

T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



**THE ROLE OF THE DIASPORA IN
SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
OF CAMEROON**

THESIS

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Thesis Advisor: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Gülay Uğur GÖKSEL

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İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ



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I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original to this thesis.

Kennedy Fonju NKONGHO



FOREWORD

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TABLE OF CONTENT

	<u>Page</u>
FOREWORD	iv
TABLE OF CONTENT	v
ABBREVIATIONS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
ABSTRACT	x
ÖZET	xi
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK: DEFINITION OF TERMS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CAMEOON DIASPORA	6
2.1 Definitions	6
2.1.1 Diaspora	6
2.1.2 Migration.....	9
2.1.3 Emigration.....	12
2.1.4 Immigration.....	13
2.1.5 Bush falling	14
2.1.6 Economic development.....	15
2.1.7 Social development	17
2.1.8 Remittances	19
2.1.9 Reasons for human capital flight and migration	22
2.1.10 The process of Migration and the Types of Migration involved	24
2.1.11 The Distribution of the Cameroon Diaspora.....	26
2.1.12 Types of residential status.....	28
2.1.13 Nature of Occupational Activities.....	30
2.1.14 Diaspora and Transnationalism.....	31
2.2 Theoretical Framework.	33
2.2.1 The Neo-Classical view/Developmentalists (Optimists).	34
2.2.2 Structural and Dependency views. (Pessimists)	37
2.2.3 The Pluralist View (the New Economics of Labor Migration).....	40
3. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE DIASPORA TO THE SOCIO- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CAMEROON	43
3.1 Economic contributions.....	43
3.1.1 Diaspora Contribution through Remittances.....	43
3.1.2 Flow of Remittances, Foreign Direct Investment and Net Official Development Assistance to Cameroon from 2005 to 2013.	45
3.1.3 Methods of remitting.....	47
3.1.4 Motivations for remitting.	48
3.1.5 De-motivations for remitting.	50
3.1.6 Importance/uses of the Cameroon diaspora remittances to the population and society.	53
3.1.7 Diaspora contributions through Business Establishments.	55

3.1.8 Obstacles to business activities.....	57
3.2 Social Contributions.....	58
3.2.1 Diaspora contributions through Education	59
3.2.2 Diaspora contribution through Health.....	63
3.2.3 Other social contributions of the Diaspora	65
3.3 Diaspora contributions in Home Politics.	69
4. THE CAMEROON DIASPORA IN ISTANBUL: CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HOMELAND THROUGH REMITTANCES.....	73
4.1 Case Study.....	73
4.2 Interviewees	75
4.3 Interviews	76
4.4 Question one.....	78
4.5 Question Two	81
4.6 Question Three	85
4.7 Question Four.....	89
5. CONCLUSION.....	93
5.1 Recommendations	95
REFERENCES.....	98
APPENDIXES	104
RESUME.....	107

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	: After the death of Christ.
BACDA	: Bakossi Cultural and Development Association.
BSF	: Biology Sans Frontieres.
CAAA	: Cameroon American AIDS Alliance.
CAMFOMEDICS	: Cameroonian medical, pharmacy and dentistry students Association Germany.
CAMTURK	: Cameroon Student Union Association in Turkey.
CDC	: Cameroon Development Cooperation.
DOs	: Diaspora Organizations.
CPDM	: Cameroon People's Democratic Movement.
EX-SSA-USA	: Ex-Student association of Saker Baptist College USA.
FCFA	: Franc of the Central African States.
FDI	: Foreign Direct Investment .
GDA	: Global Development Aid.
GDMD	: Global Forum on Migration and Development.
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product.
GNP	: Gross National Product.
IMF	: International Monetary Fund.
IOM	: International Organization for migration.
LAFADA	: La Famille Bamileke.
LECUDA-USA	: Lebialem Cultural and development Association USA.
LLG-USA	: Lebialem Leadership Group.
MECA-USA	: Mamfe elements Cultural Association.
MRC	: Cameroon Renaissance Movement.
NELM	: New Economics Theory of Labor Migration.
NGOs	: Non-governmental organizations.
ODA	: Official Development Assistance.
OECD	: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.
PINK	: Program for Internships in Cameroon.
PTA	: Parents Teachers Association.
SCNC	: Southern Cameroons National Council.
SDF	: Social Democratic Front.
UDC	: Union Democratique Camerounaise.
UNESCO	: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.
USD	: United States Dollars.
WB	: World Bank.

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Figure.3.1: Flow of remittances as a percentage of GDP (left) and Flow of remittances received in millions of USD (right).	44
Figure 3.2: Flow of Remittances, Foreign Direct Investment and Net Official Development Assistance to Cameroon from 2005 to 2013.....	46
Figure 3.3: Computers donated by Lebialem Leadership Group to schools in Lebialem-Cameroon.....	61
Figure 3.4: Mamfe multi-purpose center donated by MECA-USA.....	66
Figure 3.5: Cameroonians Diasporas registering to vote in Paris.....	71
Figure 3.6: Cameroon Diasporas voting during Presidential Elections.	72

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 2.1: The distribution of Cameroonians living abroad in 2005.	27
Table 2.2: The Redistribution of the Cameroon Diaspora in 2010/2011	28



THE ROLE OF THE DIASPORA IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CAMEROON

ABSTRACT

This thesis is focused on accessing the role of the Diaspora in the socio-economic development of Cameroon. It examines the origins of the Cameroonian diaspora and the causes of the migratory movements and what they have been able to offer in their respective communities in Cameroon. It argues that the Cameroon diaspora is an indispensable tool for homeland development. It discusses some of the main Economic, Political and Social contributions of the Cameroon Diaspora to the homeland. This thesis will discuss the Cameroon diaspora as a single entity despite the fact it is distributed in the main developed economies of Europe and America. As such, they unite themselves through ethnic groupings and tribal affiliations. This has however given some difficulties in executing development projects back home because they are not united under a single body. More emphasis is on Remittances as they have been classified as the main tool for homeland development.

This thesis work is divided into five chapters with three main chapters. The first section is the introduction and gives a brief summary of the whole thesis. The first main chapter defines some key concepts like, Diaspora, Bush fallers, Development, remittances and migration. Chapter 3 discusses the full participation of the Diaspora in homeland development and their contributions and chapter four is focus on the case study of the Cameroon Diaspora in Istanbul Turkey and their contributions to homeland development. The last chapter that is the conclusion summarizes what has been discussed in the previous chapters and proposes recommendations for further research and also on how to fully ensure successful diaspora integration and contribution to development.

Keywords: *Diaspora, Cameroon, Remittances, Homeland Development, Migration, Emigration, Bush Falling.*

KAMERUNUN SOSYO-EKONOMİK KALKINMASINDA DİYASPORA'NIN ROLÜ

ÖZET

Bu tez, Diasporanın Kamerun'un sosyo-ekonomik gelişimindeki rolüne erişmeye odaklanmıştır. Kamerun diasporasının kökenlerini ve göç hareketlerinin nedenlerini ve Kamerun'daki ilgili topluluklarında neler sunabileceklerini inceler. Kamerun diasporasının anavatan gelişimi için vazgeçilmez bir araç olduğunu savunuyor. Kamerun Diasporası'nın ana ekonomik, siyasi ve sosyal katkılarından bazılarını tartışıyor. Bu tez, Kamerun diasporasını, Avrupa ve Amerika'nın başlıca gelişmiş ekonomilerinde dağılmış olmasına rağmen tek bir varlık olarak ele alacaktır. Böylece, kendilerini etnik gruplara ve kabile ilişkilerine katıyorlar. Ancak bu, kalkınma projelerini eve geri getirme konusunda bazı zorluklar doğurdu, çünkü tek bir kurum altında birleşmediler. Vatandaş gelişimi için ana araç olarak sınıflandırılmaları nedeniyle, daha çok vurgulanan paralar.

Bu tez çalışması, üç ana bölümden oluşan beş bölüme ayrılmıştır. İlk bölüm giriş ve tüm tezin kısa bir özetini vermektedir. İlk ana bölüm, Diaspora, Bush'lu düşkünler, Kalkınma, havale ve göç gibi bazı temel kavramları tanımlar. 3. Bölüm, Diasporanın anavatan gelişimine tam katılımını ve bunların katkılarını tartışmaktadır ve dördüncü bölüm İstanbul'daki Kamerun Diasporası örnek olay incelemesine ve bunların anavatan gelişimine katkılarına odaklanmaktadır. Sonuç olan son bölüm, önceki bölümlerde neyin tartışıldığını özetler ve daha ileri araştırmalar için ve ayrıca başarılı diaspora entegrasyonunun ve kalkınmaya katkının nasıl tam olarak sağlanacağına dair öneriler sunar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Diaspora, Kamerun, Havale, Vatan Gelişimi, Göç, Göç, Çalı Düşmesi.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The study of the Diaspora and their contributions to the development of homeland has in recent years been a burning topic of discussion for many writers and scholars. According to Mousa (1999), the diaspora has been considered as crucial partners for homeland development. Greater contributions of modern emerging economies come from diaspora remittances. The history of the diaspora can be traced as far back as the days of slavery and slave trade when people were taken from different parts of the world including Asia, Latin America and Africa to the mines, railway construction and factories in central Europe and America (De Hass 2007). This later developed to what has become known as the India Diaspora, the Pilipino Diaspora, and African Diaspora and to the Cameroonian Diaspora.

The breakthrough of African Diasporas started in the late 1950s and 1960s when a wave of change blew across the African continent and most African countries were granted independence. This precipitated the movement of some African nationals to travel to countries of their colonial masters to learn new systems of administration. This saw the return of African nationals back to Africa who later spearheaded African Nationalism like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana who led Ghana to independence in 1957, Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, Seydou Keita of Mali, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, and Patrice Lumumba of Congo and host of many others. In the later years, diaspora formation reached a maximum point due to global political and economic dominance, which have forced people to leave their countries of origin and migrate to economically viable countries in search for better opportunities, better education and good standards of living.

The focus of this study is based on the Role of the Cameroon Diaspora in fostering economic and social development in Cameroon. However, Cameroon is a country in West Africa sharing a border with Nigeria to the West, Chad to the North, Central African Republic to the East and Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Congo to the South. English and French are the two official languages at equal value as both a heritage of

Cameroon's colonial past both as a colony of Great Britain and France. The name of the country is La Republique Du Cameroun in French and The Republic of Cameroon in English. Cameroon is a centralized Unitary State. The current President is Paul Biya who has been in power since November 1986. He is the head of state and Head of the Arm Forces. He has the right to appoint the Prime Minister together with other Ministers. He also has the right to dismiss them at will. He does not need approval from the National Assembly or Senate to Pass Decrees because he rules by Decrees. Cameroon is divided into 10 regions; a governor appointed by the President governs each region. The regions are further divided into Divisions and (Echitci 2014) Sub-Divisions ruled by Divisional and Sub-Divisional Officers both of whom are also appointed by the president.

Cameroon also practices a dual parliamentary form of governance. The Senate is the upper house and has 100 senators out of which 70 are elected by councilors from the different councils and the president appoints 30 who are members of his party or his close associates. Ten senators represent each region. The National Assembly, which is the lower house, has 180 parliamentarians who are elected by a universal suffrage. All these Senators and Parliamentarians represent different parties owing to the Multi-party Nature of the country. Some of these parties are; CPP, UDC, MDR, MRC, SDF and CPDM. The Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) is the ruling party and has been in power since it was created in 1985. The Social Democratic Front is the main opposition Party and the second in population.

Cameroon's economy is market based and it is also diversified. Agriculture is the backbone of the economy of Cameroon including agricultural products that are also main exporting products like, timber, cocoa, coffee, Palm oil, banana, cotton and rubber. It also has other mineral resources oil, gas, aluminum and bauxite. Oil is the country's main export and amounts for about 40% of total exports despite global oil falling prices. Cameroon had a total GDP of 81.55 billion US dollars in 2017 (index mundi). Despite this, Cameroon has been adversely affected by similar factors the plaqueing developing countries such as; high corruption rate, inequitable distribution of income, high inflation rates, stagnant per capita income, high unemployment rates, weak institutions and heavy bureaucracy. The government has embark on various IMF and World Bank programs since 1990 designed to recapitalize the country's banks, revive agriculture and to improve trade. These bodies have been trying to

press for economic reforms through privatization of state assets and to reduce poverty.

The social stratification is diversified base on differences in culture from the different regions of the country. The country has a mixed religion comprising of Christians, Muslims and traditionalists. There is a high degree of social inequality amongst the different groups such as the Bamilekes, the Fulanis, the grassfields, the Bamoums and many others. Age and gender also play an important role in social stratification. Other forms of social inequality exist on access to political power with more preference giving to those that have completed former education. There are differences in wealth distribution because some regions are extremely poor while others are rich. Other social stratification includes differences in housing and clothing and even language. The wealthy people lives in cities and in concrete houses well-furnished and painted why the poor lives in mud houses in the villages or plank house relatively furnished with stools made from local materials. The rich people prefer to speak French or English and sent their children to expensive private schools while the poor speak local languages or Pidgin English and send their children to government schools or to learn a trade.

This research work is going to be of vital importance on researching on the diaspora of Cameroon. There has been little or limited literature or research on the Cameroon Diaspora. Many of the information available about the Cameroon diaspora are on a general basis. (Focus on Africa or the world and just briefing on Cameroon). This research is therefore going to provide important literature on Cameroon diaspora. This thesis is also going to be a continuation of what has already been done about Cameroon diaspora and as such will provide more information for further research on the subject matter. The research work is going to create awareness to Cameroonians both at home and abroad about the nature and status of the Cameroon diaspora since it is focused mainly on the Cameroon diaspora. It is going to threat the Cameroon diaspora in different countries of the world and group them together to form the overall Cameroon Diaspora as a single body. The importance of this thesis work also considers the fact that it gives a general background study to the Cameroon diaspora and how they relate with the homeland.

Economic development seems to be the key important factor in this research. The thesis helps to show how the diaspora has been the backbone of economic

development of the homeland. It also expatiates the contributions of the diaspora in infrastructural development as well as helping to shape democracy in the homeland by playing key roles in local politics. All of these relations of the diaspora with the homeland have helped to reduce unemployment rate amongst youths thereby reducing high crime wave and raising living standards in the local communities.

This thesis uses a qualitative method of research. The researcher is interested mainly on content analysis and dependent on the available literature already conducted on the subject matter. Secondary data collection is also used in this research work and it is based on carrying out intensive research on the Role of the Cameroon Diaspora to Economic and social development in Cameroon. The researcher starts by collecting materials related to the subject matter such as books, articles, newspapers, magazines, journals, news published on websites, oral interviews, past thesis and official statements made by state officials. After studying all these materials, he (the researcher) then relates them to the subject matter of the study. In addition, to give more emphasis and to ease greater understanding and explanation of the thesis work, a series of tables, maps and figures will be used to present some important information relating to the research work.

Though data collection was not all successful without some obstacles, a good number of points presented themselves as barriers for the smooth collection and application of data for this research work; some key individuals could not be met for a one-to-one interview because of the heavy transportation cost and the long distance that separated the interviewee and the interviewer. Nevertheless, a telephone and social media chat served as a half way remedy. Again, some book sources and official state documents could not be accessed directly and some were supposed to be paid for before accessing them. The fact that very little has been documented about the subject matter posed another difficult situation for the researcher. Despite all the difficulties, the researcher was able to gather enough materials for the thesis work.

The general objective of this thesis work is focus on the role of the Diaspora on Economic and Social Development in Cameroon. The political contribution will also be discussed. It also aims at studying the nature of the Cameroon diaspora and how it is distributed in different parts of the world. The extent to which they have been able to identify themselves as a people and the relationship that exist between them. Diasporas have been considered as great partners of homeland development according

to Dembele Moussa. Many economies are highly developed economically, politically and socially largely because of the remittances their Diaspora populations sends back home. The Diaspora seems to be a great key to homeland development especially for developing and emerging economies.

Furthermore the research work will examine the successes of the Diaspora to homeland development and obstacles they have faced while doing this and the attempted solutions that have been put in place to ensure greater success. But the burning question is that; has the concept of homeland development been a fair adventure for the Diaspora and homeland government? Alternatively, have the diaspora been fully integrated as major partners by the government for homeland development?

This thesis is divided into five chapters with three main chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction and it gives a brief summary of all what is going to be presented in the following chapters of the thesis. Chapter 2, which is the first main chapter, is centered on the conceptual framework and theoretical framework and will be dealing with the key definitions of concepts in the thesis work. It will also treat theoretical analysis, and the major areas where the Cameroon diaspora is distributed, and the nature of their relationship with the host countries. Chapter 3 is the focus of the thesis work and it deals with a detail analysis of the contribution of the diaspora to homeland development ranging from the economic social and political contributions. It also analyses the obstacles that have been faced in the process of these contributions and the attempted solutions, which have been put in place as a remedy to these obstacles. Chapter 4 gives the analysis of a case study of the Cameroon Diaspora in Istanbul Turkey and how they contribute to homeland development through financial and social remittances.

Chapter five which is the conclusion gives a summary of what has been presented in the previous chapters and proposes more recommendations for further studies since diaspora studies is an ever growing and demanding field of study.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK: DEFINITION OF TERMS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CAMEOON DIASPORA.

2.1 Definitions

2.1.1 Diaspora

Different scholars and organizations have defined the term Diaspora but the concept remains similar. The formation of diaspora bodies and movement has been as results of the movements that happened willingly or traumatically before and after the slave trade. The world population was generally mobile but insignificantly before the advent of the slave trade which later caused huge movement of populations from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East to Europe and America. These movements later form what has become known as the Indian Diaspora, Pilipino Diaspora. Today Cameroon immigrants form part of the transnational diaspora community, which is fast becoming a main tool of homeland development in the 21st century. This is because of the large-scale size of the diaspora community. In 1965 about 75 million Africans lived abroad which was estimated to be about 2.3 percent of the world's population at the time and in 1975 it was 84million (2.1%). In 1985 it rose to 105 million (2.2) and in 2002 it was about 175million (2.9%) Africans living abroad, (West Africa, 2002. p25). Cameroon's diaspora constituted a significant percent of this population.

According to Cohen (2008, p2), Diaspora refers to communities of people from an origin country scattered in two or more countries and who have relations with the homeland and the destination countries. The case of the African Diaspora was used to refer to the scattering away of the African people to North and South America because of slavery and slave trade. Cohen stated that according to research, during this period an approximate number of about four to ten million Africans were shipped from Africa through the Sahara desert and the Atlantic Ocean to America to provide free labor in the plantations in America. The next wave of the African diaspora was during the 20th century and

post-colonial period and is believed to have been caused by famine, economic failure, political instability, civil wars and the desire to have better life opportunities. Cohen further divided the diaspora into different sub categories namely; victim diasporas who constituted the Jews, Africans and Armenians, Labor Diasporas or indentured (Indians), Imperial or Settler Diaspora (the British) and Trade Diasporas (Lebanese and Chinese)

The Armenians were also chased out of their homes by a Byzantine Emperor in the 6th century AD which caused them to be involved in long distance trade followed by the 1915/16 displacement during which the Turks deported 2/3 of the Armenian population to Syria and Palestine and many of them ended up in France and America.

Schultz also recounted that when Britain left Palestine in 1948, the Israel Army was stationed to occupy the area and this resulted to a lot of panic and fear amongst the Arab Palestine. Most of them fled their homes to settle in neighboring countries as refugees and later scattered throughout the whole of the Middle East and beyond giving birth to the Palestine diaspora.

In addition to the other diaspora communities' mentioned above, Safran (1991) described diaspora as members of an expatriate minority of people from the same community with a common language and a collective myth of home and strong ethnic-group consciousness, a sustained network of social relationships with group members establishing links with the home country. He stated that at least many countries of the world today have the appellation of diaspora attached to its name. He talked of the Cubans and Mexicans in USA, Pakistanis in Britain, the Maghreb in France, the Turks in Germany, and the blacks in North America, the Italians, the Russians and the Kurds.

Diasporas have a self-consciousness and they identify with each other as members of a particular community with common ties to the homeland either by forming themselves into groups or individually and making meaningful contribution to the homeland in the Socio-economic or political sectors (Brinkerhoff, 2011). Diasporas are also defined or described as ethnic minority groups of similar migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin.(Sheffer 1986, p3). Sheffer and Brinkerhoff maintained that most of the

people leaving outside their homeland participate in activities in their host countries but organizes or recognize themselves into groups or Diaspora Organizations (DOs) with which they use to maintain links with their homelands and participate in homeland activities.

The Global Forum on Migration and Development (GDMD) defines Diaspora as “individuals originating from one country, living outside this country irrespective of their citizenship or nationality that individually or collectively are or could be willing to contribute to the development of this country (GFMD, 2007). However, this definition is likely to confuse with migrant communities who also stay connected and contribute to their homeland.

The International Organization for migration (IOM) defines diaspora as key actors not only in national, bilateral and global affairs but also in the migration development nexus. They serve as bridges between societies and states and have many facets and potentials to foster the development of their homeland by staying connected to the homeland.

Van haar, Pieke, and vetovec (2004) consider the diaspora to embody populations that are scattered among places usually outside their countries of origin, and tend to establish and keep relationships between and among themselves in an inter- and intra-country manner. This definition is however the most suitable definition to be used in defining the Cameroon diaspora. This is because they are scattered in different parts of the world but they still keep very close links with their homeland and they also take their culture wherever they go.

