Training such as how to make Vaseline, soap, poultry farming, and other agri-businesses using local knowledge and materials. These areas of skills require little time to train and little financial capital to start. Although others chose to acquire skills similar or closely related to what he/she engaged in before the crisis to upgrade their skills, though still low skills. For instance, Audu, a bricklayer, acquired new skills to lay tiles similar to bricklaying. This made it easier for him to learn the new trade quickly and later learn how to drive a motorbike for commercial transportation. As the participants in his narrative expressed, combining these two skills quickly made him food secure.

In general, returning to the parts of food security by the participants requires the combination of the primary capital such as social, cultural, human, and economic (financial, working tools, and properties) to help reposition and shape their sources of livelihood. The proper engagement of social, cultural, and human capital will gradually move them toward greater financial sustainability, which will help push them toward food security. Sustaining and adequate engagement of the capital will ensure sustained food security. At any point, these capitals are sustained, and the livelihood of the participants is equally sustained. Moreover, when they lose the principal capital, the well-being of the people will be lost, including food security.

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## 8. Conclusion

- The investigation revealed that social, cultural, human, and economic (financial) capitals are significant factors shaping the participant's livelihood sources before and after the crisis that caused their migration. This

revealed an intricate relationship between the social, cultural, human, and economic capitals and food security/insecurity. The level of financial sustainability of the participants is primarily determined by the functionality of the other three capitals (social, cultural, and human capital). All the capitals are linked and interwoven and therefore contribute immensely to shaping the food security/insecurity of the participants before and after the crisis.

- The participants lost their human and cultural capital and, by implication their livelihood sources, which makes them, strive to acquire new skills to make them fit in their new place as revealed by the study, the policymakers therefore should formulate policies that encourage vocational training for forced migrants. This will enable proper support for the migrants in their critical areas of vocational needs, repositioning them for job opportunities in their new area and further increasing their food access, ultimately making them food secure. This is critical in ensuring their long-term resilience to food insecurity and greater access to economic and social resources.
- Policies that encourage social interaction of the migrants with the host communities should be encouraged and made effective. This may be one of the most significant ways of preventing stigmatization of the participants by the host communities. This will guarantee their sense of security, the assurance of future progress, and foster social capital development. This will make them more food secure. Such policies may significantly enhance the migrants' food access and general well-being.

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