Today we use the term diaspora to refer to numerous people who are from the same country and scattered in two or more destinations in which they developed multi-farious links involving flows of exchanges and resources between the homeland and destination countries. Usually, recent day Diasporas are considered as descendants of migrant parents or first generation Diasporas but maintain links with their ancestral origins. They have been high speculations as how to clearly distinguish a diaspora from a migrant or refugee. As a result, many characteristics have been linked to a diaspora. Sahfran and Cohen (2008) maintained or stipulated that the concept of a diaspora can be applied when

members of an expatriate minority community share many of the following features;

- The present diaspora or their ancestors were dispersed from an original homeland and are settled in two or more destinations.
- They all keep a collective memory and myth of their original homeland including its location, history and achievements.
- They believe that they are not and can never be fully accepted into their societies and as such they try to stay separate but remain connected to their homeland.
- They have an idealization of the homeland and it is believed that when things get better in the homeland, either them or their descendants will return home.
- They believed that all members of the diaspora should be committed to maintenance or restoration of the original homeland and to its safety and prosperity.
- They have solidarity with the homeland and their ethno communal consciousness and solidarity are in an important way defined by the existence of such a relationship.
- They share a self-awareness or diasporic consciousness, and identify with each other as members of a dispersed identity group with continuing common ties to the homeland (Sheffer, 1986).

2.1.2 Migration

The concept of migration is not a new phenomenon and has been around for several decades now. Many authors and scholars have looked at migration differently and have linked it with development. Many theories have also evolved to discuss migration studies such as the New Economic theory of migration, the Neoclassical Economic theory, the Segmented labor-market theory (Priore, 1979), the World Systems theory (Sassen, 1988) and many other theories. Before looking at how different writers have defined migration, I will first present a brief history of mobility in Cameroon and how Cameroonians have been mobile since the pre-colonial time. Migration was already in practice during the Pre-colonial period in the territory named Cameroon. In the case of Cameroon, most of these migrations were within the border and mostly for trade and Pastoral Nomadism (Bourtrais 1995/96; Warnier

1993). However, there were traces of involuntary migration caused by the coming of the slave trade that saw the forceful transportation many Africans and Cameroonians across the Sahara desert and the Atlantic Ocean to Europe and America and the colonial practice of force labor (Agenti 2006, 2009, Röschenhaler 2006) that caused many people to be internally displaced or to migrate. Most people migrated in Cameroon during the colonial period from the villages to the Coastal areas to work in the plantations that were established by the colonialist.

Most of Cameroon's international or transnational migrations were mostly within the continent to neighboring countries like Nigeria, Gabon, and Equatorial Guinea for trade and labor (Bennafla 2002). Apart from the economic mobility, Muslim Cameroonians goes for Pilgrimage in Sudan and Egypt and Cameroon on the other hand has been a favorable ground for Nigerian Entrepreneurs and clerics (Pelican, 2013 P240). Not only Cameroonians are involved in the movement. In recent years Cameroon, witness an influx of refugees from Chad and Central African Republic (IOM 2009).

Cameroon's transcontinental or international migration has mostly been connected to the country's colonial history. Since independence, many Cameroonians migrated to Germany Britain and France to benefit from professional and Educational opportunities (Pelican M. 2013). However, with the enforcement of migration rules in the 1990s and early 2000s in Europe, Cameroonians and Africans tend to look for other migratory routes. America and Canada

have been top on the list with the American diversity lottery attracting many people (Hugentobler 2009). Others have moved father to Eastern Europe embarking in dangerous routes (mostly the young people) through the sea and land by cross border method and some have migrated to Asia (Pelican and Tatah 2009).

Migration has commonly been defined as the movement of people from one geographical area to another which involves the crossing of a local boundary or an international boundary from a place of origin to a new place of residence. During these migrations, some were irregular, others Transit and were labor migrants. During the migration faces, British went to America, the French went to Canada, the Dutch to Australia and some from Africa to North America (Castle and Miller, Mark, 1998). However, many writers and international organizations have tried to add

more meaning to this definition to match with the current trend of activities surrounding the concept and practice of migration.

De Haas Hein in one of his working papers defined migration as the ability of people to choose where to live including the option to stay instead of a more or less automated passive and a predictable response to a set of static push and pull factors. The migration nexus should not only be limited to push and pull factors but should to an extent include people's desires and wishes to live in places they desire to live. However, De Haas Hein also used or gave a similar definition in one of his books titled "Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective". In this book, he defined migration as "a process which is an integral part of a broader transformation processes embodied in the development but also has its internal, self-sustaining and self-undermining dynamics, and impacts on such transformation processes on its own right. The definition helps to paint a real life situation because most of the primary reasons of migrations in the 21st century are for self-development. That is to better yourself or present situation, which is directly relational to your environment and your society. This definition is the most preferable of all to better define migrants from Cameroon. This is because the active population are the highest people involved in migration in Cameroon and despite the push factors, their primary objective is to better themselves.

Castle Stephens (2008) argues that there is an impossibility of formulating a general migration theory but that significant progress can be made by re-embedding migration research into a more general understanding of the contemporary society by linking it to broader theories of social change across a range of social scientific disciplines. He proposed that this can be achieved by referring to processes of social transformation, interconnectedness, variability and multi-level mediations of global change. Massey et al believed that the time has come to put the theories of migration in conformity with the new contemporary trends of the migration studies (Massey et al, 1993) as cited by (Castles, 2008). Castles expresses doubts as to why it is so difficult to develop and agree on a conceptual framework of migration studies.

Some authors describe migration as the cause and effect of various forms of conflicts (Castle and Miller, 1998 p3). They made this statement in reference to the May 1992 Los Angeles riots that shocked the American nation. At first, such riots were mostly regarded as Black against whites but when about 13000 were arrested after the

incident, most of them were Latinos, Mexicans and blacks. In addition, most of the people that were arrested were illegal migrants. They continued by asserting that in the same year, Europe witness a similar situation when they were neo-Nazi onslaughts in refugee camps in Germany. The attacks were followed by extreme violence, the police were unable to stop them, and the politicians were incapable of identifying a root cause or providing an adequate solution. A similar or more complicated situation happened in Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The world watched helplessly and Yugoslavia disintegrated into fragments as the various leaders representing their people struggled to create new states. This caused many people to move to neighboring countries who were also reluctant to accept them because they were facing similar situations. All these had a common characteristic as they were all linked to growing international migration as similar situations that were happening in different parts of the world favored the same course.

Massey et al postulated that there is no adequate universally accepted theory of migration. That only a few fragmented theories have been developed in isolation with one another and the completely migratory process cannot be understood by focusing on a single level of analysis. As such, there is need for a sophisticated theory to incorporate all the other theories for a better understanding of the migration pattern. Massey et al tried to give a brief comparism of what the different theories says about migration. According them, the neoclassical economic theory views migration as an individual decision to move in order to maximize income while considering the wage differences, employment conditions and migration cost between different countries. This is contrasted by the New economics of migration theory who considers conditions of the labor market and other markets and sees migration as a way to minimize risk to family income or to overcome difficulties in family productive activities. The Dual Market theory and World systems theory do not share the same view but rather they migration from a different perspective focusing on instead on activities happening at higher levels occurrence.

2.1.3 Emigration

Emigration refers to the movement of from one country (country of origin) to another country (new Country) with hopes of staying for a considerable period. Sometimes emigration can be within the same country and from one town either to another work or for family reunion. Sometimes emigration can be confused with expatriation but

expatriation is often the consequence of emigration. This is in situations where people emigrate and take up citizenship in the new country and then denounce the citizenship of his original country.

Emigration in situations in some situations comes about because of a more immediate urgent change, a ‘proximate factor’ (Van Hear, 1998). The proximate factors mean urgent situations like the outburst of a civil war, loss of a family member, floods or earthquakes in place of stay or loss of livelihood like job or business. These conditions can influence people’s decisions to emigrate from their place of origin but most of such emigrations are usually national.

Access to mobility may sometimes pose a problem to potential migrants with good reasons to leave their original settlement. In most cases, very few of them acquire visas for their new destinations why others are relatively poor and cannot afford visas. Those that cannot afford visas tend to prefer smuggling routes, which are sometimes more costly than a direct air ticket. In this circumstance, the destinations of the emigrant are always determined by the amount of money he/she can be able to pay (Haar, 2004 as cited by Collyer, 2007). In more similar situations, most of them become transit migrants. Some do not even have the money to embark on the journeys (Baros et al, 2002). Wherever they stop, they try to work for more money to continue their journey from where they stop (Collyer, 2007). This type of emigrants is relatively young males who can be able to endure under considerable harsh conditions. Therefore, sex and capital usually have a lot of determination for such types of journeys (Bensaad, 2005).

2.1.4 Immigration

The concept of immigration has become a more debated concept in the 21st century with diverse opinions. They are two groups of people involved in the immigration debate. One group holds the argument that immigration is a negative phenomenon because it has lots of negative characteristics like; immigrants cause overcrowding, drug trafficking and a major thread to the culture of the receiving country if they are very populated and may sometimes become a burden to the receiving country considering the fact that schools will be crowded and government will have to provide more funding to schools. Housing becomes expensive and scarce at the same time because of the rapid increase in population and they will be unavoidable

competition in the job market because immigrants will compete with the less skilled citizens for jobs. However, the others hold the opinion that immigrants contribute politically culturally and economically in receiving countries. In some countries, during elections immigrants tend to favor candidates they believe can make laws to favor them. Immigrants are always the ones who do the hard jobs at low wages that cannot be done by the aborigines of the receiving countries. They take up all kinds of odd jobs like cleaning and many others.

The causes of Immigration in recent years have been attributed to family reunion, most people marry out of their countries of nationality and their partners will therefore be force to move over. Again, others immigrate in other to foster their education or to acquire a new technological skill that was not available in the home country. The need for a better economic or financial situation cannot be left out as one of the major causes of immigration especially from developing economies to developed ones. While other scholars see immigration as the international movement of people of people into a destination country that they are not citizens but have hopes of acquiring residency of citizenship. This definition simply denotes immigration as the process of moving to leave in another country. Some immigrants intend to return home why others do not. Immigrants are also considered as outsiders coming in presumably to stay (De Genova, 2002, 421) as deducted from (Alpes, 2012). Canada is currently considered as the highest immigrant receiving country-receiving skilled immigrants from all over the globe with an estimated 250,000 people immigrating to Canada each year, which stands at about 0.8 percent of Canada's total population (MegaEssays.com).

2.1.5 Bush falling

The word “bush falling” is not a common word that is used in many countries. The word is commonly use in Cameroon especially in the English speaking regions to refer to Cameroonians who travels out of the country. The term bush falling has been in the spotlight of every day's discussions in English speaking Cameroon since the 1990s. The franc CFA was devalued in 1994 and they was a 70 percent drastic cut in salaries of civil servants in Cameroon. This cuts combined with economic crisis and political instability that were hovering over the country at the time, forced many civil servants and unemployed Cameroonians to start looking for means of acquiring economic prosperity and higher leaving standards out of the country. The idea spread

rapidly like a wild fire and has since then been the most popular method of achieving a quicker economic prosperity and a comfortable life in the minds of many youthful and educated Cameroonians (Alpes, 2012).

Bush Falling is the act of leaving your homeland and going out to the wilderness (bush) to hunt down meat (money) and bring back home the rewards of the hunt (Kinsley A, 2013). In this case, to fall bush implies doing everything possible both financially and materially to travel out of the country (bush) to work and earn money and send back home to the family in Cameroon. Bush is the term in Pidgin English, which is the lingua franca in English speaking regions of Cameroon that is used to describe the West or America and Canada. A person who successfully travels out of the country is called a ‘‘Bush Faller’’ (Nyamjoh and Page, 2002). Bush fallers are by this meaning expected to come back to the country after making good money in bush (West) to share the money to the people in the society and to set up a good business and build a comfortable residential home. The bush falling process is through travel agents who link the aspiring bush faller to another agent in the receiving country. The travelling agents get paid for the procurement of the Visa and flight ticket. The travelling process is by air and not by land. In the 1990s and early 2000s, Europe, America and Canada were the most favorable destinations for Cameroon ‘‘bush fallers’’(emigrants)(Pelican et al, 2008) but due to the enforcement of the immigration laws of these countries, most of them end up now in China, South Korea, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates (Alpes, 2011).

2.1.6 Economic development

The word economic development was not very common in usage until after the Second World War (WWII) when European imperialism ended and most states became liberated or gained independence. Most of these states that were not under colonial rule were more developed than those that were being colonized. This resulted to the classification of states. The countries that were advance were named More Economically Developed Countries (MEDCs) and included America, Canada and most of the countries in Western Europe, Japan Australia and many others. While the Less Economically developed, countries (LEDCs) were mostly countries of the African continent, Middle East, Asia and Latin American countries (Encyclopedia Britannica). Some of these states attained a level of development and were consequentially named Developing Countries. The Economic development of

these countries is measured as their per capita income rises (income per person of the total population).

In the case of Cameroon, economic development is not absent. Cameroon has a mixture of natural resources and agricultural products that are obvious to give a significant level of economic development. According to the World Bank report, the economic development rate in Cameroon stood at 4% from 2010 to 2013 which is 1% age point below “Vision 2035” which is the expected year for the country to have emergence. Cameroon has only archived progress in the last decades in expanding access to basic education. The number of children completing primary education rose from 53% in 2001 to 80% in 2011 and primary schools enrollment rates rose from 102.8 in 2001 to 112.9% in 2011. The improvements in access to education favored good performances across the whole country and eight out of every ten children were able to attend school even in the far northern regions of the country where illiteracy rates amongst young children was considerably very high due to lack of schools or inaccessibility to get to school (World Bank, Cameroon economic update, 2014)

According to Myint Hla and Krueger O. Anne, economic development refers to the process whereby simple low-income national economies are transformed into modern industrial economies involving qualitative as well as quantitative improvements. This definitions outlines that an underdeveloped economy with a primitive and poor level of development like Cameroon can within a considerable time frame through a gradual process developed into a more sophisticated and high technologically important economy. An example of such economy is the Turkish Economy whose growth rate is very rapid. The Turkish economy was a relatively primitive economy in the 18th and early 19th centuries but has gradually developed into a relatively sophisticated economy in the 21st century.

Generally, individuals fund economic development knowingly or unknowingly. Each time we buy a new item from the super market, we pay taxes for these items. Deducing from Hill Aaron (Study.com, lesson 5), he asserts that economic development is always the efforts of the federal states and local governments to improve the standards of living of their citizens. This can be done through creating more jobs, setting up industries that are more advanced, supporting innovation and new ideas, creating higher wealth and a better quality of life, improving on the

education system by setting up research centers and improving public roads safety. He further stated that economic development could be determined by an increase in the level of income of families, lower unemployment rates in the country, low levels of illiteracy, good health care systems, leisure places and changes in life expectancy. In the case of Cameroon, there is a very low level of economic growth because of so many factors that developing countries like high corruption, poor allocation of resources for development.

According to Bartsch (1994), economic development is the process by which individuals and organizations decide to invest in an area that is a central business district or neighborhood with the hopes of expanding and gaining commercial services. In other words, it is the process of creating wealth through the mobilization of human, capital, physical and natural resources (Nguemegne P. Jacques, 2000). This definitions looks alike with the situation of Cameroon because business centers are more concentrated in the urban areas where more people lives there than the rural areas.

Sen Amartya (Development as Freedom, 2001) stated that economic development is the ability of governments to create freedom for people and removing obstacles to greater freedom by reducing poverty, increasing economic opportunities, fighting corruption, and erasing poor governance and providing good education and health care to its citizens. However, economic development is relative to economic growth and they both measure the annual increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product per capita (country's total products per year divided by its total population). Economic development can be achieved when there is a feasible rise in the Gross Domestic Product and Gross National Product and per capita income (BBC economic news). Cameroon's GDP is always stagnant and relatively falls or rise by a slide margin. As a result, it is difficult to say if the country is experiencing economic growth or not. Because there is constant corruption and high unemployment rate.

2.1.7 Social development

The term Social development gained grounds in the 1920s when it was used by the British to begin a mass literacy campaign in Africa. They later branded it as community development to involve everybody in the community. In 1954, the

British government officially adopted the term Social development to include community development and necessary social services. Upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the United Nations Organizations (UNO) assumed the responsibility of promoting social development on a global scale (Miah R. Mizanur, 2013). Miah Mizanur defines Social development as an all-inclusive concept advocating for the well-being of the people, the community and the society. This definition goes in line with the real life situations when local or state governments provide social amenities to their people. For instance, this definition is directly related to the situation in Cameroon. The provides basic social amenities to the people like pipe borne water, Education, basic health care, amusement parks and encourages the population to take part in every elections. Primary, secondary and higher education is relatively free in Cameroon with a minimal school fees to be paid. The same thing applies to basic healthcare where treatment of patients in government hospitals is considerably cheaper and vaccines against epidemics are distributed to the population free over a considerable period.

Again, there is a 45hours class semester course in Cameroon on social development that is designed to teach students; help students with understanding the social and economic issues in Cameroon, introduce students to a wide spectrum of organizations promoting development and social change in Cameroon, provide students with fundamental issues of social change in Cameroon and to examine and nurture initiatives to promote social change in Cameroon(www.sit.edu/studyabroad). On the other hand, SODEIT(Social Development International) has also refer to Social development as working together to eradicate social risk, poverty, inequality and social risk in communities without discriminating through practical realization of sustainable social development initiatives in the communities.

The government of New Brunswick Canada in an article titled ‘‘Economic and social inclusion Corporation, 2009’’ defined Social development as the process of improving the Well-being of every individual in society so they can be able to archive their full potentials. In others words, it shows that Social Development means investing in people and removing all barriers so that all the citizens can be able to journey towards their lives with confidence. Encourage people and help them to develop their own skills and contribute to the society in a meaningful way. People having access to a healthy health care and good educational systems to be able to

equip themselves with the required basic skills to get a nice job with an encouraging payment package. In addition, a safe and affordable place to live is of vital importance to help people developed self-sufficiency and train their children to build good relationships in the community and care for the aging population. With the aforementioned, more contributions towards ensuring a good social development will be developing more youth programs and services, ensuring post-secondary education and creating more jobs in the community. This is a bit contrary to the case of Cameroon where individuals strive for daily bread upon their shoulders and basic jobs to earn salaries are relatively very scarce.

The World Bank (WB) defines Social Development as the act of putting people first in development processes by listening to the poor and promoting their voices in the development process, understanding and addressing their needs, priorities, aspirations and by building formal and informal institutions. Poverty is far more than earning low income and it leads to vulnerability, exclusion and powerlessness. In order to achieve Social development, accountable institutions should be strengthened and the rate at which people get exposed to violence should be drastically reduced, they should be total inclusion of the poor, build cohesive and resilient societies and institutions should be accessible and accountable to the citizens. Furthermore, this facts shows that Social Development increase quality of and economic growth in a way through which the government, communities, civil societies, the private sector, the marginalized and the indigenous people all work together to ensure the development and well-being of everyone in the society(World Bank social development strategy, Sep. 2017). In Cameroon the government strives to archive social development though at very low rate coupled with the nature of the government institutions which only allows for influential individuals and weak institutions. Those that have godfathers (family or friends that are placed in good government working positions) are guaranteed of job position and those that do not look up to the salvation of God for employment opportunities.

2.1.8 Remittances

Remittances have become a very popular term since the 20th century and have caught the attention of politicians, scholars and analyst. The Migration Data Portal (MDT) defines remittances as the financial or in-kind transfers made by migrants to friends and relatives back in their communities and countries of origin. It explained further

that they are two types of remittances which are the; compensation of employees and Personal transfers. The compensation of employees entails money that is paid to seasonal or long-term migrant workers working in foreign countries. However not all of these money are remitted because the workers have their own bills to take care of. On the other hand, personal transfers refer to the all current transfers in cash or in-kind made or received by residents be they migrants or non-migrants from or to individuals in other countries (IMF, 2009: 237). Remittances are not just economical or financial; they are social remittances, which include; the ideas, behaviors, knowledge, political values, social capital and new technological skills that flows from receiving to sending countries (Levitt, 1998; 927). Remittance can also be internal that is sending from one part of the country to the other.

Remittances are a very important source of household financing and development projects especially in developing countries. The process of remitting is no longer a new phenomenon to the Cameroon diaspora in particular and to the African diaspora and the world's diasporas at large. Many young Cameroonians live and work in Europe, America and even the Middle East. Their families back home intend rely heavily on them for financial support and they have it as a priority to send money back home. Cameroon is a low income receiving country and diaspora remittances are crucial for its development. In some families and localities in Cameroon, Diasporas are solely the breadwinners of their families and as a result, their remittances are the main source of finance to such families.

In 1977, the total amount of the Cameroon diaspora remittances stood at 50.97 million US dollars and has since then been steadily increasing. In 2004, the remittances rose to 103 million US dollars, which was almost equivalent to the country's GDP at the time. In 2006, the amount doubled itself or even more amounting to 267 million US dollars (Ibid retrieved from Ollong A. Kingsly). This amounts are however just the official amounts that were remitted through international money orders like Bank wires, Western Union and MoneyGram. Some of the money was remitted through informal networks and as such cannot be recorded (Barre et al. 2003). The amounts that are carried by Cameroonians going home for holidays or that send through friends and Cameroon embassies are not included. Mobile money transfers have been the recent safe and fastest means of

remitting money to origin countries especially in sub-Saharan African countries. This medium channels the money directly to the person it was intended to.

The International Monetary Fund that provides statistics on international remittances data defines remittances as the sum of two main components in their Balance of Payments Statistics manual. In essence, this definition is focused on the sending diaspora and the receiver of the remitted money be it the government or the individual friend or family. According to Ratha et al., 2018, international remittances to low- and middle-income countries reduced by 2.6% and 4.1% in 2015 and 2016 respectively and in 2017, it increased by 8.5 amounting to 466 billion US dollars. The sum is expected to rise by 4.1% in 2018 to 485 billion US dollars. He further stated that the top three countries that received the highest amount of remittances were found in Asia and included India (USD 69 billion), China (USD 64 billion) and the Philippines (USD 33 billion). Mexico also received USD 31 billion, Nigeria received USD 22 billion and Egypt received USD 20 billion. Relatively, according to the ibid statistics, the top most five countries that received remittances in 2017 as a share of their gross domestic product (GDP) were; Kyrgyz Republic (35%), Tonga (33%), Tajikistan (31%) which could have been as a result of the large UN presence, Nepal (29%) and Liberia (27%).

Moreover, according to an article titled Remittance on the INVESTOPEDIA website, remittances are defined as the funds an expatriate sends to his or her country of origin through Bank wire, mail, or online transfer. This peer-to-peer or cross-border transfer of money has played a significant role in the economies of small and developing countries. In some countries, remittances contribute to greater portions of the nation's GDP like the case of Nepal in 2014 (ibid). In the recent years, Asia has been the highest remittance-receiving continent with India and China topping the list respectively followed by Latin America and Africa.

The Economics Online website defines remittances as cross border transfers of money from workers in one country back to their country of origin often as gifts or financial aid to family members and friends. Some migrant workers are seasonal and they prefer to send their money back home immediately after they are paid. While others may have settled in their new environment and become citizens, they still manage to send some money back home to friends and extended family members. Greater percentage of remittance is always sent to developing countries. Remittances

however post greater problems to banks and state governments because they are sometimes very difficult to measure considering the fact that a good portion of the remittances are sent through informal channels. That is not sent through officially authorized money transfer businesses (MTBs). For many countries, remittance is a major source of finance for development. Remittances have gradually exceeded global development aid (GDA). In Cameroon, migrant remittances are the highest means of income for households. Many Cameroonian youths lives and work in Asia, Middle East, Europe and America. Most of them have their families back home and they constantly remit money to take care these people back home who rely mostly on them.

2.1.9 Reasons for human capital flight and migration

The reasons for migrations are diverse and differ from person-to-person depending on their various conditions and ambitions. Globalization and growth of communication networks and well developed transport networks in the 20th and 21st centuries have ease communication between immigrants and their families back home and has also ease the migration process (Butler, 2001). This has helped the easy movement of people around the world. Discoveries in communication technologies and highly developed transport facilities have helped transformed the world into a global village. Cross-border migration in Cameroon gained grounds mainly in the 1960s. When Cameroon achieved independence in 1960, the government of Cameroon embarked on development programs that were to help facilitate the movement of Cameroonians to countries with strong economies and high technology like United Kingdom, West Germany, France, United States of America and Canada. The aim of this project was to help Cameroonians developed diverse skills so that they could later come back home and put these acquired skills at the service of the state (Ollong A. Kingsly, 2013).

More so, in the early 1980s many Cameroonians traveled out of the country because they were drastic drops in the prices of agricultural products that were the main source of income for the economy. This was followed by an economic crisis that forced the World Bank and the international monetary fund (IMF) to place Cameroon under Structural Adjustment Programs (Van de Wier 2001, p. 252). All these forced many farmers and businesspersons to abandon their farms and businesses to sought new roads of adventures. Furthermore, they was political

instability in the Cameroons in the early 1990s (Konings, 1996) that forced many people to flee the country to seek asylum in Europe because of persecution or arrest. This was followed by the devaluation of the franc CFA that resulted to a 70 percent cut in the salaries of civil servants (Monga, 1995). This pushed many workers that were employed by the government to abandoned their jobs and travel to Europe or America where they could be better paid.

The new generations of Cameroonian Migrants in the 21st are mostly educational migrants. The Cameroon population is made up of mostly youths who are mostly students and with the poor prospects in terms of educational facilities and a future profession (Schmelz Andrea, 2007), many choose to travel to the west after high school or university education to further studies. Some youths are eager to be highly professionalized but their ambitions are hampered by the lack of highly equipped professional schools in some fields of study in the country as a result they are bound to travel. This process is sometimes the easiest means to easily travel out of the country because most of the students travel on scholarships and even the ones that do not have scholarship; it is easier to get a student visa than many other visas.

More Cameroonians travel abroad for family reunion. In this situation, many Cameroonians live home and travels abroad. When he or she becomes financially viable, the other family members move to join. For instance, a man travels and leaves behind his wife and a kid; when he eventually settles abroad, he tries to bring over his family. More to this, the American DV lottery program and the procurement of the American Green Card has given rights to Cameroonians to live and work in the USA (O. Kingsly, 2013) (Alpes M.J, 2011). This method has favored the migration of many Cameroonians on a yearly basis.

Economic crisis and high rates of unemployment have also been a highly contributive factor to migration in Cameroon. The level of unemployment in Cameroon is considerably high amongst educated and uneducated youths. Jobs opportunities have become so scarce that for one to become employed especially in the civil service in crisis-ridden Cameroon (Alpes M.J, 2009), it will depend only if he or she has an influential person who is in a key position already. Many graduates have turn to see travelling as the only easy means to become economically viable.

The general believe in a European and American ‘‘El Dorado’’(a place of adequate surplus where everything is available) (Nyamjoh F and Page B., 2002) has been very

responsible for many migrations from Cameroon to Europe and America. There is a general believe or assumption within localities in Cameroon that travelling out of the country is a big economic investment and better way to secure a bright future. In Cameroon especially in Anglophone Cameroon, when someone travels out of the country and comes back he is usually treated with lots of respect and always greatly admired by all. They are famously called ‘bush fallers’. To fall bush means to travel out of the country and work money then come back home with the profits (Alpes M.J, 2012). However much of the migrations are favored by the publicity of travelling agents who blindfolds many young youths to collect huge sums of money from them then prepare them to travel abroad some of whom use land or water and most often embark on irregular migrations. Travelling through West Africa to the North to cross to Europe by sea (Pastore et al, 2006). Additionally, De Hass Hein also pointed out that many desperate Africans arrive the shores of European border seas after being recruited by unscrupulous traffickers.

2.1.10 The process of Migration and the Types of Migration involved

International migration has become a very popular feature of the Cameroon youths despite high financial cost, deportations and many frustrated departure attempts with most of them undertaking these migrations without a prior knowledge of their destination countries and with no attention to the process of migration. These desperate aspirations and desires depict their disappointments and disillusionment. The disappointments are based on the economic and political situation of the country and disillusionment of the impossibility of a bright future in the country base on such situations (Pelican Micheal, 2013, de Rosny, 2002, Nyamnjoh and Page, 2002, Alpes M.J, 2012). However, most Cameroonian youth's migration destinations are to the United States of America, Canada, Europe, Asia, and Middle East and relatively to some neighboring African countries.

The process of migration is sometimes depends on the motives and the decisions to migrate. At times, the decision to migrate is not an individual decision but a collective initiative of the whole family to send their son or daughter abroad, which according to them, is more of an economic investment (Alpes M.J, 2012). They start by contacting a travel agent who will be in charge of processing the travelling documents and flights procurement. These agents usually tax very high fees and

some of them do not even carry out their duties successfully after collecting the money but fails to refund the money.

According to the assertions of Dr. Schmez, (2007), he argued that the migrations from Cameroon to America and the rest of the destinations are usually by Air transport with a relatively small percentage by land or sea. He stated that three forms of migrations are usually practiced and includes; Education Migration, Asylum or Refugee migration and Family Reunion Migration. According to him, many Cameroonians living outside the country migrated using student's visas because students' visas are easier to get than employment visas. This group of people includes mostly the youths with university degrees within the ages of 20-25 years old. Family reunion includes people whose families are already living outside the country and may invite them to come over. These people can be the wife brother sister or children and even the parents. While the refugees include the people travelled to their destinations legally and later on became illegal due to the expiration of their resident documents and wants to get a form of a resident option.

However, not all the migrations from Cameroon to Europe and America or parts of the African continent are regular and by air. Some of the migrants use sea and land routes to reach their desired destinations. Most of the migrations from Cameroon to neighboring Nigeria, Gabon, Congo and Equatorial Guinea are usually by land and sea routes for most people who cannot afford an air ticket. Cameroon forms part of West Africa and according to De Haas Hein and Collyer Michael most if not all of the migrations from West African to North Africa and to Europe are irregular and Transit Migrations. The migrations from Cameroon by land are through Chad and Central African Republic to North Africa in Libya Morocco and Algeria. De Haas continued that when migrants get to Morocco, they try to enter the European Union by crossing the sea from the North coast or they try to enter the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. Due to enforce border controls and checks, at the Strait of Gibraltar, migrants now try to cross the sea from the eastern coast of Morocco and Algeria to mainland Spain. Others move Southward to cross to the Canary Islands (a Spanish territory in the western Sahara) (Haas de, 2006b).

Further, many migrants from Cameroon also indulge in transit migration. They move to North Africa and some of them end up staying in North Africa either voluntarily or involuntarily and never getting to their desired destinations (Bensaad, 2003).

Some would rather prefer to return home. This might be caused by lack of finance to continue the journey. They decide to stay for a while and work to save more money to continue their journey or to take care of themselves and settle where they are in their new destination. Major cities in northern Africa such as Tunis, Rabat, Casablanca and Algiers now harbor increasing communities of migrants from Sub-Saharan and West Africa who have either settled involuntarily to work more money and continue their journey (Haas de, 2006). Most of these migrants often do arduous jobs in the informal sector such as; construction, agriculture, fishing, petty trading and cleaning in homes and restaurants. Others try to pursue studies but purely with the intentions of acquiring residency status. (Boubakri, 2004). Moreover, some of these migrants get to their desired destinations but gradually become illegal as some of them overstay their visas while the others are purely clandestine migrants who intentionally try to avoid border control checks and move into new destinations illegally (Collyer, 2007).

2.1.11 The Distribution of the Cameroon Diaspora

The Cameroon diaspora is sparsely distributed in different parts of the world. There has been little research carried out on the Cameroon diaspora as such, there is limited literature on how it is perfectly distributed in the major continents and countries of the world. This is because there is no major body or organization that has been branded as the Cameroon diaspora organization. However, many Cameroonians migrated during the late 20th century and the early phase of the 21st century to Europe and America with a considerable small number to Asia and very few to other African countries.

According to Ollong Kingsley, with the statistics from the 2005 population demographic census that were conducted in Cameroon, it shows that they were 136,909 Cameroonians were legally living abroad. Most of these populations were largely distributed in the main OECD countries with France taking the lion share. In 2005, 57,060 Cameroonians were legally living in Europe, which has been brandished as the most favorable migrant destination for Cameroon migrants. Out of this number, 36,000 were legally living in France, there were 20,000 legally living in the United States, 14,414 in Germany, 3,040 in Belgium, 3,012 in the United Kingdom, 2,070 in Canada, 1,827 in the Netherlands, 1,209 in Italy and 506 in Luxemburg. The distribution of the Cameroon diaspora in 2005 can be better presented on the table 1 below.

Table 2.1: The distribution of Cameroonians living abroad in 2005.

Destination Country	No of Cameroonian diasporas (in thousands)
France	36.000
United States of America	20.000
Germany	14.414
Belgium	3.040
United Kingdom	3.012
Canada	2.070
Netherlands	1.827
Italy	1.209
Luxembourg	507

Source: United Nations 2005, extracted from Ollong Kinsley, Varieties of globalization

From the table above, France has been the most favorable destination for Cameroonian migrants. This factor owes mostly to the colonial past of Cameroon. In 2005, Europe was serving as a breeding ground for Cameroonian migrants though a good number was also in America and Canada but comparatively small to that of Europe. There were also more or undocumented migrations so these figures cannot be authoritatively agreed to be the fixed numbers of the Cameroon diaspora during this year. Amongst these migrants, they were people from all works of life ranging from engineers to medical doctors.

However, they have been a considerable increase in these figures in 2010. According to the Cameroon government, the demographic population census in 2010 estimated the population of Cameroon at 19,406,100 people, and stated that 2.2 percent of the total population, which was approximated at about 200,000 Cameroonians, were living and working abroad. It is difficult to completely access the Cameroon diaspora based on figures. This is due to lack of a well-organized institution in charge of the diaspora as earlier mentioned in this work. Undocumented migration has posed a very difficult task of recording the number of the Cameroon diaspora in neighboring African countries since as most of the migrations are by sea and land with no official documents or residents permits in these areas. As a result, statistics of Cameroon diaspora is relatively available in mostly OECD countries largely and non-OECD countries in lesser extents.

Table 2.2: The Redistribution of the Cameroon Diaspora in 2010/2011

Host country	Number of Cameroonian diaspora (in thousands)
France	69.6
United states	31.8
Belgium	11.1
United kingdom	9.5
Canada	7.6
Italy	7.0
Switzerland	7.0
South Africa	4.9
Spain	4.7
Kenya	2.1

Source: OECD 2015, Connecting with emigrants, a global profile of Diaspora

From the table above table, France remains the most favorable destination for Cameroonian migrants with the total number of Cameroonians living in France in 2010 and 2011 doubling the number that was recorded in 2005 within just an interval of five years. This growth in Cameroon diasporas' population in France could also be attributed to high birth rates within the Cameroon diaspora community and the increasing number of Cameroonian students attending higher education and expertise workers migrating too. The united have also witness a significant increase with more eleven thousand Cameroons migrating to the United States within the period of five years. However, this rapid increase is also due to the US diversity lottery that gives Cameroonians the right to live and work in America. Canada, the United Kingdom and other European countries also witness a steading increase respectively with South Africa habituating up to 4700 and Kenya 2100 Cameroonians.

2.1.12 Types of residential status

Just like other migrants' groups, the Cameroon diaspora falls under the various types of residential statuses ranging from Students, Asylum seekers, Permanent Residents and many others. To begin with, many Cameroonians travel abroad for the sake or for furthering their education. To this effect, most or all of these students mostly between the ages of twenty to thirty years old leave in their various destination countries with Students Resident Permits. In the last two decades, due to lack of highly professional institutes of learning in Cameroon, many young Cameroonians have chosen study destinations abroad with France being the most favorable destination followed by America, United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, South Africa,

China and Turkey (Marshall, 2013). Many of these students travel on scholarship basis while others travel on their personal efforts to improve on their education and raise their living standards and professionalism.

According to Jane Marshall on a report on the International Mobility of African Students, he stated that they were 19,113 Cameroonian students on the move to study destinations out of Cameroon which amounted to about 5% of the total number of African students on the move that same year which stood at about 380, 376 students. These statistics placed Cameroon at a fourth Position after morocco, Nigeria and Zimbabwe with the highness number of African Students on the move that same year. This number has increased drastically in recent years as UNESCO and the UNESCO institute for Statistics has reviewed that they are a total number of 24,972 Cameroonian students on the move abroad in various destination Universities or higher institute of Learning. With this said the above-mentioned number of Cameroonian students live legally in various destination countries with Students Resident Permits but with a specified expiry date at the end of the study program.

Many Cameroonians also live abroad as asylum seekers. Since the 1990s, so many Cameroonians has emigrated out of the country due political tensions and for fear of arrest, torture and persecution. During the 1990s(Shmeltz, 2007), members of the opposition party were all targets to the regime and also the members of the SCNC (Southern Cameroons National Council) who were agitating for the restoration of the state of West Cameroon were also wanted by the regime in power. As a result, this caused so many Cameroonians to sought asylum in Europe and America and some parts of Africa. Again, following the recent crisis that broke out in the two Anglophone regions in Cameroon because of the Teachers and lawyers protest, it has resulted to crisis prompting the restoration of the state of former West Cameroon. This has led to severe crisis that has led to the arrest of thousands of English speaking Cameroonians and the death of many too. Consequently, emigration has been on a steady increase with many of embarking on the risky passage across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe to seek asylum. The circumstances explained above, have giving many Cameroonians the lamb light to seek and be granted asylum in many parts of the world.

Other Cameroonians live abroad as Permanent Residents or citizens. Many Cameroonians living abroad leave in Countries that were their former colonial

master. The highest number of Cameroonians living abroad leaves in France, United States, England, Belgium and Canada. Most of these people have acquired the nationalities of their destination countries by virtue of their duration of stay and working experiences. Others have done so through inter-marriages with the men or women of the resident countries (Nyamjoh and Page, 2002). This method turns out to be a good and easy way of acquiring nationality for Cameroonians and other Africans. While others have also acquired citizenship of their destination countries through Jus Sanguinis (by virtue of parental heritage) and the others by Jus Solis (a rule that states a child's citizenship by place of birth). Many Cameroonians have also acquired American Citizenship or Permanent Residents through the US diversity Visa lottery that grants emigrants from countries with low levels of immigration into the United States, which Cameroon is one of them, the rights to settle and work in America. In 2015, Connor O'steen the then Vice Consul at the United States Embassy in Cameroon revealed that they were already 15000 Cameroonians residing in the US under the ticket of Diversity Visa lottery.

2.1.13 Nature of Occupational Activities.

Cameroon is both a migrant destination especially for people from the neighboring African countries of Chad, Central Africa Republic and Nigeria. Emigration from Cameroon is mostly to America and Europe and primarily to France. The total number of Cameroonians that were recorded to be living out of the country in 2007 was estimated at a whopping 170,000 with up to 40,000 of them living in France alone (IOM 2009). Most migrants from Cameroon to Europe and America are mostly education migrants who must have completed university education in Cameroon before travelling. Nevertheless, the primary aim of living in Cameroon is always to go out there to hustle and improve yourself more economically (Nyamjoh and Page, 2012). In this case, the education for some people is just to secure a legal status and obtain a residents permit. Everything being equal, most Cameroon students abroad attend higher institutions and most of them attend classes only in the evening while taking part time jobs in the factories or restaurants during the day (interviewee, Cameroonian masters' student in Turkey).

Moreover, upon completion of studies abroad most Cameroonian Diasporas prefer working abroad rather than taking home the expert knowledge. According to Dibussi Tande in his book titled "Essays on Politics and collective memory in Cameroon",

he stated on P38 that about 25% to 30% of professionals trained in Cameroon travels out of the country why a whopping 70% to 80% of professionals trained out of Cameroon never returns to work in Cameroon except on retirement. As such, many of them goes in for employment usually as highly qualified professionals in the areas of information technology, Engineering, Electronics, Educational Professors, Transport, management and Medical doctors, Nurses and pharmacist. A proportionately large number of the Cameroonian Diasporas work as nurses in Europe and America.

The Association of Cameroon Medical Doctors has estimated that more than 4,000 Cameroon Medical Doctors are living and working abroad as compared to a considerably smaller number of 800 medical doctors are into active service in Cameroon which is considerably very low to a population of about 24,000,000 million inhabitants (Winterhagen, 2016). This is also in line with the other highly skilled professionals in other fields especially engineering and management. It is estimated that 40% of the highly qualified work force of Cameroon works abroad. Dr. Jenni Winterhagen has concluded that more Cameroonian expert live and work abroad than the total number that leaves and works in Cameroon. Dr. Lazare Kaptue an associate professor of the Universite' des Montagnes in West Cameroon during an international conference for Excellence in Science and Technology revealed that over 12,000 Cameroonian engineers works for big companies in Germany. Undocumented migration has also plaid a paramount role to pose a difficulty in stating the number of Cameroonians distributed in the different sectors abroad.

2.1.14 Diaspora and Transnationalism.

Transnationalism and human mobility is not a new term, but it method, volume and direction has continually been transformed over the past years. Multiple migration types may take place in situations where people move from rural areas to urban centers and across national boundaries including voluntary or involuntary movements in the case of refugees. Migration is considered one of the greatest practices in the history of humanity and many reasons are always at the core of such movements including improvement on communication and transportations networks in the modern world that have increase the number of migrants and migrants stock steadily. Over the past years, transnational migration has witnessed constant intensity and diversification thereby causing great debates and politicizing between Democrats

and Republicans in migrant receiving countries (Bretell and Hollifield, 2006). Transnational flows in recent years have also witness high securitization and bureaucracy thereby causes many countries to secure their borders and to include high cost and bureaucracy in order to obtain a visa (Castle and Miller, 2003).

The concepts of Transnationalism and Diaspora have over the past years brought prominent research in respect to international migrants crossing inter-state and inter-regional borders. These two terms are sometimes used interchangeably and one will always seem to have embarked on a futile exercise trying to give a clear distinction or trying to separate and study these terms as unrelated concepts. The research has been more concerned on marking the evolution of social formations and how they have been functioning on macro-societal levels in terms of globalization and multiculturalism. Transnational networks reviews the sustained connections and relationships between the Diasporas and their countries of origin. In another sense, transnationalism is a process through which migrants strive to maintain close social relationships between their countries of origin and their destination countries (Basch, Glick Shiller and Szanton, 1994). The term diaspora is always used to refer to a community or group of people meanwhile the concept of transnationalism and transnational spaces are used to refer to processes that cut across international boundaries.

Before the emergence of the concept of Transnationalism in the late 1980s (Glick Shiller, 1992) international migration was perceived as a unilateral movement but was later evolve to include new forms of migration based on cross-national and transnational networks. Carling (2005), considers transnationalism as a process that is more concerned on the developments that occurs in the social field between migrants and non-migrants. Literature on transnationalism and Diaspora cut across nation-state and additionally, cultural, economic political and social activities are seen as spaces created by migrants across geographic boundaries in an array of forms. Historically, diaspora is an old concept as compared to transnationalism.

Diaspora was used mainly to refer to particular groups who experienced force migration especially the Jews and the Armenians but it has been under renovations to include other religious minorities in Europe. However newer appellations of diaspora have evolve to mean any kind of dispersal like economic diasporas such as the Chinese and labor diasporas like the Turkish and Mexicans (Cohen, 1997). Another

peculiar characteristic of diaspora links it to a return to an imagined homeland of the migrants. In contrast, new usages of the word diaspora have tried to replace a return to the homeland with constant linkages and relationships economically, culturally, socially and politically.

Other older usages of Diaspora has also considered the fact that, diasporas groups don't undergo assimilation in their destination countries meanwhile recent uses shows that diaspora and transnational groups practice cultural distinctiveness and cultural innovation. And this brings to mind the question of whether migrant integration on the one hand and cultural distinctiveness on the other hand in the migrant's destination countries do coexist. Contrastively, while the concept of transnationalism has more roots in sociological and geographical imaginations like space and field that are linked with claims of applying key notions to social theory focusing on mobility and networks, Diaspora studies have been more concern with cultural distinctiveness an its importance to religious communities, nationhood and social practices such as entrepreneurship. Transnationalism is more centered on social science ideas and diaspora has got to do with broad concepts like dispersal of migrants from their original community.

In practical Transnationalism, Cameroonians living in the diaspora do not fully and exclusively belong to their home country Cameroon or their destination countries. They all belong here (Home Country) and there (Destination country). Their contributions to their home land development are mostly come in the form of economic remittances which are at the helm of the transnational practices, though lack of adequate data makes it difficult to have a fixed amount of remittances that come in every year. They are active socially through transfer of knowledge and other aspects.

2.2 Theoretical Framework.

From various studies, although some people may still hold negative connotations to the contribution of Diaspora remittances to the development of their home countries, many diaspora scholars have come up with different theories some supporting the fact that diaspora remittances contributes to development in their home countries and others believe that they don't while others holds that they both contribute to development and underdevelopment. Attention to this regard will be focused on the

Developmentalists/Neoclassical view (Optimists), the Structuralist/dependency view and the Pluralist view or the New Economics of Labor Migration Theory. However these theories will help to shape more light on the framework within which this study will be focused.

2.2.1 The Neo-Classical view/Developmentalists (Optimists).

Famous proponents and scholars who have been promoting and supporting this theory includes; Kindleberger (1965), Todaro (1969), Beijer (1970), Adler, (1981) and Massey et al (1993). This theory came to the lamplight in the 1950s and 1960s and was based on the believe that with the promotion of industrialization through capital transfer and also the adoption of Western values, developing countries will be able to speed up the rate of the development process in their countries. During this period, the popular reason for underdevelopment amongst developing countries was believed to have been caused by internal factors rather than others.

When the Second World War ended, many countries especially in Western Europe and North America needed cheap labor to rebuild their economies. As a result, they were bound to be migrations from former colonies or developing countries to provide labor in these countries for the purpose mentioned above. These countries therefore implemented policies that were aimed at encouraging migration mostly temporal from developing countries (Hennings, 2013). This temporal migration was intended to help the host country supply cheap labor because labor was scarce but it was equally going to help the home or sending countries to foster their development because the temporal workers earned wages for their services and sent home some of these wages and also when they return home, they were going to use their newly acquired skills in diverse fields and also through transfer of knowledge to help their economies. Countries such as Germany, France, America, Britain and Canada all benefitted from the cheap labor of migrant. On the other hand, sending countries such as India, Philippines, South Korea and Pakistan have all benefitted from migration because of their diaspora remittances, Skills and Knowledge (Briggs, 1994).

According to De Haas (2007) many governments of developing countries design campaigns during this period that were aimed at encouraging their citizens to migrate to developed countries because the general believe was that migration was a potential

factor to accelerate economic development and modernization through industrialization and large capital transfer to home countries.

They postulated that migration from the developing countries to the developed countries will end up in the transfer of investment through diaspora remittances which will intend foster the rate of economic growth and development for the developing countries. More so traditional societies will become more rational and democratic and this will intend ease their development (De Haas, 2007). Consequently, many concluded that if developing countries aspire to develop then they must get ready to abandon their old traditions, values and culture and go for those of developed countries or the west (Coetzee, 2001).

According to this theory, Labor migration is seen as a crucial portion of development and it is perceived that the impacts of migration on development can be realized through the inflow of capital remittances which are more likely to increase incomes and productivity (Massey et al, 1993). Based on this perspective, diaspora remittances are considered to be very important for development in the migrant home countries because they bring about changes in incomes of households, encourage innovations and promotes investments (Kindleberger, 1965, Beijer, 1970). This assertion coincides with the modernization theory believe that developing countries were placed on the same path of modernization and economic growth with other Western Countries (De has, 2008). The developmentalist also argued that developing countries would be able to overcome the obstacle of lack capital as a potential barrier to development through capital transfer in the form remittances, foreign direct investment, foreign aid and Loans and this will also help to promote economic development (De Haas, 2010).

Again, remittances stress more emphasis on the role that remittances play on the development of the home countries. It stipulates that remittances make available the foreign exchange that is needed to pay imports bills and that remittances is also at the core of providing remarkable incomes to most households in developing countries (Englama, 2009). Furthermore, diaspora remittances channeled towards helping community development and goods sent by diasporas such as appliances, Used cars, gargets, and shoes helps to strengthen the business of family members and friends thereby promoting economic development in the home country.

On the prospects of brain drain, the optimists did not cancel out the fact the fact that the migration of professionals from developing countries to developed countries will lead to brain drain and consequent shortage of labor. They however argued that the effects of the brain drain will be minimized by the inflow of diaspora remittances, knowledge and skills from developed countries to developing and these skills and knowledge or remittances will help to accelerate growth (Faist, Fauser and Kivisto, 2011). Researches by scholars and researchers such as (Ghosh, 2006, Ruiz Arranz and Guiliano, 2009, Odozi, Awoyemi and Omonona, 2010) have argued in favor of the optimist view in relation to remittances and economic development because they influence investment, accelerates productive activities and increase funding on education and health.

The developmentalist theory have witness a wave of criticisms from other scholars and theorists. To begin with, according to Djajic (1986), the optimists did not consider the fact that non-migrant households in developing countries also benefit from the inflows of remittances as a result of migration. They limited the benefits only to households that have migrants and they can be able to receive remittances without taking into consideration the fact that inflow of remittances can have a “spill over” effect in the community thereby allowing other members of the community that do not receive any remittances to also benefit as well.

De Haas also argued that they are severe short term negative consequences of migration in the home countries of migrants because it leads to a shortage of labor force. Hennings, (2013) supported this argument by stating that when migrants leave their countries to other countries, they need more time in their new countries to be able to settle down and secure a good job to earn money. So the decision to remit money always depends on the migrant success in the host country. And within this period of time there's bound to be a shortage in the labor force in host countries and stagnant development progress.

Furthermore, proponents of the pluralist theory such as Lucas and stark criticize the developmentalist by postulating that they do not acknowledge the human agency by stating directly that the inflow of remittances equates development. They failed to made mention of the fact that remittances can only influence development if the receivers use it appropriately and the government also have to put in place policies that will be aimed at diverting diaspora remittances towards accelerating

development. Again, many migrants do not tend to return to the home countries until after a very long time in the later years of their lives. As a result are the possibilities a stable brain drain because many migrated as professionals and they will also be shortage in man power because the migrants will not be easily replaced within a shortest period of time.

2.2.2 Structural and Dependency views. (Pessimists)

This theory evolved in the 1970s and 1980s and the popular scholars linked with the theory includes; Lipton (1980), Lewis (1986), Almeida (1972) Rhoades (1976), Rubenstein (1992) and Binford (2003). They have contrasting views from the theory mention above. Their arguments are centered on the prevailing problems that are caused by extensive migration from developing economies to developed ones. They argued that migration to the developed countries from the developing countries and remittances from developed countries promotes underdevelopment in developing countries. According to Binford, remittances coming in from developed countries cause developing countries to become more dependent on developed countries and also that it encourages people who receive regular remittances from abroad in developing countries to become more dependent on the remitters or senders thereby leading to laziness, dependency and underdevelopment.

They further agree that migration only help to drain away the human capabilities of societies thereby causing only passive development and also turning these societies to become more and more dependent on remittances from its diaspora abroad. They hold the view that remittances of Diasporas do not encourage economic growth but instead it leads to inequalities in areas that receives large flows of remittances (Lipton, 1980).

They believed that when remittances get to the beneficiaries, they do not use them for development project but they tend to spent the money on cars, luxurious houses, flashy clothing and tourism and this helps to increase the gap between the income inequalities for households that receive remittances regularly and those that do not receive any remittances from diaspora (Oluwafemi and Ayandibu, 2014). According to them, this is more likely to result in inflation in remittance receiving economies and subsequent increase of prices of basic commodities and household needs. As a result, scholars of this theory view remittances as indicators of the phenomenon that

developing countries keep relying on developed countries for their development (De Haas, 2010). They believed that remittances are a pathway to the development of underdevelopment.

Furthermore, other scholars who supported the views of the pessimists such as Adams and Page (2005) stipulated that migration continue to generate inequalities in migrants sending communities because it encourages the migration of people who are already well to do in the communities. This argument stems from the fact that considering the risk and cost included in the migration process, it requires some money to be able to finalize the migration process and as such, only those that are able to raise this money will embark on a migration process. As a result, the benefits of such migrations including remittances will continue to go to the households of individuals that are relatively well to do in migrant sending communities (Lipton, 1980). As a result, this will only help to intensify the inequality levels between households in the home countries of migrants. More still, in contrast to the argument stipulated by the optimists that returning migrants with different skills help to cover up the loss of brain drain, the pessimists insisted that the concept of returning migrants is very rare in most cases because some migrants usually take the citizenship of their host countries and tend to settle in these countries.

The pessimists continue to argue that migration does not completely do away with poverty because of its selective nature (De Haas, 2007) but it only helps to increase the inequalities in the distribution of wealth in migrant sending communities. This is because the process of migration involves cost which in most cases cannot be incurred by the poorest in the communities. So only those that are relatively well to do often embark on migration and in return send remittances to their households. This makes them to continue being better than the others who do not receive remittances and keeps enlarging the income inequalities in the communities of migrants. Also they consider remittances to be a risky source of income since it is not stable especially in times of crisis in migrants host countries as their governments of such countries may put in place regulations limiting the amounts of money that may be allowed to go out of the country. Consequently, this will cause a bigger problem in the home countries in households that were solely dependent on remittances inflow for daily upkeep.

The pessimists' holds to the view that, remittances sent by migrants to home countries are often being used only for consumption purpose and not for development projects or are being used to buy land which can cause a rise in the prices of land and results inflation thereby weakens the local economy (Cotula et al., 2004). Again they argue that importing foreign products into local communities such as cars, fridges, television sets and many others can cause a high demand for foreign products thereby leading to a fall in the demand for domestic products and enhancing the foreign economies to the detriment of home economies and causing more dependency on the developed economies by developing economies (De Haas, 2010). Further still, they argue that the people left behind in the home countries of migrants maybe influenced by the rich life style of remittance receiving households and as such, becomes motivated to migrate which subsequently lead to a fall in the labor force of the migrants home economies.

However, the structuralists have also faced some strong criticisms from different scholars based on their assertions. To begin with, Taylor (1999) and De Haas (2007) holds the view that the pessimist argument that diaspora remittances are not used for development and productive purposes lack a strong backup because it is very difficult to identify separately the money that was receive as remittances to have been used in specific purposes. They continued remittance receiving households however have other sources of receiving income and as such the specific money that was received as remittances can hardly be identified.

Hennings (2013) also came up a strong argument debunking the pessimists argument that migration results in brain drain. He stipulated the concept of brain drain depends on different countries laws. That some countries such as the Philippines and Jordan purposely trains their experts and sends them abroad so that will get well paid abroad in hard currencies and the resulting remittances received by their families and friends back home can be used to embark on development projects.

Other scholars such as Lodbell (1978), Odozi, Awoyemi and Omonona, (2001) exist to cancel out the pessimist argument that diaspora remittances do not foster economic growth and development. They asserted that remittances received by friends and families of migrants help to encourage and improve the investments and businesses of these individuals thereby help to promote economic development and industrialization.

2.2.3 The Pluralist View (the New Economics of Labor Migration).

This theory gain momentum in the 1980s and the 1990s in relation to the American research when arguments in the migration and development nexus changed from a determined and unique nature to be focused now more on the society and individuals (de Haas, 2007). This theory tries to combine the two theories above together and stipulates that diaspora remittance just like migration has both positive and negative effects on the receiving countries. This theory emerged to debunk the optimists and pessimists ideas and argued that they were more one sided in their judgments and failed to foresee the realities existing between development and migration (de Haas, 2010). This theory has a more subtle conception on migration and development posing that they can have both positive and negative impacts on a country's development.

The main brains behind this theory includes; (Stark and Levhari, 1982, Stark, 1978, Bloom and Stark, 1985, Lucas and stark, 1985, and Taylor and wyatt, 1996. However, the main focus of this theory is to examine why migrant remittances do affect some receiving countries positively and tend to affect others negatively. Therefore in this regard, the view migration as a precaution of income risk considering the fact that diaspora remittance serve as insurance to households in origin countries (Lucas and Stark, 1985 as cited in De Hass 2007 p12). This can serve as a confidential reason to explaining why people do migrate even though they may not be aware of the income prospects in host countries. This theory presents diaspora remittances as having the abilities of producing both negative and positive effects on origin countries based on what recipients and home countries choose to do with the money.

The pluralists believe that migration and diaspora remittances play an influential role in the economies of receiving countries because it is capable of supplying capital through remittances that can be used for development. And that more remittances will go a long way to reduce the risk of high market rates and fluctuating exchange rates, as a result, financial institutions will be more secured to give out loans to people and this will intend increase investment and favor development (Taylor and Wyatt, 1996). In a more convincing manner, they stated diaspora or migrant remittances will affect economies of receiving countries positively if only the recipients choose to embark on productive projects with such monies and will turn to

affect them negatively if they spend the money adventurously on cars tourism and luxury.

This theory cancelled out the arguments of both the structuralists and developmentalists that people in the communities mostly the poor are just passive victims of migration by stating humans have always strived to improve on upon their life conditions and migration plus its end result remittances as an option in this situation can only be seen as another alternative meet their expectations in life. It further stated that remittances resulting from migration are a better option for households to diversify and protect the sources of their income because it is very important for their livelihood and for the development of their communities. Research carried out by some scholars such as De haas, (2006b) and Woutese, (2006), in Morocco and Burkina Faso respectively showed migrants in these communities undertake migration to other African countries not solely to acquire more wealth but just a means to multiply their income sources through remittances. Hennings, (2013) also stated that migrants sometimes don't decide by themselves on how much money to remit but the decision is based on the migrant success and opinions of the family members back home depending on the objective of what the money is going to be used for.

Many researchers have come up with many criticisms against the pluralists arguments that decisions to migrate are mainly for economic reasons and to multiply the sources of revenue for the family. Different scholars counteracted this argument by using the example of Akesson, (2008) and Akesson and Carling, (2009). They carried out a research in Cape Verde pertaining to the reasons why people migrate and the results showed that the main reasons for migration were not solely for economic reasons and remittances but they were more centered on a general believe amongst Cape Verdeans that migration is a very important activity in one's life mainly for cultural and social reasons. Again, many Moroccans who migrate from their country especially from rural areas to different countries in Europe do so not with the sole aim of economic gains but their primary focus is to become permanent citizens of those countries (De haas, 2006b).

The neo-classical theory is seemingly to be the main theory that will be used in this thesis but the fact that it doesn't include the negative side of diaspora remittances will prompt the researcher to use a blend of the neo-classical theory to a lesser extent

and more of the Pluralist theory will guide through the work because of it gives a mix advantage and disadvantage to society but not without little feasibilities of the structuralists.



3. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE DIASPORA TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CAMEROON.

Many researches have demonstrated that until recently in the 1990s, many countries especially in Africa did not pay attention to their diaspora population and their contribution to their communities. They were often regarded as a group of individuals who have deserted their homelands and posed a severe threat to political power. Though the Cameroon diaspora live far away from home, they are just as interested in the development of their homeland like the actual permanent residents because they believe that they or their descendants will some day come to leave home as their permanent residents. They feel that they owe it as a responsibility to contribute collectively or as an individual to the security and development of their homeland. The contributions vary on individuals and organizations and are sometimes in the form of financial remittances, transfer of technology gain, business activities, social activities and political participation.

3.1 Economic contributions

3.1.1 Diaspora Contribution through Remittances

Due to high inflation rates and lack of employment facilities in many Sub-Saharan African countries including Cameroon, migration has been on a constant rise to pick up white collar jobs abroad because people desire better living conditions. The people back home intend rely on the family members abroad for remittances to better their living standards back home (Dumont and Lemaitre 2005). Remittances by emigrants from developing countries have been considered as one of the most important source of external financing to the developing countries. Remittances forms the greatest source of foreign financing to sub-Saharan African countries as a whole and Cameroon in particular. In 2010, global migrant remittances from developed countries to developing countries stood at 334 billion dollars (World Bank, 2010). This amount increased drastically in 2016 amounting to about US\$574 billion dollars. Remittances have shifted largely to reducing poverty and promoting

human development. Cameroonians living out of Cameroon send money back home to family members and friends on annual basis. Not all of the money sent home are through formal means of exchange or are recorded. Most of it is sent using informal means and some are in the form of material goods. As a result, the actual volume of flows are not known or précised. The World Bank estimated global remittances to developing countries in 2017 tripled the amount of both the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Official Development Assistance (ODA) combined at US\$466 billion dollars (Eamonn and Jennifer, 2018)

Base on the statistical data of the World Bank and OECD, the monetary remittances of Cameroonians living abroad in the year 2000 was estimated at 40.0 million Us dollars that amounted to about (20billion CFA) at the time. The amount increased steadily in the subsequent years and in the year 2004, the amount of remittances sent home was 41 million US dollars making up to about (21billion CFA francs). With time the number of Cameroonian emigrants kept increasing and within the space of two years, the amount of money that was remitted home from abroad in 2006 was estimated at 56 million US dollars summing up to about (28 billion CFA francs). Cameroon being a developing country and not very rich, remittances are very crucial for the growth of its economy (Kingsley O, 2013). The total amount of the remittances that were remitted by the Cameroon diaspora in 2006, contributed to 1.5% of the country's GDP for that year (OECD, 2005). Fig 1 below will demonstrate the actual flow of remittances as a percentage of the GDP(left diagram) between 2000 to 2006 and the sums of money that were received in millions of US dollars(right diagram) between the years 2000 and 2006.

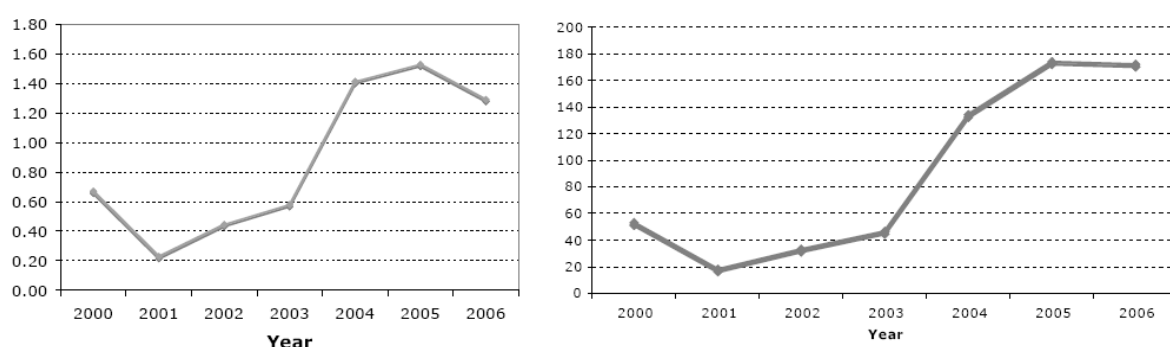


Figure.3.1: Flow of remittances as a percentage of GDP (left) and Flow of remittances received in millions of USD (right).

Source: OECD 2006, as extracted from (Kingsley O.) Varieties of Globalization.

From the figure above, the steady increase in the number of Cameroon emigrants and the subsequent increase in the amount of money remitted home between the years 2000 and 2006 contributed to a small but significant increase in the GDP of the within these years. The same thing happened to the amount of money that was sent home within the same years as they was a drastic increase from 2000 to 2004 and in 2006 the amount tripled itself or even more.

3.1.2 Flow of Remittances, Foreign Direct Investment and Net Official Development Assistance to Cameroon from 2005 to 2013.

The figure below explains the inflow of remittances, the net official development assistance and the amount of foreign aid to Cameroon between the years 2005 to 2013. It shows that, the inflow of remittances has been consistent although it has been lower in terms of comparism with other external inflows of finance. Between the years 2005 to 2013, remittances witness its lowest inflow and stood at US\$ 26 million in 2005 and it has since then increased drastically to a peak level in 2013 amounting to US\$ 80 million. In the preceding years to the global financial crisis, remittances inflows to Cameroon were not consistent and recorded the following amounts in the number of years US\$ 26, 43, 56 and 54 for the years 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008 respectively. In 2009 which was recorded as the global financial crisis, inflows of remittances increased from US\$ 54 million in 2008 to US\$ 61 million. The reason can best be attributed to Altruism that supports more remitting more in times of crisis in the home countries because people's demands are higher during crisis and the only way of financing is relying on remittances. Because of this, Diasporas send more money back home (International Migration Outlook, 2006).

The increase in the inflows of remittances in 2009 is also related to the developmentalist argument that migrant remittances provide more capital that is needed to booster investment in home countries (Coetzee, 2011). In 2010, the year that proceeded the global financial crisis, inflows of remittances witness a drastic decrease from US\$ 61 million in 2009 to US\$ 38 million in 2010 approximately. This drastic in amount of remittance inflow in this particular year can be in line with concept that, many developed countries and some developing countries where migrant emigrate to must have tighten their financial sectors and put aside regulations to restrict the outflow of capital excessively especially after the global financial crisis. Moreover, it could also be because many foreign workers were laid

off their duties because of the effects of the crisis and as such must have resulted to a fall in their incomes and consequently to the relative fall in the inflow of remittance in developing countries (Wall, 2009). Since then, after 2010 remittances have tried to be consistent and stable to Cameroon.

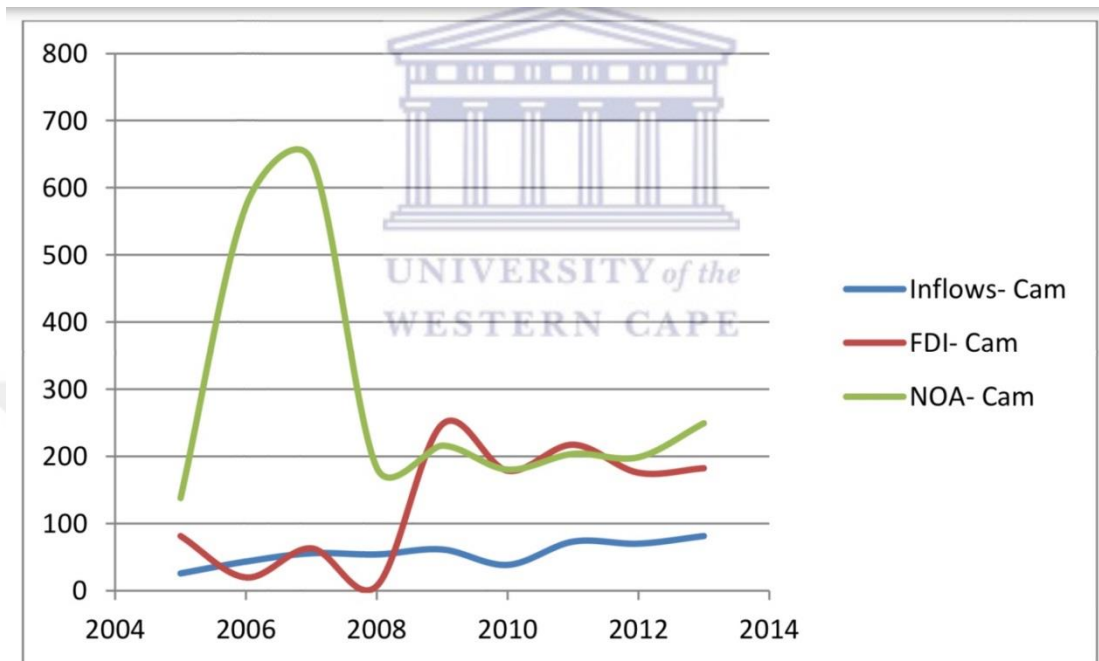


Figure 3.2: Flow of Remittances, Foreign Direct Investment and Net Official Development Assistance to Cameroon from 2005 to 2013.

Source: Adarkwa M.A, impacts of remittances on economic growth in Cameroon.

Meanwhile foreign direct Investment has been inconsistent for Cameroon throughout the period 2005 to 2013. In 2008, it was at its lowest point and was followed by the global financial crisis in 2009 and approximately US\$ 7 million. Surprising enough, foreign direct investment for Cameroon witness one of its highest figures in 2009 (the year of the financial crisis) and was estimated at about US\$ 247 million. According to scholars such as Verick and Islam (2010), the underpinning reason for this high increase could be because of the fact the crisis greatly affected developed nations and as such many investors felt unsecured and decided to invest their capital more in developing nations which were less affected.

Moreover, it can be deduced from the trend above that, the amount of net official development assistance for Cameroon has been on the rise since 2005 until 2008 when it witnessed a slide drop to US\$ 183 million when it had one of its highest amounts in 2007 amounting to US\$ 642 million. As a result, the amount of net

official development assistance for Cameroon has remained inconsistent and declining since then. However, scholars such as Carson and Clark (2013) have argued that the reason for this constant inconsistency and decrease can be as a result of the Asian crisis that might have prompted development partners to focus more of their attention and resources to helping Asian countries to overcome their crisis. Others hold the argument that many African leaders including Cameroon have been frequently involved in the misappropriation of funds for development by the net official development assistance. Because of this, many development partners have become more reluctant to give more funds.

3.1.3 Methods of remitting

Talking about the modes of remitting, remittances to Cameroon are mostly in the form of money. Sometimes remittances are in the form of goods like electronic devices such as mobile phones and TV sets and also in the form of services like Flight tickets and many more. They are two methods through which money is being transferred or remitted to Cameroon by Cameroonian migrants. They include; the Formal and informal modes of transactions.

The formal methods of transaction include banks and other non-bank financial institutions such as foreign exchange bureaus and other money transfer operators (MTOs) such as MoneyGram and Western Union. These two are the most popular in Cameroon and used more only for international transactions to receive and send money. However, Russell (1996) and Taylor (1999) asserted that more money is remitted through informal methods of transaction than the amounts that are remitted through the formal modes mentioned in the lines above.

The informal mode of transaction is also common in Cameroon and include people sending money from abroad to families back home through friends visiting home and others carry money themselves back home especially when they have a big project to embark on such as building a house or setting up a business back home. Other methods involves carrying money in the form of material goods such as cars, electronics, cosmetics, jewelries and clothing so that when they arrive home, they sell the items to recover the money.

3.1.4 Motivations for remitting.

The rate of migrant remittance flows are mostly determined by their income levels and how motivated they are to remit. More often than not migrants' willingness to remit is mostly influenced by socio-economic reasons. These factors are referred to as "remittance determinants" and have been group into micro and macro-economic determinants (Christina A, 2011). The microeconomic determinants include; the length of time the migrant intend to leave stay abroad, the occupational status of the migrant, the marital status of the migrant whether he or she has kids or not, the status of the migrant whether he or she has legal resident documents, the migrant wage rate and the level of economic activities and expenditures in the migrant host country. On the other hand, the macroeconomic determinants include; political risks, exchange rates between host and home countries, amount of charges paid for remittances to send and the availability of modes of transfer. Aside from this other factors, two major factors have been recognized as the principal reasons for remitting and they include;

Altruism has been considered as the highest if not the most important motivating factor for remitting money home to family and friends. According to Bryn and Wets, (2006), altruism is a concept that believes in the intuitions of migrants. According to this concept, migrants derive satisfaction for remitting money home and also from the welfare of the friends and families. Some hypothesis are linked with this model and the first of them states that; the amount of remittances increases vis a vis the incomes of the migrants and the second one stipulates that remittances decrease if the people tend to earn more money at home or if domestic income increases. The third and the last hypothesis states that remittances decreases if the relationship with families and friends of the migrant decreases or fades out or if the lost point of contact (International Migration Outlook, 2006). Scholars who found altruism to be the main motivating factor for remitting included; Whitelaw and Johnson (1978) and Lucas and Stark (1985). Neyapti and Alper (2006) holds the view that in Turkey the main reason for Turkish migrants to remit is because of "Consumption Smoothing" that using remittances to balanced up with the money that was meant for consumption expenditures.

Secondly, migrants also remit largely because of self-interest; this can be attributed to the fact migrants might have had hopes of future investment back home prior to

his emigration. Also because migrants might have the desire to return back home and therefore remit money to invest for his return. Again this might also be as a result of the fact huge investments in migrant host countries can only be done by nationals of those countries and the activities that generates more money in host countries for foreigners may only be illegal so most migrants will prefer investing back home thus remitting more money(Englama, 2009).

Again migrants also remit regularly because they know the economic situation of their families and friends back home. Some of these factors include; high unemployment and inflation rates. For example the rate of unemployment in Cameroon was above 30% in 2009 and inflation rate was above 4.4 %(Ngome and Mpako, 2009) that same year and they both have been on the rise since then. As a result, most young graduates in Cameroon who are unable to raise money to do business or migrate to Europe are forced to depend solely on their friends or relatives who lives abroad to send them money.

Another reason for remitting is to pay the services of people rendered to the migrant and to repay loans (Prabel and Dilip, 2012; Kwabena, 2012) that were incurred in order to finance migration cost. Most migrants from Cameroon especially educational migrants usually take loans from family members and friends to sponsor their travelling. So when they get to their destination, they intend send back money to repay these loans but however some doesn't repay the loans depending on the family and friendship ties.

Also Cameroonian migrants remit money home for investment purposes. They send money home for the purchase of land, houses, to open businesses or to deposit in their bank accounts for further investments (Ruiz-Arranz, 2006). This money used in either ways intend developed and change the living conditions of the beneficiaries as some become self-employed or petit business men and others get better accommodation and more savings in their bank accounts to meet up with their expected amount of money. Many migrants have different targets and objectives especially economic migrants. With the case of Cameroon, Knerr B,(1998) conducted a study on migrant remittances and asserted that most migrants from Cameroon remit more money for future inheritance purposes. That is they intend to use these remittances for further investments which can help their families even after they must passed on.

More so Cameroonian diaspora are more motivated to remit money back home because most of them are bread winners of their families and their relatives look up to them for financial freedom. Most of the migrants from Cameroon are either married people who leave their children and wife behind or very serious sons and daughters of respective families' mostly first sons/daughters to travel abroad and work hard to earn more money to better the financial status of their families financially. Most often family members contributes money to sponsor these persons abroad and when he start earning money abroad, they intend rely on him to send home money. As such, migrants from Cameroon always take it as a responsibility upon them to send money home because they feel more responsible and connected to their relatives and friends by doing this.

More still, Cameroon migrants remits money home because they care about the poverty at home, siblings and shocks such as the death of a direct family member or friend. This situation is always urgent and if the migrant had not previously sent any money home, he will be force to do so immediately so that a sick person can be taken to the hospital to be treated or if the person is death the money will be used to renovate the house and to finance entertainment during the day of burial and finally to give the person a befitting burial. In some situations, the money is used to pay for mortuary bills until the migrant returns home.

3.1.5 De-motivations for remitting.

Research has shown that the Cameroon Diaspora population abroad is far greater than that of some sub-Saharan African countries but the amount of diaspora remittances that is remitted to Cameroon is far lesser to that of some of these countries and even compared to its diaspora population abroad. Most Cameroonian migrants are educated and skilled professionals. Mixed factors of reasons have been laid aside to explain this situation with some being in the migrants' country of resident and the others in Cameroon.

To begin with, of the factors found in the migrant country of resident, high money transfer charges have been tested as one of the most demotivating factors hindering the transfer of remittances to developing countries and Cameroon. The rate is as high as 13 percent on average of the total amount of money to be transferred and sometimes it is frequently as high as 20 percent of the total amount charged by

money transfer agents. These high rates cause migrants to sometime feel reluctant to remit money frequently and in high amounts because they feel that the rates of transfer are a drain on hard earned remittance in favor of money transfer operators (Ngome and Mpako, 2009).

Again the fact that Cameroonians are scattered across all continents in the world and in smaller numbers makes it difficult to send money home regularly. This is because they is limited or no possibility of sending money through informal means considering the fact that the global volume of remittances sent through informal channels is considered to have been equal to the total amount sent through formal channels. Because of the sparsely populated Cameroon diaspora in major countries like Canada, china and Japan it becomes always difficult to find someone visiting home to send money through him.

Another factor demotivating the Cameroon diaspora from remitting more is the migrant legal status in his country of residence. This is a very crucial point to note because not all Cameroonians living abroad have legal status. This has a severe relationship with their ability and devotion to remit money because people who do not have legal resident document tend to scare away from public places and places that are likely to have police around like financial institutions and banks. This category of persons tends to depend largely on informal channels to remit money or on the good will of friends who have legal documents that can be able to send home money through banking institutions. As a result, if they refuse to help them, they will obviously be unable to send money to their friends or relatives.

Also the difficult economic condition in the migrant country of residence is another factor to ponder on. The global economic crisis greatly affected many developed countries and as a result, it has become a little difficult to find well-paid jobs in these countries as many of them have also tighten up their regulations on financial institutions to curtail the rate at which huge sums of money are sent out of the country. As a result migrants might become demotivated to send money since they may hardly had enough for them.

Generally, a greater proportion of the Cameroon diaspora are made up of youthful population and students. Most of these people still depend on their parents back home to send them money or the ones whose parents are abroad may still sponsor them. Consequently, the few that are able to do part time jobs earn very little money

and the money is barely enough to sustain them and to pay their fees. Those that even have the motivation to send remit money back home end up remitting in very small amounts.

Apart from the factors in the migrants' country of residence, many factors in Cameroon are also responsible for migrants demotivation to remit money. One of which is a breakdown of trust in informal remittance carriers and relative or friends. Most Cameroonian migrants are fond of complaining that their remittances get missing only when they get to Cameroon. Many informal carriers usually use the money for themselves or decide to collaborate with the person to whom the money was directed to then tell the remitter that the money was stolen or missing. As a result, most migrants have lost faith in their friends and relatives and this feeling usually causes them to feel reluctant to send money home.

Furthermore, poor financial institutions in Cameroon are also a pertinent factor for migrants demotivation to remit money. Technical advancement in banking institutions in Cameroon is very slow. Up to date, they are a few or no banks in Cameroon offer internet or online banking services. Many Cameroonian migrants have expressed the desire to manage their remittance at home from abroad but no bank in Cameroon is advanced enough to offer such luxurious services. Also banks in Cameroon are known to fail within a short notice after establishment. Most banks close up without even notifying customers and people end up losing their lives savings. Many migrants have become fading up with this slow pace in technology because if they want to undertake investments like purchase of land or houses at home, they only have to do so in person or through a friend or relatives who also have become more unreliable due to theft and corruption. This has help to create a vacuum that the banking system is yet to fill as it has done already in other neighboring countries like Nigeria and Gabon.

Inadequate access to communication technology especially in the rural areas of Cameroon has also played an important part the Cameroon diaspora lack of interest to remit more money home. The suburbs of Cameroon are very inaccessible with poor road infrastructure and no communication and telephone networks. Banks are more concentrated in the urban centers and they are no banks in the rural areas even the credit cooperatives that are found there can only send or receive money with the country. As a result, many migrants hardly have the opportunity to communicate

with their families in the rural areas and if they have to send money to them, they will have to travel to the city before receiving this money. This has caused many migrants to become reluctant except during urgent situations.

Many people in Cameroon especially the ones who have never travelled out of Cameroon believe that it is easier to earn more money when you are abroad than in Cameroon. As a result, beneficiaries of remittances in Cameroon have resulted to mismanagement and unappreciation of hard-earned remittances sent to them from abroad by their friends or relatives. Because of this, many migrants have resulted to become reluctant to remit money because they feel that their hard-earned monies are being used by others to enjoy their lives while they remain abroad to suffer.

3.1.6 Importance/uses of the Cameroon diaspora remittances to the population and society.

The importance of remittance in Cameroon is easily noticeable because of the large amounts that enter Cameroon every year and the way they impact the Cameroonian families as it may be the only source of financing to some households. They play a very important role in the economy because they regularly represent a good percentage of the nation's GDP and in some years are more than the Foreign Development Investments (FDI) and exports and also cover all imports that may be made within a year. In the 1980s, Cameroon had a steady economy because of the increase in oil prices in the late 70s and early 1980s. Migrant remittances played a significant role in the GDP of Cameroon in the late 1980s and early 1990s because Cameroon was ravaged by economic crisis and there was a drastic cut in the salaries of civil servants and many families were forced to risk their remaining savings to send some members of their families abroad who can go and work and then send money back home. Many businesses also depended on remittances for increased capital during this time. The money that Cameroon migrants transfer to relatives and friends back home has significant importance on the citizens and the economy of Cameroon in various ways;

Remittances inflow helps to raise the living standards of the population in households that receive remittances regularly. This is very common in Cameroon especially in the South West Region where almost every household has a representative abroad. It is a common belief that the grass is greener economically

elsewhere out of Cameroon especially in Europe or America. So families have become more convince with this believe and most families in Cameroon usually send their children abroad so that they can able to work and send home money to take care of the family back home.

Also, remittances inflow helps to build and to strengthen the financial sector in Cameroon. Because of the regular inflows, the demand for money and financial services has increased greatly and this has resulted to the demand of more workers thereby creating more employment opportunities for experts in this field. This continuous inflow have also help to curtail the rate of foreign exchange losses resulting from a negative balance of payment deficit thus giving a boost to the economy and citizens(Emmanuel, 2013).

Remittances help to buster the agricultural sector of Cameroon. This is because as an external inflow of money, the money goes directly to the beneficiaries whose majority of them are farmers. The agricultural sector of Cameroon employs about 70 percent (Molua, 2009) of the total population with the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) being the second highest employer in the country after the government. These monies are used to buy farm chemicals, renovate farm to markets roads and to pay workers to work on extensive hectares of land. Workers in the agricultural sector who have relatives and friends sending them money from abroad usually produce more than their peers who do not receive remittances.

Over 70 percent of remittances that are sent to Cameroon are invested in developmental projects like housing infrastructure, and university hostels. These structures tend around to benefit both the community and the people. Many Cameroonian migrants living in Europe have properties in Cameroon registered under their names especially houses and hostels. They then employ caretakers to control these properties on their behalf and after they must have giving out the hostels to tenants, they then come home to receive the money or the caretakers deposit it to their accounts after deducting his percentage of the total monies collected. At least it helps to provide employment in the real estate sector and also provides accommodation to students.

Again remittances help to stimulate economic growth. It betters the lives of citizens, increase the GDP of the country and help to increase the national budget. This means that remittances can help the government to lunch more development projects in the

country which will intend employ the services of the citizens who are experts in such sectors and the level of employment will be a step high above the previous level. These employees will earn more money and it will help to reduce the income margin in the society.

Remittances inflows to Cameroon by Cameroon migrants have contributed greatly to booster the educational sector. Many students in Cameroon depend on their parents or brothers and sisters who live abroad for their school fees, textbooks, school allowance and house rents. This is a normal phenomenon in Cameroon especially in the two English speaking regions north west and south west where majority of the youths lives abroad and they ones that are still back home are only waiting to attain a certain level of education then travel too. This has provided some kind of a relieving effect on the parents who are mostly farmers or retired with very little or no retirement allowances.

3.1.7 Diaspora contributions through Business Establishments.

Since the last decades of the 20th century, the Cameroon diaspora has been directly involved in establishing micro, small and medium-size enterprises in Cameroon. Most of these enterprises or entities are been entrusted to family members predominantly with no expertise knowledge to run such businesses. Most of these businesses are established without a sound research and since they are mostly run by family members, financing the business and all the risk are borne solely by the migrant without adequate access to credit and investment guarantee in the host country. As a result, the enterprise might not be completely connected to other elements of the business.

The Cameroon diaspora have been more engaged in establishing small scale businesses in the fields of agriculture, import-export trade, transportation and construction companies and the establishments of carpentry workshops. These business ventures have greatly impact the local communities of such migrants as it has also been instrumental in the employment of the youths. In the recent years, developments in entrepreneurship in Cameroon have been directly attributed to the diaspora effect. These business ventures will be further elucidated in the paragraphs below to ease understanding;

In the domain of import and export trades, it is done just between Cameroon and the host country of the migrant involved. This trade pattern involves exporting mainly food items on a smaller scale from Cameroon to supply to Cameroonian restaurants in the respective host country. They mostly have their agents and offices back in Cameroon and these agents are charged with buying these stuffs, packaging and shipping them mostly by air to the migrant host country. The migrant usually waits for the luggage at the airport and after receiving them; they transport it to their main offices or magazines and then distribute it to the Cameroon food restaurants within their cities. As a result, this has help to improve the quality of food sold at home. The most important part of this business is that, the migrant intend buys items ranging from clothing, electronic appliances, mobile phones and some that operate big ventures buy cars (mostly fairly used) and ship them down to Cameroon to be sold by their workers or agents.

Many Cameroon diaspora are also engaged in transportation businesses. Some of them are into partnership with local transport companies and others are into taxi and motorbikes businesses. They set up their offices and employ workers most of which are mostly relatives and pay them to take care and control these businesses. They buy cars from their host countries and ship them to Cameroon and then the cars are repainted into a taxi color. They then go into an agreement with a competent driver after agreeing on a fixed amount that the driver will pay at the head office at the end of the day. They usually two drivers per car with one working during the day and the other working in the night and the same procedure applies to motorbike riders but their own daily charges are far lesser than those of cars. Those that have major partnerships with transport companies may be responsible for buying and supplying the company's cars but not with his personal money even though many benefits may be attached to it.

Many Cameroonian diaspora also own clothing shops and supermarkets in Cameroon. These shops are load with foreign goods and are sold to in bulk to the smaller stores. They buy cloths in their host countries and ship them to Cameroon. These cloths are sold in moderate prices but equivalent or more to the amount that was used to buy it in foreign currency. However they usually mix these cloths with shoes, jewelries, and fairly used household appliances which are far more preferred to the locally manufactured appliances (Joseph T, 2014). They visit home mostly in

an interval of six months to access the progress of the business and to consider the option of investing more funds into such business. Some Cameroon diaspora have become agents of companies in their host countries and they serve as intermediaries between the company and the homeland. They promote the services or products of such companies back home and facilitate their establishments. Cameroonian migrants are also into business ventures like shipping of containers, rental homes or guest houses, hotels, and student's hostels.

3.1.8 Obstacles to business activities.

The business activities of Cameroon diaspora have not been able to register the expected amount of success because of the following reasons;

Untrustworthy employees have been a major problem destroying diaspora business ventures in Cameroon. This is because most of these businesses are set up as family ventures and are run mostly by members of the family. More often than not, these persons involve do not put in full dedication to run the business because they are under no form of pressure from the boss. The owner who happens to be the migrant is never around to check the business properly. As a result, most of the businesses usually end up collapsing.

Again bad business partners have also been a big problem plaguing diaspora investments in Cameroon. Many diaspora team up with people living back home and may be in a partnership to run the business together so that while the migrant abroad buys the materials the home based partner will control them and sell them. But this is not always the case for many home based business partners in Cameroon. They always claim to be loyal and devoted at the onset of the business but as times goes on the business expands, most of them become money minded and starts embezzling the business profit and up to the capital (Schmelz A, 2011). These actions usually result to the downfall of the business because of such malpractices.

Furthermore, high customs duties also constitute a major barrier to diaspora businesses in Cameroon. Some of the goods that arrives the ports of Cameroon are usually abandoned by the owners because of excessively high custom duties levied on them. There are no considerations given to any kind of goods or individuals. Even personal belongings of individuals which are not usually for business are also charged highly and if the amount is not paid the product in question will be

confiscated by the customs authorities. This is because corruption is at its peak in this sector and individuals chose to enrich themselves by charging than the specified amount on goods. Because of this many diaspora investors have become more reluctant to take on any business venture back home because the cost of clearing the goods from the seaport or airport are extravagantly high even sometimes higher the cost price. High taxation also has a part to play in limiting diaspora business investments in Cameroon. They are no tax holidays given to small and medium-sized enterprises in Cameroon and new investments are usually forced to pay high taxes even though sales might not be higher. They are times that some of these shops are locked and because of extreme bureaucracy and high penalties, the owners may decide to close down the business.

3.2 Social Contributions.

Social remittances are defined as practices, mind-sets, ideas, behaviors and social capital such as experience, knowledge and expertise that the Diasporas transfer from the host countries to the origin countries either knowingly or unknowingly. The Cameroon diaspora acquires social remittances through different ways ranging from education to training in the academic institutions of their host countries. This is because most of them go through former education in their host countries and it helps them to acquire high-level skills and some gain more specialize quality knowledge in particular disciplines. Also, they acquire social remittances through specialized professional expertise in work places that help them to acquire values, norms and work ethics which there help them to deliver their services in a more efficient and constant manner. Again they also gain more social remittances through socialization in their host countries which enable them to archive some certain attitudes and norms which they intend mediate between their host countries and Cameroon and they help to influence or change the social setup in the country.

According to Alpes MJ, (2009), the Cameroon diaspora acquire more social remittances through building up transnational networks that is by crossing countries and continents thereby linking up the globalization process with activities in the origin country Cameroon. Furthermore, he stated that, these transnational networks helps the Cameroon diaspora to build up intersecting social, economic, cultural and political connections that help to link up their destination countries and Cameroon.

This has been so possible through the improvements in communication technology that has made Diasporas to stay very connected to their families back home through constant calls and chatting on social media and also inexpensive international calls. Also the advancements in air, water and land transports coupled with the cheap fares enable the Diasporas to make more frequent visits to their homelands as a result, the Cameroon diaspora are gaining more influence in homeland activities as the years goes by.

In more concretize terms, the Cameroonian diaspora are capable of transferring the following social remittances to Cameroon; Valuable democratic attitudes, policy reforms, Innovative ideas, technological skills, good work ethics, Peace-keeping ideas and social and cultural influences. These social remittances are equally as important as the financial remittances thus the Cameroon diaspora possesses a wide range of social remittance. However, more research and policy focus has been on financial remittances making it look more superior to social remittances which have somehow created a social imbalance which shows how the area of social remittances has remained an area of neglect in terms of policy research.

Cameroon has diverse areas where the human and social remittances of the Cameroon diaspora can be harnessed. For example more Cameroonian diasporas are needed to work in administrative setup of Cameroon and many of them are working as professional accountants, administrators, policy makers and educators in local governments and business setups across countries in Europe and other countries abroad. Many Cameroon Diasporas work are experts in policy making and many of them having working as representatives of in their countries. This has proven them qualified to be included in the social setup and policy making process of the host country.

3.2.1 Diaspora contributions through Education

All over the world, Diasporas have been considered as significant contributors to education in their respective countries of origin. Many studies have been conducted by different scholars to bring out the contributions of the Diasporas and their remittances to education and many have proven positively that Diasporas remittances have been of immense importance to the education sector in remittances receiving economies. Rapport and Docquier, (2005) found out that diaspora remittances have a

direct effect on education as it increases the number of children's enrolment into elementary schools and secondary schools and it also helps to reduce child's labor because it provides parents with the necessary funding for their children's education and many children avoid the risk of having to involve themselves into part time jobs to finance their studies. However, Edward and Ureta, (2003) also stipulated that children in households in El Salvador with at least one member living abroad, have high probability and a higher number of children not dropping out of school and going beyond secondary education than children whose households receive no remittances likewise Cameroon.

Furthermore, Salas, (2014) also holds the view that migrant remittances affects education positively because it provides the chances for children in remittance receiving households to acquire quality and higher education as opposed to others that do not. Again, Dorantes et al argues that migrant remittances helps to increase the number and the appearance of children in school because many children will be able to pay fees and to buy the necessary textbooks that will influence the student to be more regular in school and will help to improve students performances.

Talking about the contribution of the Cameroonian diaspora to education in Cameroon, migrants from Cameroon are made up highly educated and skilled professionals from different disciplines. They migrated mostly as educational migrants and skilled laborers. As a result, they know the significance of education to human development and the society. Most Cameroon's migrants are bread winners of their families and they do harbor all the responsibilities of family members especially the school children. The diaspora contributes to education in Cameroon either in groups that are through cultural and tribal affiliations or as individuals taking care of their direct family members. These contributions are in the form of carrying out projects like, providing computers, books, libraries and carrying out renovation work on campuses, providing funds for the construction of new buildings in schools, and funding the supply of pipe borne water in schools. Cameroon diaspora contributions to homeland development are based largely on tribal links and cultural groups. So most of these developmental projects are found in the communities where these cultural group members originate from.

To begin with, in 2002 the Lebialem Leadership Group in the USA (Lebialem is a division in the South West Region of Cameroon) shipped ten computer work stations

from America to Cameroon to be distributed in schools in lebialem (Joseph Takougang, 2014). These computers were to be distributed in the major schools in Lebialem to equip the computer laboratories and to help staffs of the department in teaching students. So that students could have more practical lessons to facilitate their understanding and development. Again, in 2003, this same association bought and shipped other educational materials to Cameroon to be distributed in elementary schools in lebialem including fourteen thousand pencils and pens and also bought three thousand exercise books for the same purpose. These items went a long way to support children who did not have all the exercise books and pens thereby encouraging them to go to school regularly and at the same time promoting good results.



Figure 3.3: Computers donated by Lebialem Leadership Group to schools in Lebialem-Cameroon.

Source: LECUDA-USA Photo Album 2002.

Still on educational contributions, the Ex-students Association of Saker(EX-SSA-USA) Baptist college in USA that was founded in 2000 made financial contributions that help it to lunch projects in its former college such as improving on the water system in the school campus, renovating the college chapel and donating thousands of books to the school library and medication to the college health center. These donations especially the text books help to provide the library with sufficient and good textbooks that have continuously help to improve the academic performances

of students from this college. Consequently it has become one of the top ranking college in Cameroon producing excellent results every with one of every five students making it through university.

Apart from the contributions already mentioned above, other ethnic organizations of Cameroonian decent have also carried out activities similar to the ones mentioned above in their respective communities to support education. Base on individual perspective as has already been mentioned, Cameroonian diaspora or “bush fallers” have been actively supporting education in their communities. Some people do it beyond their households and single handedly or with a friend donates books and other materials to schools in their communities. Meanwhile bush fullers have been largely relied upon in Cameroon especially in the Anglophones towns of Buea, kumba and Limbe as direct sources to provide tuition fees for their relatives, provide allowances and house rent. They also have to provide money for text book and research and field trips fees.

The Lebiallem Cultural and Development Association (LECUDA-USA) in USA also contributed money that was used to sponsor a project that donated benches in the classrooms and office chairs in secondary schools across Lebiallem Divison in the South west Region of Cameroon. These benches helped to reduce congestion in classrooms and avoided situations where more than three students could be forced to sit on one desk because of the unavailability of benches.

Furthermore, of a cultural association, the Association of the Bahams (Baham is a town in the Western region of Cameroon) in the diaspora through financial contributions, donated the construction of two classrooms in Government High School Baham. These classrooms help to avoid the situation of concentrating so many students in a single classroom which will intend led to distraction amongst the students.

Other members and associations of the Cameroon diaspora also contribute to education in Cameroon through offering of scholarships to intelligent children who do not have the advantages of furthering their education, others renovate toilets system and provide good clean water in schools and the renovation of old classrooms and administrative blocks in campuses. Others who have experience in the education sector help to develop the curriculum when they do visit home while others help to

pay the salaries of contract and PTA (Parents Teachers Association) teachers in their respective communities.

Considering tertiary education, Cameroon Diasporas who are university lecturers in their host countries usually engage in scientific discussions and organizes exchange programs for lecturers and students from Cameroon in their host countries. They travel to Cameroon to offer lectures at no charge and sometimes they invite their colleagues tutoring in Cameroon for conferences in their host countries and organize grant for doctorate and post-doctorate scholars from Cameroon .In the domain of technical and scientific education, they have been failed attempts repeatedly to partner state universities with other universities abroad. However, many individuals and Cameroonian diaspora and home based scientific lecturers have been working on efforts to set up a private technical university and the Institute of technology in Nkongsamba in the littoral region of the country (Shmelz, 2011).

3.2.2 Diaspora contribution through Health.

Health is one of the most essential areas where the contributions of the diaspora are most visible. Healthcare in Cameroon is sub-standard due to lack of specialist, equipment, medicine and medical aids such as wheel chairs, beds and bandage materials in health centers and hospitals. There is total lack of personnel and medical facilities especially in the rural villages of the country. As a result of this, there have been high infant mortality rates, constant spread of diseases amongst the rural populace and lack of health education. Based on these grounds, the Cameroon diaspora has on grounds of cultural associations and tribal affiliations coupled with individual donations set up projects that have been improving on the lives of Cameroonians especially the less privileged and the societal misfits.

CAMFOMEDICS which is an association of Cameroonian medical, pharmacy and dentistry students in Germany was founded in 1994 to promote a sustainable health policy which will favor the integration and re-integration of Cameroonian medical students with German medical students. Member of this association are aware of the reality of the health situation back in Cameroon and now that they have medical experience abroad, their objectives are to; carryout medical projects back home in Cameroon, encourage training and further studies in the medical field, promote global partnership and exchanges with different fields of study and to promote the

integration of medical experts. One of their projects in Cameroon is PINK (program for internships in Cameroon). Through this program, members of this association both Cameroonians and Germans are encouraged to take up a year of practical medical internship and a clinical traineeship and nursing career internships in Cameroon (Danielle Kadjé, 2018). The objectives are to make them help the understaffed health centers and medical clinics in Cameroon and also to help them develop their skills and careers perfectly.

The Cameroon diaspora also partnered with the French association called BSF that stands for (Biology Sans Frontieres) with the primary objective of giving development aid to long-term biological research and medical assistance to institutions and persons in need. The association visited Cameroon in 2006 to assess the health conditions in some rural areas. When they left Cameroon, and through the members of the Cameroon diaspora they assisted the Mbouo Evangelical Health Centre with medical equipment and medicine (Pelican, 2010). This equipment and medicine help to improve on the lives of the people of this and was a good boost for the country and the diaspora.

Furthermore, the Cameroon diaspora is very concerned about the health issues back home and they try always to keep up efforts to assist in this aspect. In this regard, it is worthy of note that in 2007, the association of the Sawa women (Sawa is a tribe in Cameroon found in the littoral region with headquarters in Douala) in the diaspora contributed money that was used in buying medical equipment for the District Hospital in Deido Douala (Ollong Kingsly, 2013). This equipment went a long way even though with insufficient staffs to better the health conditions of patients in the area who lacked such facilities.

The Cameroon diaspora have also through the Cameroon American AIDS Alliance (CAAA) given vital contribution to the people back home. The CAAA is a non-profit organization that was formed in America by some Cameroonians with the main objective of fighting against HIV/AIDS in Cameroon. In 2006, the organization in partnership with Fourth Presbyterian Church of Chicago and Actelion Pharmaceuticals, a company that produces drugs in California contributed funds and started an HIV/AIDS educational and prevention campaign in the Manyemen Health Centre in Kumba South West Region of Cameroon. The hospital since then has grown into a big hospital with over 150 beds for patients and is now called the

Presbyterian General Hospital Kumba with more five medical doctors and other specialists (Joseph Takougang, 2014). In addition to this, the hospital organize talks base on HIV/AIDS from time to time that bring together people in the community so that they be educated about this illness.

Another effort at improving the health of people in Cameroon was by the Bali Immigrants Population (Bali is found in the North West region of Cameroon with headquarters in Bamenda) in the United States. In the early 1990s, they aided the district hospital in Bali by shipping tons of medication from the USA, and contributed money which was used to construct a mortuary in the hospital and partially paid expenses for the supply of water in the area (Sikod and Tchouassi, 2006). Other groups such as the Bakossi Cultural and Development Association (BACDA) and La Famille Bamileke (LAFADA) also carried out tremendous contributions in terms of health in their respective communities. Cameroonian immigrants in America of the Omega Gospel Ministries also contributed to health by visiting Cameroon on a spiritual mission. Amongst them were medical experts who gave free medical checkups to patients in the areas they visited and this also offered the North West Regional Hospital a Dialysis machine.

The most appalling issue in the health sector in Cameroon is the lack of specialist and Cameroonian diaspora have tried in a way to combat this problem. They have come up with a program called iMEDprogramme (Improving Medical Education and Health Care Delivery through Diaspora Engagement). The objective of this program is train Cameroonian doctors on how to use modern diagnostic and therapeutic instruments such as sonography, electrocardiography and endoscopy (Danielle Kadje, 2013). Through this program, Cameroonian doctors in the diaspora teach their colleagues in Cameroon through organizing medical workshops in Cameroon and they work within the framework of this program.

3.2.3 Other social contributions of the Diaspora

The Cameroon diaspora also contribute to development in Cameroon through infrastructural development. Though they do not live in Cameroon always they believe that it is very important for them to have home in Cameroon. They construct houses for their parents and themselves too because they believe that one day they will have to come home and when they finally do they will have a place to stay. Also

constructing a second home in Cameroon is like a kind of pride to denote the emigrant's success and what he has been able to archive during his years living abroad. Other forms of infrastructural development undertaken by the diaspora include constructing students' hostels to put on rent, constructing hotels and guest houses and building classrooms or administrative blocks in their localities.

The Cameroon diaspora have also through individual and tribal associations contributed to development in Cameroon by raising funds to carryout development projects in their respective communities through building water catchments, payment of the salaries of part time teachers in their communities and building of a community library like the case of the Bali people in the united states. Building of community halls and recreational centers and also setting and equipping cyber cafes like the case of the Mamfe elements Cultural Association (MECA_USA). The Cameroon diaspora also give large financial and material support to many orphanages across the Cameroon territory (Kingsly Ollong, 2013).



Figure 3.4: Mamfe multi-purpose center donated by MECA-USA

Source: Kingsly Ollong, Varieties of Globalization, 2013.

Some other contributions of the Cameroon diaspora include road maintenances, the construction of bridges to link up communities and the construction of farm to

market roads to help the villagers and farmers get their agricultural products to the markets. They are also more concern with providing farmers with the necessary farm equipment and some give financial assistance to help farmers take on their farming projects. For example, according to Joseph Takougang, 2014, P93, the Lebialem Leadership Group (LLG-USA) in contributed one hundred thousand US dollars (US\$100000) 2008 to be used for the purchase of a bulldozer to be used for the construction and renovation of roads in Lebialem south west region of Cameroon.

One of the most significant contributions of the Cameroon diaspora to development in Cameroon has been through the transfer of knowledge. Many Cameroonians living abroad are made up of the highly educated and professional class. These groups of persons usually visit the homeland at least twice every five years. Their effect is highly felt in the communities back home. This is because most of them have set up private professional institutions like hospitals, technological universities, agricultural training schools and vocational training centers to train the people back home so that they can acquire these skills and use them to develop the community. Furthermore many of them usually take their relatives especially their parents to live with them abroad. This according to believe in Cameroon is a very important way to show respect and appreciation to your parents for giving you the opportunity of life. Most of these adventures are usually to take them to more developed and highly sophisticated hospitals.

Culturally, the Cameroon diaspora has been of immense importance as far of the culture of Cameroon is concern. The Cameroon diasporas all over the globe carry along with them cultural heritage of Cameroon. During social interactions such as national day celebrations, Christenings, death and birth celebrations, Cameroon come together in their tribal groupings to show the array of the Cameroon costume, dance, dishes and rich culture (Henry mainsah, 2009). In every Cameroon diaspora association, Cameroonians side aside a day during which they have cultural exhibitions of the Cameroon culture by cooking different Cameroon dishes, Playing Cameroon music, dancing Cameroon cultural dances and Singing Cameroon native songs. All these in the view or presence of other foreigners who or might likely appreciate and like this cultural aspects from Cameroon.

Moreover, the Cameroon diaspora also contributes to the development of Cameroon by bringing new cultures of foreign countries which is aided by their good

communication, they partner up non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to act as civil societies, lobby campaigns and advocates for subjects such as; Political debates, gender equality, respect of human rights and democracy in Cameroon. All these aspects and motivations are derived from their positive experiences in their host countries where these virtues are being held in high esteem.

Since the Cameroon diaspora is set up base more on tribal affiliations, the various tribes perform their distinctive cultural dances during gatherings. They also spread the Cameroon culture through inter-marriages between Cameroonians and different nationals of their host countries and aspects of the marriage rights of Cameroon must have been sold to the world. Many Cameroonians living in France Great Britain and America have intermarried with nationals of these countries. Also Cameroonians living abroad also help to promote and to sell the cuisine of Cameroon. Most of them especially the females operate food restaurants in which they sell different kinds of Cameroon food. This food is however not only eaten or bought by Cameroonians alone but other nationalities also buy it. Those that have Cameroonian friends or are married to Cameroonians have also learned how to eat these dishes.

The Cameroon diaspora also contributes to the development of Cameroon through food. They regularly organize football competitions in their communities back home. During such competitions, different teams register to compete for a particular amount of money that has been placed in the cup to be won by the winner. Most often, the donor always sends representatives or comes by him or herself in the final day of such competitions. The final day is always characterized by so many cultural activities such as dances, marathon races and at the end; there is usually a gala night during which there will be different activities on the agenda of the day including fund raising. Different prizes are always distributed to best players and best competitors from each activity and finally the money raised at the end of the day is usually decided by a committee on which development project to be used for in the community. The Cameroonian Diasporas also organize similar activities in their host countries to raise funds for homeland development. Such funds are usually kept in the banks and released only when there is an agreed project to be used for back home.

3.3 Diaspora contributions in Home Politics.

For many years since the independence of Cameroon, the Cameroon diaspora was mostly made up of educational migrants and they were mostly grouped by social groupings that were more interested in giving support to its members rather than participating in political affairs in Cameroon. The preambles of their associations both cultural and students associations labeled them as non-violent and non-political groups but they were there to represent their members and to serve as liaisons to the respective authorities. The relative economic growth and political stability that Cameroon enjoyed few decades after independence made many diaspora to become less interested and less critical of the regime and status quo in the country at that time. As the economy was booming in the 1980s, the government provided scholarships for Cameroon students to study abroad and also encouraged the ones who had finished their studies to return home with their newly acquired skills and help in building the nation (Takougang J, 2014).

Takougang further stipulated that even though not all the diaspora was in support of the regime in power until the 1980s, very few Diasporas were able to question the leadership for fear of being imprisoned. One of such cases was that of one of the famous Cameroonian writer Mongo Beti who remained in self-exile in France for many centuries because he was a critic of the regime in power. Moreover this reluctance was also because of the fact that many Cameroons living abroad at that time were not naturalized citizens and most of them didn't have legal resident status. All this coupled together they were scared of the risk of deportation and what they could face back home if they were noted as opposition before being deported. It was only until the late 1980s that Cameroon diaspora started developing interest in politics back due to the political liberalization that cuts across the continent during that time. They team up support the opposite in the following ways;

In respect to supporting the formation of political parties in Cameroon, the Cameroon Diasporas who have gained more political experiences in the host countries can be available to this effect. For example, when the SDF was launched in Bamenda (an Anglophone city in Cameroon North West region) in September 1990, it gained massive support from the Cameroon diaspora especially those from the Anglophone regions of Cameroon. Shortly after it was created its branches expanded all over America and Europe where Cameroonians were mostly settled (Krieger, 1998). The

party representative mobilized the Cameroonian people to raise funds in order to support the party during election campaigns and also sponsor the party in elections registration.

Again in 2011, the Cameroon parliament issued a decree that allowed Cameroonians living outside the country to participate in voting during elections in Cameroon in elections. However, this decree only limited the voting rights to non-naturalized Cameroonians because Cameroon does not grant dual nationality status to its citizens. Because of this, many Cameroonians who are naturalized citizens of other countries are unable to vote during elections. This is because all Cameroonians willing to participate in voting must obtain a consular card from the Cameroon embassy or consulate in their respective countries.

The Cameroon diaspora also contributes politically by organizing march rallies and staging protest in front of the various Cameroon embassies in their respective countries against malpractices in Cameroon such as bad reforms, military harassment of civilians, chronic corruption, rampant embezzlement and harsh policies of the government. For example, in 2008 when President Biya wanted to amend the constitution so that it allows him to run for elections in 2011, Cameroonians staged massive protest across Europe and America in Cameroon embassies demanding the president not to tamper with the constitution even though their cries fell on deaf ears.

The Cameroon diaspora have also been at the fore front of promoting democracy in Cameroon. They do this by constantly opposing government policies which are of no benefits to the country and try to promote democratic ideas by publishing articles and books that spread democratic ideas in Cameroon websites online such as cam.infonews.org and camer.be. Even though many people in Cameroon read these books they only get the knowledge in it because the ideas are more or less not practical. Although pressure from the diaspora sometimes forces the government to implement reforms that are beneficial to the citizens. The Cameroon diaspora also contributed immensely during the last presidential elections in Cameroon on October 7. They registered to vote massively in their respective countries and they turn out massively on this day to make their choice of leader.



Figure 3.5: Cameroonians Diasporas registering to vote in Paris.

Source: www.camer.be

The picture above shows a number of Cameroonians living in France standing on a queue to register for Presidential elections that were held in Cameroon on the 7th of October 2018 during which president was re-elected into the office. However, the Cameroon do not grant dual nationality to its citizens leaving abroad so a greater number of the Cameroon diaspora do not participate in the actual voting process of elections in Cameroon because they are not considered as Cameroon nationals since they were born or have lived in another country and do not hold a Cameroonian passport or national identity card. Moreover, it was only until recently that Cameroonians living abroad were granted the right to participate in elections in Cameroon (Takougang J, 2014). But before they take part in this voting process, they must acquire a voter's card from the Cameroon embassy in that country as a result; most people who are not in support of the regime in power are not often opportune to have these cards.



Figure 3.6: Cameroon Diasporas voting during Presidential Elections.

Source: www.camer.be

4. THE CAMEROON DIASPORA IN ISTANBUL: CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HOMELAND THROUGH REMITTANCES.

This chapter will give detail analysis and presentation of data gathered from interviews with some selected members of the Cameroon diaspora in Istanbul regarding their contributions to socio-economic development in Cameroon and how different tribes from Cameroon living in Istanbul contributes towards this homeland development. The responses from the interviewees will help to answer the research questions. The Cameroon diaspora in Istanbul is relatively young and academic migrants and very few of them have lived in Istanbul for more than ten years. According to the interviewees, most of their prime factors for travelling have been for higher education, greener pastures, to seek better life opportunities or for family reunion. However as already mentioned in the previous chapter, most people who migrate from Cameroon have already acquired a high school certificate or a university degree.

Out of the total interviewees (15) I interviewed, about 12 of them had this to say; “Even before I travelled, I had a primary reason of travelling and it was not just mainly for education or for adventure but I wanted to better the status of my life and that of my family too”. However, it was not possible to get an informant from every region of Cameroon in Istanbul because of the diverse cultural heritage of Cameroon. For example, there was no one from the south Region and Far North. This is because these people speak just French and many of them prefer moving to countries that equally speak just French. Also most of them are nomads and constantly move around with their castles.

4.1 Case Study

This case study was chosen to enable the research ask more details questions to the people concern in a friendly manner that will enable the researcher to get the answers he is seeking. This is because, according to Flick (2009, p134), a case study is

capable of mastering the subject under study in a concrete and factual manner. Dessai and Potter (2006, p200), also stipulated that a well-structured research using a case study can be of vital importance in designing a developmental project to fit the local context. For Gomm et al(2006, p3), a case Study helps to differentiate a particular kind of inquiry and help researchers to get the specific answers to their subjects of inquiry by giving an in-depth analysis of circumstances happening in social situations.

Case study have been an important and powerful tool in studying the migration and development nexus and it has also help as a research strategy in different fields of education to contribute to individual knowledge of some concepts, such as in political and social related phenomenon. A case study is more preferred because sometimes researchers have limited knowledge about a particular subject or area and in other to get an in-depth study of such subjects case study becomes the main option because it is capable of providing answers to the why and how questions asked in the research.

This case study was chosen in this chapter because the researcher deemed that it will be easy to find informants about the subject under study. Firstly, I live in Istanbul and I am a member of the Cameroon student union in Turkey (CAMTURK) which stands as a mother association of Cameroonians in Turkey and also a member to other tribal associations like Bongkintati which is for the Nso (Nso is a tribe in the North West Region of Cameroon) people in turkey and NWATURK which is an association of Nwametaw (Nwametaw is found in the South West Region of Cameroon) people in Turkey. With all these interactions, I was able to get to informants and to easily set up interview programs with them.

Even though getting to informants was never a big task, most of them were not ready to speak especially as the interviews were base about them and their income was also included in one way or the other. It was only until I had to explain to many of them that the information they will give is going to be used solely for academic purposes only that some of them felt a kind of relief and decided to speak. Another problem was also due to the fact that some of the informants could not keep to the dates of our appointments and as a result we would have to agree on another date again. Also, the fact that we had to conduct the interview only at a venue to the comfort of the informant also posed a problem because from time to time we had interruptions from

family members or visiting friends and this usually stands as a setback thereby prolonging the interview or causing a reschedule. However despite all these, the researcher was able to put everything together at the end of the project in order to gather the data for the questions asked.

Just as Flick (2009) assert that case studies are design to give detail analysis of the subject matter and not to make generalizations, similarly the analysis in this case study does not intend to generalize this subject to that of the Cameroonian diaspora in different parts of Turkey or somewhere else in the world.

4.2 Interviewees

In order to give a detail analysis of the subject matter, my informants were made of selected Cameroonians living in Istanbul. I interviewed a total number of fifteen (15) people, and ten of them were men while the remaining five were women. These people came from the different works of life in the society with different educational backgrounds, different income levels, different professions and different reasons for travelling. Most of these informants came from different ethnicities or tribes in Cameroon with different cultures. Generally, Cameroon is made up of ten regions with about 270 ethnic groups and my informants came from five out of the ten regions.

Amongst the ten men and five ladies interviewed, five of them were students and the others were either workers or businessmen and women. Talking about their ages, six of them aged between 26-30 years, another six between the ages of 31-40 and three of them were between 40 years and above. In terms of the duration of time they have stayed in Istanbul, it ranges between four years to ten years. This analysis just helps confirm as it was already stated in the literature review that young and youthful population are always mobile and on the move.

The case study was centered on Istanbul covering major towns like Aksaray, Beylikduz, Avcilar, Kutulus, Mecidikoy and Essenyurt. These are the areas where the Cameroon diaspora in Istanbul is mostly concentrated. The duration of the interviews were not fixed and limited. Sometimes they lasted from 45 minutes to 100 minutes. This more so because of interruptions and in some case I had to keep explaining myself repeatedly and putting the questions in a way that the informants

will answer with great comfort and confidence. But this was not asking a completely different question. It still had to maintain the same idea in the original questions.

Generally, the informants all conform to the fact that they send home money in different occasions but they all had different reasons for sending the money. Some asserted that they send money home due to the needs or on the demand of their family members while others have it that they send to repay loans they incurred during travelling or for developmental objectives. Some of them stated that it is ethical for them to send money home because they have to participate or contribute to the development of their communities with these monies. On a general note, they all stated that the amount of money sent usually depends on the current situation of what the money is intended to be used for. Like more money is sent during community development projects or funerals of family members and during feast periods like Christmas and the others.

It is worthy of note that almost or all of these people interviewed live in Turkey legally and all of them have lived in Turkey/Istanbul for four years and above. These groups of persons were selected because obviously they have a broader experience of remitting than those that are just tourist and holiday makers.

4.3 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the qualitative method employed to carry out this research work. This was because semi-structure interviews provide an avenue during discussions for the interviewer to understand different viewpoints and for the interviewee to arrange their responses in a more comfortable manner (Olsen and Peterson, 2005). The interviewer employs a group of well selected respondents and questions are asked from a checklist to obtain qualitative and representative information. Dessai and Potter (2006), stated that semi-structured interviews provides the researcher/interviewer with the opportunity to select questions from important areas during the interview but also gives interviewees/respondents the opportunity to say their own ideas and what they think about the subject matter.

In this study, I used a relaxed research question guide with open questions that give room for flexible questions to be asked to respondents so much so that their responses will give me an opportunity to have a deep understanding of what they

think about their contributions to their homeland development. I opened the interview sessions with a brief introduction of the subject matter that is briefed he/she about my topic so that they will be able to understand what is under study and will respond according to the expected information. During some interviews I had to record our discussions but this was only possible for with the collaboration and authorization of the respondent. The reason was because I wanted to keep the original words of the respondents and to ensure objectivity the transcription of the data.

However, semi-structured interviews have its own weaknesses. Sometimes it is very difficult for the interviewer to deal with awkward and confrontational questions posed to the respondents and also to make the situation acceptable to the respondents. As a result, I tried avoid or rephrased such questions during my conversations with the respondents in a way that they could not be demotivated or become afraid to say directly what they think about the subject matter. During the interviews, the language used was English and Pidgin English (Pidgin English is the lingua franca for Anglophone Cameroons). The total number of informants was 15 and the initial plan was to have at least one informant from each region of Cameroon out of the ten regions. But this was not achieved because I was only able to meet informants from five regions because of the reasons already mentioned above. Due to this, the 15 people who were interviewed came from five regions and each of the five regions had three informants. The informants from the same region had similar responses though a little different in their tribal viewpoints.

For the purpose of better analysis and easy collection of data, the interview questions were divided in different sections so much so that data presentation will be easy and clear.

- The first section constituted the interviewee demographic information.
- Section two asked questions about the migration procedures/process
- The third section comprises of questions to respondents whether or not they send home money and the people to whom they send to.
- Section four deals on the problems encountered whilst sending money and how it can be resolved.
- The next section focuses on cultural and tribal differences in terms of motivation and responsibility to remit.

In the paragraphs that will follow, while presenting my data I will use the words of the interviewees in inverted commas open and close to maintain objectivity and to support my arguments. All the respondents that were targeted for the research all accepted that they send money home from time to time. According to their responses, their main targets are their immediate families and friends even though other people in the communities also benefits from this money through their exchange interactions in the community like buying and selling and others. The respondents equally had different opinions about the impacts of their remittances to the homeland and how it helps in development. For example most of them had the opinion that “with the money I send home, my siblings are able to pay their school fees, keep allowance for them and also my parents are able to access good healthcare facilities and take care of their feeding”.

4.4 Question one

What were your key motivations to travel? Who supported/sponsored you travelling? Why did you choose Istanbul? And how did you come to Istanbul?

From the responses to the above questions, over 95% of the respondents attributed their reasons or motivations for travelling to economic freedom and a better lifestyle. Some said that they wanted to further their education while also craving to improve on their lives financially. Others attributed their reasons to adventure and the need to increase and maximize their family incomes and also to seek better employment opportunities. The paragraphs that will follow below will have the responses in the words of some of the outstanding interviewees in relation to the above questions.

Pady is a male and is aged between 26-30 years old. Before travelling to Istanbul, he had just graduated from the University one year ago but he had not yet had any job. He is the first son of his family and has three other siblings. Many of his friends and extended family members only learned of his travelling program when it was already few days to his departure. He has been living in Istanbul for over five years. When presented with the questions during the interview, he had this to tell;

“Travelling has always been an option for me ever since I was in the university. When I completed University I stayed at for a whole year despite the fact that I graduated with a good degree, I was unable to find a job. My father got so

disappointed about it and called me to come (because I wasn't living in our family house). When I got home my father asked me that what do I intend to do since I can't find a job?. I immediately told my father that I want to continue my studies but that would not be in Cameroon. I want to travel out of Cameroon so that I can further my studies. My father was pleased to hear this and immediately offered to support me but asked me that Do you have somewhere in Mind?. Yeah I told my father that I will travel to Istanbul Turkey". My immediate family supported me a lot both financially and materially.

From Pady's responds I will state that this just ties with some of the reasons that were mentioned in the literature review that most migrants especially youths are academic migrants especially the ones migrating from developing countries to developed countries. Also from his statement, it is clear that one of Pady's motivations to travel was also due to his inability to find a job despite being a graduate. This is also in connection with fact that many people choose to travel because of their frustrated situations back home and they go somewhere else to seek for better opportunities. Pady's statement about his family helping him during the time of his travel also confirm to the works of some of the authors as already stated in the literature review that some travels are planned by the family and not just by the migrant alone.

When I asked Pady that why did he chose Istanbul and his answer was; "I decided to come to Istanbul because I had already found a University online that I wanted to come and study there. I also had some friends who already living in Istanbul and I decided to come here so that things will not be so tough for me in the beginning without anyone available to help out. Again I have heard a lot about Istanbul to be a very big city with a reach culture and great sides of the Ottoman Empire. So I wanted to take the advantages of my studies and also experience life in this great city". Pady's statement on this question also brings adventure to his reasons for travelling aside just for education.

Joe was another brilliant and very welcoming respondent who is aged between 36-40 years and has been living in Istanbul for about six years. He is a married man with two kids but the wife lives in Cameroon with the children. He is from the West region of Cameroon and he is a business man. When I ask Joe that why did you come to Istanbul?. At first Joe looked at me for a while and then started to talk;

“I didn’t just wake up one day and decided to come to Istanbul. Before I came here, I have been planning to come to Istanbul for quite some time. I delayed for some time because I was unable to raise the funds to sponsor my travelling. But my wife kept encouraging me not to give up. She assisted me in business and we tried to raise more capital for my business together. When I first came to Istanbul, I wasn’t coming to stay. As a businessman I used to come here and buy my goods and take them back to my shop in Cameroon”. Migrants always have their personal reasons prior reasons of travelling prior to the general articulated reasons of adventure or economic prosperity. From Joe’s statement, it shows that he had been involved in a kind of transnational business and he found a good market in Istanbul.

However, the most interesting part was when I asked Joe that why did you chose Istanbul? And what were your motivations? Joe nodded his head and went; my decision to stay in Istanbul was not coincidental.

“Firstly when I was coming to buy things in the others years, I realized that Istanbul was a very big and good city for business. So I discussed it with my wife about my coming to live in Istanbul and she supported the ideal. I have a fashion store in Cameroon and it is been run by my wife. I also have a poetry farm but I have employed people to work there. I have about ten workers working there and my wife is their boss. So I decided to stay in Istanbul because it was costing me a fortune coming here over four times a year just to buy goods for my shop. I decided to establish a small cargo company business here in Istanbul so that it can be easier for me to send goods to my shop in Cameroon. There are really good fashion products here in Istanbul and my company is really doing well because many people also came from Cameroon to buy goods and they ship it through my company. Some only contact me on my website and I buy the goods and send to them. Now that I live here I only visit home once in a year to spent Christmas and New Year with my family. I argue here according to Joe’s response that economic freedom or prosperity is responsible for more migration from developing countries than other factors attributed to the same course. The other respondents also had similar reasons for preferring Istanbul though some of their motivations were different.

4.5 Question Two

Do you send money Home?, what are some of the reasons that usually motivates you to send money home? How do you send the money? Who do you send the money to?

From the overall data collected as responses to these questions, about 95% of the total respondents accepted that they send money and so many reasons were given in relation to this explaining why Cameroonians in Istanbul send home money but they attributed their main reasons to self-interest and Altruism. Aside these reasons mentioned above, other reasons they mentioned include; increasing family income, for Education, to contribute to development levies in the local communities, and to support family and friends especially the ones who are into business.

Ben is a male and is aged between 26-30 years old. He is the first son to his family back home in Cameroon and has seven siblings behind him. While still in Cameroon, Ben was working as a part time teacher in a secondary school around his locality. Most of Ben's family members except for his immediate family were never aware of his travelling plans until the final days to his take off. Ben is still unmarried and has been living in Istanbul for over four and a half years. In response to the questions above, Ben had this to say;

"First of all, I will accept that I send money home from Istanbul. I came from the West Region of Cameroon and it is part of our culture that when you leave abroad the people back home look up to you for economic survival and you have to do this to them even if you are better off where you are or not. Because of this, even though I am not married but I have responsibilities more than some of the married people. This is because I have seven siblings back home who are all looking up to me to pay their fees and to give them allowance too not to talk of medication. Although I am a student here in Istanbul but I still hustle everyday so that I can be able to take care of myself and handle some of the needs of my family too.

Considering Ben's statement, I will comment that the statements holding altruism to be responsible for more remittance flow as already stated in the literature review only helps to strengthen these points and show more reason why many diaspora choose to remit. This also ties with De Haas (2007) that an increase in currency and economic crisis always results to an increase in the flow of remittances to a particular economy.

I went further to ask Ben what he implied by the word ‘hustle’ and he replied that “to hustle means I have to look for jobs aside my studies so I can be able to end money to take care of the things I need to do.” Also and how his remittances help to promote development in his community. Again he waited for some time and replied that;

“First of all, I am a Cameroonian and I know the king of hardship that some people go through at home just to have food on their table. Before I left home there was hardship and I don’t think it is any better now or maybe it is even more. However we have tribal associations in Istanbul which are more concern with the development of our various localities back home. Whenever there is a development project in my community like road construction or supply of pipe borne water, we always contribute to such project through our tribal association here in Istanbul. The normal procedure is that a particular amount of is voted in the association and this amount in intend divided amongst the members of the association according to their status in here. This means that students pay less as compare to businessmen and workers.” Ben’s answer just corresponds to the literature review relating to the organization of the Cameroon diaspora how it is made up of tribal associations.

When I asked Ben about how often does he send money to Cameroon he told me that there is no fixed duration of time I send money home. [.....] Often I send money depending on the situation at hand like the birth of new family member or death of a family member because these things are unprecedented. But the normal times that I must send money are during festive periods like Christmas and New Year and also during school resumption periods which is a very important period for my junior ones because in our community we believe that education is the key to success. During such periods it doesn’t matter if they ask me for money or not but I just try to send to them because I already know that they need it.

Ben’s statement that education is the key to success signifies that in every society where they are more educated people, they is always bound to be development because these people (educated people) are capable of setting out policies that will be beneficial to the society and will help speed up the development process. On the contrary, some people who are unable to attain formal education due to inadequate finances will result to social inequality in the society because they are a difference in social status amongst the people in the society. This may hinder development in

some aspects. In this regard, education is ought to be free in most societies as a means of distributing the national income so that many or most people can be able to access formal education which will intend help to foster development such societies.

The next respondent was Fambo. She is a female and falls between the ages of 30-35 years old. She came to Istanbul for family reunion. When I engaged into a conversation with Fambo, she made me to understand that she had been married in Cameroon before coming to Istanbul to meet the husband who left her behind and traveled just a year after they got married. Fambo has a son back home who now leaves with her family. When I asked Fambo that do you send money home? Her reply was very epic. [.....] hahahaha yes of course I do. I send money to Cameroon on several occasions. My family is not poor but then I still have to send the money because when I do it makes them happy and I feel good about it too. In this case, Fambo is preoccupied with her family's happiness and she thinks that if they can be able to just add their family income then they will be happier. However this is in conformity to some of the explanations in the literature review that diaspora remittances help to diversify and to increase family income.

When we discussed further and I asked that what are main reasons that usually cause you to send money home? "Emmhh you know we are all Cameroonians. It is normal that when you are an elderly person in the family you must have responsibilities to cater for. Just like anyone else, I have my own responsibilities in my family and my community to take care of excluding my projects with my husband. Primarily I send money home because I know that they (my family) need the money (Altruism) and I also have a son who needs to pay school fees and needs allowance too. So I have to send this money. But most importantly I send money to support my community development and pay my traditional and cleansing rites so that my people can be fine and crops will do well and they will be joy and freedom in my community. This money I send helps to contributes to development because it facilitate the Organization of our annually cultural festivals during which huge sums of money are contributed by the people of my community to carryout development projects in within the community like supply pipe borne water, maintain farm-to-market roads and many more.

I will comment here that Fambo reasons for remitting her money are similar to the works of some writers whose writings illustrates the relationship between

remittances and the promotion of culture such as Mazzucato et al (2006) in the case of Ghana. Also Fambo's explanation also shows that when these rites according to her are performed crops will do well and they will be prosperity in everything members of this community do in order to earn a living. This denotes some kind of superstition believes.

Acha was one of the female respondents who as interviewed for this work. Acha is divorced and has two children. She has been living in Istanbul for five years. When I first approached her she was nervous but when she learned that I was a student and was carrying out research she felt relax and ready to collaborate me. When asked her if she sends money back home and why she does she said she is supposed to do so. Sending money home to me feels like an obligation that I have to do. Because this money has helps to resolve many problems back home in my name. I will put this in Acha's words to make it sound more convincing.

[.....]. My motivations for sending money home are many and I don't know if I can just say them all to you. Firstly as I said earlier I have two children in Cameroon who lives with my mother and I am solely responsible for their feeding and schooling expenses. I also know that my mother and my brothers have their own things to do with money though they are working. So from time to time I try to send them money especially during school periods when my children demand a lot of money from me. According to Acha, she sends more money to her family for precautionary motives. That is to assist her family and to take care for her children's schooling fare. As the conversation continued, Acha began to review some of her motivations for remitting. Acha said she doesn't remit regular because she hardly us the bank to remit. That she sends money through her friends visiting home so that they can give to her family to assure them that he is doing fine just as they expected. When I ask why she prefers it this way she said:

[.....] Each time any of my friends is travelling home, I send money and some material things to them to give to my family. This is because I want them to be assured that I am fine and I also want to show them the appreciation for both the material and financial aid they all have given till this stage of my life. I don't send through the bank because I know that my friends will definitely see my family especially my mother and when they do they will obviously talk about me. My mum

will be very happy if after talking to my friend, they give her some things and money from me.

According to Acha, she sends money through informal channels a means of keeping close relationships with her family. But in another sense I think this is in a bid to avoid the high rates of sending through banks or formal channels. This is however contradictory to the general opinion that most remitters do this through formal channels.

4.6 Question Three

What are some of the difficulties the Cameroon diaspora in Istanbul face while sending money home and how do they overcome such difficulties?

With regards to this question, many of the respondents who were interviewed had faced some similar difficulties while to send money back home. All the fifteen respondents participated in this question but only three of the responses were documented. According to the responses, the difficulties are not only found in turkey but also in Cameroon. The paragraphs below will present the data that was documented from the selected three respondents.

Jenny was one of the respondents for this question. She is over 30 years old and has been living in Istanbul for about six years. She is not married but she has a daughter in Cameroon. She is a business woman. She buys dresses in Turkey and send to her store in Cameroon. During my conversation with Jenny concerning what problems she face while trying to remit money to Cameroon. She expresses a lot of dissatisfaction and lamented firstly in Pidgin English that; “[...] ahh that one is a big problem for me ohh. E di worry for send money sote. Sometime ma shop di be empty because I no fit send money”. Jenny said it’s a big problem sometimes for her to send money home not that she doesn’t have the money but because there is no means to send the money. As a result, her store in Cameroon uses to remain empty for sometimes with no stocks. When I insisted that can you tell me some of the problems that you face? She continued this time in good English that;

“[.....] the biggest problem I face while remitting money is that the cost of send the money to Cameroon through banks is too high. The charges I pay before the money is sent are too expensive for me and sometimes even as high as ten percent of

the total money I have to send. As if this is not enough the exchange rate between the local currency in Cameroon and the Turkish Lira is not stable at all. It fluctuates a lot and it makes me spend more money.” According to Jenny, she thinks that these problems of high cost can hardly be resolved but she suggests that if they were more money transfer agencies then the high rates could reduce because they will be bound to be competition amongst the money transfer agencies and they will reduce prices in order to gain more customers.

On the difficulties she faces in Cameroon, Jenny states that “[.....] my family and my friends do not make me trust them when it comes to money. This is because they do not use the money I send to them for the specific purposes it is supposed to be used for. They just spend my money lavishly on drinks and expensive clothes as if I have a tree that rows money in Istanbul”. Jenny explains that sometimes she gets angry for this because it used to give her problems with her business. As a result, in order to resolve this, she sometimes decides not to send money to her family or friends back home for quite some time so that they can be able to realize their mistakes not to repeat it next time. Considering this situation, I will state that the Trust variable would have had a bigger role to play here. This is because if Jenny’s family and friends had won her trust, it might have always acted as a motivation for her to send money to them frequently because she would be sure that they are going to use judiciously and for the specific purposes for which it is directed to be used for.

Next on line was Emma. He is a male and has been living in Istanbul for more than seven years. He falls between the ages of 35-40. He is married with two children. He lives in Istanbul with his wife and children. He has investments in Cameroon including a palm plantation and a saw mill. Emma buys most of his machinery for his companies here in Istanbul and ships them to Cameroon. Sometimes, times he pumps in money into his companies when they are in financial crisis or to pay workers. Unlike Jenny Emma also faces similar problems when remitting money back home. When I asked him if he use to face any difficulties while trying to remit money he had this to say;

“[.....] firstly I will say that sending money home from Istanbul is not always an easy adventure to think of. This is because most of the times when I go the banks to send money they will keep telling me that system problem. That there’s a network problem and money can’t be transferred especially sending to Africa. This can be

repeated for some days and cause a lot of delays in transferring the money.” This factor demotivates many people to remit and according to Emma he thinks that network servers can’t be a major reason for a bank not to send money when there is a steady supply of electricity as he cited “[.....] ok if this is the major reason then I think that it’s high time the government gets involve in this to dialogue with these companies so they can use advance apparatus and stop giving people delays to remit their monies because they can result to damages in their businesses. I will comment here that Emma’s point duels more on the reality because when people fail to send their money at the desired moment they wanted to, it may cause them failures especially to business people.

Emma also lamented about the high cost of remitting. Just like most of the respondents, they all complained about the high cost of sending money through the formal means of remitting. He went further to explain that “[....] I send money to Cameroon regularly not just to my family or friends but because of my businesses back home. But the cost of sending this money through the formal methods like banks and Western Union or Money is very expensive for me. Sometimes there are as high 5-10% of the total money and I have to do this every week or month.” This high cost of remitting gives many people the excuse not to send money to their families or friends for a long time. When I asked Emma how he manage this high rates always since he has to send money always because of his businesses. He told me that sometimes he uses informal channels to remit money...

“[.....] bro I have a business and if I just use these formal channels all the times my business will crumble because of insufficient funds so I have to switch sometimes to informal channels whenever I have the opportunity. I usually send money through my friends whenever each of them is going home because they won’t ask for any charges. But sometimes it’s risky for me because some of them never delivers the money to my family instead they keep it to themselves. Recently we have mobile money back and they are people here who do this money business for very small charges. They collect the money here and then send it to a family’s member phone which has a mobile money account.” At this point, Emma’s statement ties to the facts in the literature review that states that more remittances or equal to the amount remitted through formal channels are remitted through informal channels.

But at the same time, this is risky because most of such monies never arrives the hands of the original beneficiaries.

Dora is a single mother aged between 30-35 years and has been living in Istanbul for five years and counting. She is an English teacher in Istanbul and also has a business establishment in Cameroon which is run by her mother. When I first engaged in a conversation with her she thought I was interest in knowing the amount of money she earns as an English teacher but when we discussed further she realized that I had a different objective and then she began to corporate with me. When I asked her about the difficulties she faces always while remitting money she admitted that they are quite some difficulties but the greatest of them all according to her is the fact she cannot be able to send a lot of money at ones let say USD2500 to solve emergency issues. As she explains

[.....] I have faced this very problem on several occasions and one of the times I remember was when I had an emergency problem in my family that needed a lot of money and I had to send to money immediately. So I went to a money transfer/bank that day with a total sum of USD2000 and when I wanted to send it the bank agent told me that I could send all of the money at once. He asked me to show a proof that I could be able to raise such amount of money. Because of the emergency situation I had back home I was force to request a record of my account's activities from my bank to bring to them. When I brought it to them they checked it and sent the all of the money I had come to send earlier on. But when I asked them why I couldn't send the money without show all these documents the bank official explained to me that it was just because of security measures that they wanted to ensure that I am capable of raising such money legally.

During our conversation I was able to realize that the bank officials demanded Dora's pay slips or bank statement just to ensure that she really earns money on a monthly basis. This was just to ensure situations of fraudsters and money laundry agents. This difficulty can easily be handled because according to her explanations if someone wants to send money and he/she is able to show proof of being able to raise such money then the money will be sent without any further delays.

4.7 Question Four

What are some of the differences in tribal affiliations and motivations towards remitting money to promote development back home amongst the different tribes of the Cameroon Diaspora in Istanbul?

To begin with, the Cameroon diaspora in Istanbul is setup base on tribal affiliations. This is to say that they identify themselves according to their region, tribe and villages from which they originate from in Cameroon. Some of these tribes include; Bansa, Bameleki, Bangwa, Ewondo, Banyangi and Bakweri. While in Istanbul, they interact through weekly come together or meetings. The meetings are organized by the elected executives of these organizations and they run according to their writing constitutions. During such meetings, they discuss about empowering themselves economically especially in Istanbul and also about their communities back home and what they can do to improve on the lives of their people back home as one of the respondent explained that;

“[.....] during our cultural meetings which are always on every first and third Sundays of the month, we start with prayers then continue to discussing how to help ourselves succeed in Istanbul, how to help our people back home and then at the end we eat our traditional dish prepared by the host of the day and dance our traditional dance to end our day perfectly. It was an exciting moment with many people wanting to stay behind for so many hours performing the cultural dance.” From the statement above, it shows that even though the Cameroon diaspora is far away from home, but they are not far away from their tradition and cultural values. They stay connected with their people back home through their different tribal interactions and values.

All the 15 respondents participated in answering this question; the respondents from the same tribe had similar answers as compared to the others from the other tribes. The data collected was summarized and presented from the best two of all the respondents who had a better understanding of the research question.

Donald was one of the respondents who gave an interest answer to this question. He is aged between 35-40 years and has been living in Istanbul for 7years and counting. He is from the west Region of Cameroon and a Bamelike in terms of tribal links. Donald is married with three kids but they are all in Cameroon why he is here hustling with the wife. When asked about the differences amongst the Cameroon

tribes in Istanbul about their motivation to remit and contribute to development back home, he had this to say; “[.....] To begin with I like to state that I am a big supporter for the development of my place. Well for the people from my tribe, we have our own way of doing things especially on development issues which I have seen to be different from the other tribes here in Istanbul”. Basically this is bound to be because we do not speak the same vernacular and we have different agendas of development in our meetings. Donald’s responds gives the idea as earlier mentioned in the introduction that the different tribes from Cameroon have different ways of relating to their people back home which some are similar and the others are completely different. Basically Cameroon speaks over 250 vernaculars from the numerous tribes and only the citizenship helps to identify these people as people of the same nation.

When we conversed further on I asked Donald about the rationale of the contributions of development funds in his tribe and he made me to understand that contributing money for development is compulsory for every son or daughter of from their tribe who is above 25years. He went on to say that; “[.....] In my community, every man or woman that is above 25years of age is obliged to contribute to community development. There is a level for each age group from 25years and there is no discrimination amongst men and women. So the woman has to pay and the husband also has to pay. Even the single ladies above this age have their own price to pay.” This statement shows that Bamelekes are more concern with the development of their community because all of are always willing to contribute their development fares without any pressure.

As the interview went on I asked Donald how they carry out their community development levies in Istanbul in such a way that everybody contributes. And he told me that “[.....] For the contributions in Istanbul, it is just as normal as back home. Here we ensure that everybody from my tribe who is a registered member of our cultural association already knows about it according to the constitution of our association because it is clearly stated there. So when a new member joins, he/she is handed a copy of the constitution to study so that he doesn’t remain ignorant of the objectives of the association. We always give a time period for such levies to be paid and we always sensitize people to pay on time. When all the monies are paid we then prepare to lunch our project back home with the budget. I think we insist on this more than any other Cameroon association in Istanbul because I have visited them

and learned of their objectives too.” According to Donald’s expressions with such objectives in scripted in their constitution, contributing for development will always be a major priority to such associations.

I also asked about her they carry out their cultural exhibitions and how he thinks it different from the other tribes? He responded that “[...] during our meetings, we usually perform our culture through dancing or the traditional meal prepared for entertainment and also through our dressing. We always have our meeting twice a month and on every first Sunday of the month, the dress code is to be well dressed in our traditional regalia. If you come to the meeting without this dress code then you will be force to pay a fine. I like my cultural dance and dressing too because to me, they are unique and different from that of the other tribes from Cameroon in Istanbul. At the end of the year we usually organize an end of year party during which we invite people of different cultures including our Turkish friends and other nationalities to come share with us; the dancing, the food and we even give out some of our traditional dresses to friends. I will state here that Donald’s answers tried differentiating his cultural ties with those of the other tribes from Cameroon though he didn’t failed to state if they have different motivations to remit.

Danny was one of the respondent with whom I had one of the best interview for this research work. He falls between the ages of 35-40 years and been living in Istanbul for over 10 years. He is a well-established business man and owns African food shops and restaurants in Istanbul. He is married with two kids and leaves with his family in Istanbul. He is from the South West region of Cameroon. When we were done with all greetings I started the interview with by asking what he thinks about Cameroonians in Istanbul. Danny began by telling me that Cameroonians in Istanbul are well cultured people who are very attached to the traditions and customs of their home land. “[.....] Cameroonians always remain the same wherever they go. They move along with their culture and tradition. In the Istanbul every weekend either on Saturday or Sunday is a day for a cultural meeting of Cameroonians. On such days, we (Cameroonians) do some cultural activities and planning about our people back home”. Danny’s statement already reviews how attached they are to their culture and their homeland.

However, concerning the question about the differences in the motivations to remit money back home, Danny stated that according to him they are no specific

differences because whenever there is a need to remit money someone will always do if he/she has the money [.....] taking about differences I don't think there are any particular differences because they different individuals and the associations of the Cameroon diaspora in Istanbul will always have projects to do back home that will demand them to remit money for the execution of these projects. Notwithstanding individuals also have their personal responsibilities back home that for one reason or the other will always be motivated to send money home. To some extent, they can be some differences but only in terms of the cultural aspects and traditions. For example in my place someone like me has a great role to play in the development of the community every year. We also have tradition rites to pay which are not the same for all the tribes in Cameroon. Our styles of dancing too may also differ and the traditional dishes as well.

I will comment here that from the interview with Danny and the other respondents, they are some differences in terms of motivation to remit. This is because some tribes in Cameroon according to the respondents have very strong and demanding traditions that expect a lot from their diaspora populations. They are many levies that every child from the community must pay even if you leave in the country or not. If you leave out of the country you have more to pay because of the general conception that diaspora population earns more money than the people back home. I went further to asked Danny that that apart from the differences, how do you or your association ensure that this money you contribute is used for the development it is intended for? His answer was that the general Cameroon diaspora has resolved to carry out some particular development projects back home. And some of these projects include establishing corporative credit unions where members can take loans at low interest rates, helping children in school to pay their tuition and establishing farm to markets roads.

[.....] to answer your question, the Cameroon diaspora community in Istanbul always has plans to carryout development projects back home. To make this effective and realistic, we always make sure that choose someone from the region where the project has been earmarked and make sure he carries out a good research about the area to help us realize our project successfully.

The other respondents also had similar answers to this question but emphasized that they can only be able to realize these projects if they all work together as a team.

5. CONCLUSION

This study has been focus on studying the contributions of the Cameroon diaspora to socio-economic development in the homeland. To archive these goals, the researcher employed qualitative methods of research and Semi-structured interviews which enabled him to get a full understanding of the subject matter. According to the research, a good number of Cameroonians lives and work abroad. This group of people constitutes some of Cameroon's finest in terms of education, sports and expertise in the different works of life. These groups of persons can make a significant contribution in homeland development if they can transfer some of these expertise and skills back home. The reasons for outgoing migration have been attributed to Education, the need for better life opportunities and family reunions. The active population is more involved in migration in Cameroon.

On the part of the setup, the Cameroon diaspora is not team up under a single body. It is organized according to tribal affiliations and associations in the major countries in the world. France has the highest number of Cameroonians living in Europe followed by Germany and in America, more Cameroonians lives in the United States due to the American Visa diversity lottery that gave them the green light. Many others also live in Canada. Majority of them are experts in various fields and educationalists.

Based on the contribution to homeland development through remittances, the data collected for this study alongside works of other authors showed that the prime motivations for Cameroonian diaspora remitting money home for development are because of Altruism and Self-interest. However, it is also due to the strong attachment to family and community of the Cameroonian diaspora. Cameroonians living abroad have a good knowledge of the situation of the people in the communities and as a result they send more money to their families and friends and also for community development projects. For self-interest reasons, many Cameroonians living abroad owns businesses in Cameroon and from time to time they send in more money or goods to increase the capital and stock of their business.

Others that do not own businesses also remit money because of self-interest to top their Bank accounts so that they can be able to carry out personal projects like buying or constructing a personal home or planning for their retirement when they eventually returns home.

However these remittances helps to promote development especially at the local level because they enable many people to access healthcare, education, food and small businesses to sustain themselves. Many of the interviewees stated that the money they send home goes beyond their family and friends to promote local development in the sense that they also pay for traditional rites in the community, and they contribute more to community development projects like the construction of schools or roads. The remittances also improve micro development through increase family income, good nutrition, maintenance of farm to market roads and increase agricultural productivity.

The New Economics of Labor Migration theory (NELM) was used as the main theory in this research to explain the reasons of migrants' decisions to remit. According to this theory, migration is a household decision and from the interviews with the respondents, some of them affirmed that their decisions to travel were largely influenced by their families and some even had contractual agreements with their families on the basis that their families will sponsor their travelling cost and when they travel they will remit this money back. However, despite the claim by NELM theory that most migrations are based on family decisions, they were some respondents who stated that their travelling was solely their own personal decision and nobody from their families supported them financially. That they sponsored their travelling by themselves but they still remit money normally like the others whose travelling were decided and sponsored by their families. I will state here that according to the responses from the respondents, the Cameroon diaspora are very attached to their roots and they stay very connected with their people back home. They make sure that their community development is always a priority to them through their financial, material and skillful contributions. The Cameroon diaspora also help to promote their cultural aspects in their host countries through intermarriages with different nationals and also during cultural festivals organized by their various tribal associations in their host countries.

5.1 Recommendations

In the paragraphs below, some recommendations will be suggested base on the results of the study of the Cameroon Diaspora for action to be taken in these aspects.

- To begin with, the Cameroon government should recognize the contributions of the diaspora to homeland development by setting up a ministry in charge of the Cameroon Diaspora to fully integrate and to manage the activities of the Diaspora. The Cameroon diaspora lacks coordination because there is no single body to manage their resources back home in Cameroon. If such ministry is setup with representative in the major host countries of the Cameroon diaspora they will easily facilitate the process of channeling their resources back home and adequate use of the resources to promote development.
- Similarly, there is a big need for a Grand Association of the Cameroon diaspora. The Cameroon Diaspora should organize themselves together under a united Association that will have representatives or branches in the different countries across the globe. So much so that all these sub branches will fall under the main association. This way, the Cameroon Diaspora will be able to have a single voice and their participation in homeland activities will be more intensified and huge. And when they decide to undertake a project back home the various branches will send their contributions to the headquarters of the main association and will be used judiciously for the supposed project.
- Also members of the Cameroonian Diaspora living abroad as expert in the various fields can visit home during their holidays and carryout sensitization meetings and give short training courses to the local populations. This will help to educate them in the various fields and gives employment to the ones who were able to benefit from such training. Cameroonians who are university lecturers in foreign and medical doctors can use their positions to partner their institutions with higher institutes of learning in Cameroon. Through such partnerships, lecturers, students and medical personnel will be able to take internships in these institutions and it will provide more training to individuals from the local institutes.
- Women are also considered as good partners of development. But women are underrepresented in most associations of the Cameroon Diaspora. In this

regard, I recommend that women should more represent in the associations of the Cameroon diaspora to increase their active participation in contributing to homeland development. If more women are represented in the Diaspora, they will fight to raise the standards of living of the local women back home by creating avenues where they can be gainfully employed or create business opportunities for them where they can take petit trading to help themselves raise funds. This will also help to improve and increase gender equality amongst the Diaspora associations and back home which is a vital tool for development.

- It will also be fair to recommend that the Cameroon government should approve dual citizenship to its citizens who has another citizenship. The Cameroon constitution does not permit dual citizenship. So if a Cameroonian has another citizenship abroad, his Cameroon citizenship will be declined or canceled. There are many Cameroonian children who were born abroad and have the citizenships of their birth countries or by virtue of the fact that one of their parents is a national of that country. In this regard, if this child is given the nationality of his birth country he will not be accorded Cameroon citizenship again. So if the government allows dual citizenship, it will bring in a lot of Cameroonians with different talents and expertise who could not enter Cameroon freely or at will hence promoting development.
- Moreover, Cameroonians living back home who rely mainly on Diaspora remittances as their main supply of income should endeavor activate the trust variable. If they make their remitters to trust them more, it will act as a good motivator for them to always remit and in good amounts because they know that the money is going to be used judiciously for the specific purposes of its remitting. When this factor is activated and diaspora remit more regularly, it will promote homeland development because more people will tend to carry out more projects because they believe and trust in the people they are working with.
- To sum up, it will be worthy to recommend that the government should improve and extend the banking system in Cameroon into rural communities. These communities lack banking facilities and most of the times diaspora remittances end up not getting to the persons who were directed because they had to pass through another person and these intermediaries sometimes end

up stealing the money or not giving the full amount. If banking facilities are provided in these communities, diaspora remittances will be channeled to the real sources and directly to the real persons.



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APPENDIXES

Appendix.1: Research guide interview questionnaires.



App.1: Research guide interview questionnaires.

My name is Kennedy Fonju Nkongho. I am an international student of the Institute of Social and Management Sciences Istanbul Aydin University. I am conducting a research on the Cameroon Diaspora in Istanbul and how they contribute through remittances to Economic and Social Development back home. This is in partial fulfillment for the award of a master's degree in Political science and international relations. I will be very delighted if you can share a little of your time with me for us to have a short interview about this topic. I promise not to use your identity publicly and the information you provide will solely be used for academic purposes.

Part 1: Interviewee information

1. Are you married (optional) Tick the best option.
 - Single
 - Married but no kids
 - Married with kids
2. Do you live here with your family or they are in Cameroon?
 - If in Cameroon, what is their occupation?
3. Select your age group
 - 18-45
 - 45-65
 - 65-75
4. What is your highest qualification?
 - Primary school
 - Secondary School
 - High school Certificate
 - University Degree
 - Master's Degree
 - PHD
5. What is your income level?
 - Poor...0-1600TL
 - Lower middle...1600-5000TL
 - Middle....5000-10000TL
 - Upper Middle...10000-20000TL

- High....20000 and above
6. Which part of Cameroon do you came from? Tribe/Region

Part2. The Process of migration and the duration of stay

7. What were your key motivations to travel? Why was Istanbul the best choice?
8. Who sponsored you to travel?
9. How did you come to Istanbul? (Means of Transportation)
10. For how long have you lived in Istanbul?

Part3. Sending Money Home

11. Have you been sending money to Cameroon? Yes/No
12. If yes, how long have you been sending money to Cameroon?
13. How do you send this money home? (Methods of sending).
14. What are some of the reasons that motivate you to send home money?
- Tribal motivations
 - Personal motivations
15. How regularly do you send money home?
16. Who are some of the people that you send money home to? (family or friends)
17. Do the people back home request money before you send or it is always your own decision to do so?
18. Do you think they are any differences in terms of tribal motivations for sending money home amongst the different Cameroonian tribes in Istanbul?

Part4. Problems encountered while sending money.

19. Do you always encounter any difficulties while trying to send money home?
Yes/No
- In Cameroon
 - In Istanbul
20. In your opinion as a Cameroonian Diaspora in Istanbul what measures do you think can be put in place to make the flow of remittances to Cameroon to become more beneficial to the economy of Cameroon?

Thanks a lot for your answers and time. I greatly appreciate.

RESUME

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