EMIGRATION CRISIS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: CASE OF CAMEROON

Usmanu MALIKI

(Master's Thesis)

Eskişehir, 2021

EMIGRATION CRISIS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: CASE OF CAMEROON

Usmanu MALIKI

T.C.

Eskişehir Osmangazi University

Institute of Social Sciences

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

MASTER'S DEGREE THESIS

Eskişehir, 2021

<div align="center">

T.C.

ESKİŞEHİR OSMANGAZİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

</div>

Usmanu Maliki tarafından hazırlanan 'Sahra Alti Afrika'daki Göç Krizi: Kamerun Örneği'' başlıklı bu calışma 14.06.2021 tarihinde Eskışehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Lisansüstü Eğitim ve Öğretim Yönetmeliğinin ilgili maddesi uyarınca savunma sınavı sonucunda başaralı bulanarak, jürimiz tarafından Siyaset ve Kamu Yönetimi Dalında Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Başkant Doç. Dr. Ali Onur Özçelik

Üye Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Gülen Göktürk

Üye Dr. Öğr. Üyesi İsmail Cem Karadut

ONAY

..../…../2021

Prof. Mesut ERŞAN

Enstitü Müdürü

DECLARATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH ETHICAL PRINCIPLES AND RULES

I solemnly declare that this research was prepared by me according to the provisions of Eskişehir Osmangazi University Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Directive; belongs to me, is an original work; that I acted in accordance with scientific cand ethical principles and rules in the preparation, data collection, analysis and presentation of the study; that I referenced all the data and information obtained within the scope of this study and include these resources in the reference. I hereby declare that I have accepted the screening of this study with the scientific plagiarism detection program used by Eskişehir Osmangazi University and that it does not involve plagiarism in any way. I declare that I agree to all moral and legal consequences that will arise if a situation contrary to this declaration is made.

Usmanu   MALIKI

ABSTRACT

EMIGRATION CRISIS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: CASE OF CAMEROON
Usmanu MALIKI
Master Degree, 2021
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Dr.Öğr. Gülen GÖKTÜRK

Emigration, especially youth emigration from Sub-Saharan Africa has increased tremendously in recent years especially between 2010 and 2020.In the case of Cameroon, this thesis examines emigration crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa using Everett Lee's "push and pull theory of migration". This study sought to investigate primarily, the causes of emigration in Cameroon using data both from primary and secondary sources includingbooks, articles, newspapers, media, and an interview conducted with six Cameroonians who once migrated and are now back in the country. The study also discusses challenges faced by African migrants in migration process, challenges faced my migrants in region of destination and finally effects of emigration on Cameroon. Based on the interview narratives, the study found out that unemployment and low wages are among some of the main causes of emigration from Cameroon. In relation to challenges faced by migrants, the study discovered that death and enslavement of African migrants are among the most difficult challenges faced by migrants in the migration process, while racism and general discrimination are common experiences of African migrants in country of destination. The study argued that brain drain is the major result of emigration in Cameroon and is one of the main predicaments facing the African continent as a whole. In a nutshell, most emigrants from Cameroon are economic migrants and in order to curb this emigration crisis in Cameroon and Africa, African states must provide socio-economic and political stability in Africa.

Key Words: Migration, Sub-Saharan Africa, Cameroon.

ÖZET

SAHRA ALTI AFRİKA'DAKİ GÖÇ KRİZİ: KAMERUN ÖRNEĞİ

Usmanu MALIKI

Yüksek Lisans, 2021

Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Anabilim Dalı

Danışman: Dr.Öğr. Gülen GÖKTÜRK

Göç, çoğunlukla Afrikalı gençlerinSahra altı Afrika'dan göç etmesi, son yıllardaözellikle 2010 ve 2020 yılları arasında büyük ölçüde artmıştır. Kamerun örneği ile bu tez, Everett Lee'nin "itme ve çekme göç kuramını" kullanarak Sahra altı Afrika'daki göç krizini incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, bir zamanlar göç eden ve şimdi ülkelerine geri dönen altı Kamerunlu ile yapılan mülakatlardan, kitaplardan, makalelerden, gazetelerden, medyadan ve röportajlardan edinilen birincil ve ikincil kaynakları kullanarak Kamerun'dan göçün nedenlerini araştırmaya çalışmaktadır. Çalışma ayrıca göç sürecinde Afrikalı göçmenlerin karşılaştığı zorlukları, hedef bölgedeki göçmenlerin maruz kaldıkları güçlükleri ve son olarak göçün Kamerun üzerindeki etkilerini tartışmaktadır. Mülakat anlatılarına dayanılarak bu çalışma, işsizliğin ve düşük ücretlerin Kamerun'dan göç etmenin başlıca nedenlerinden olduğu kanısına varmaktadır. Göçmenlerin karşılaştığı zorluklarla ilgili olarak, çalışma, Afrikalı göçmenlerin ölümünün ve köleleştirilmesinin göç sürecinde göçmenlerin karşılaştığı en vahim zorluklardan olduğunu, ırkçılık ve genel ayrımcılığın ise Afrikalı göçmenlerin hedef ülkedeki ortak deneyimi olduğunu ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Çalışma, beyin göçünün Kamerun'daki göçün ana sonucu olduğunu ve bir bütün olarak Afrika kıtasının karşı karşıya olduğu ana çıkmazlardan biri olduğunu savunmaktadır. Özetle, Kamerun'dan gelen göçmenlerin çoğu ekonomik göçmenlerdir ve Kamerun ve Afrika'daki bu göç krizini engellemek için Afrika devletlerinin Afrika'da sosyo-ekonomik ve politik istikrar sağlamaları gerekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Sahra Altı Afrika, Kamerun

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

ACRONYMS

AMR	Africa Migration Report
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BWAC	Berlin West African Conference
CAMSUCO	Cameroon Sugar Company
CDD	Cameroon Development Corporation
CEMAC	Economic Community of Central African States
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CERD	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CHOCOCAM	Cameroon, Chocolate Company
CICAM	Cameroon textile industry
CNN	Cable News Network
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPDM	Cameroon People Democratic Party
CRTV	Cameroon Radio and Television
CTE	Cameroon Tea Estate
EAC	Eastern Africa Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African states
EU	European Union
GAO	General Accounting Office
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GITOC	Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime
GPC	General People Congress
GPIN	Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement
ICE	Customs Enforcement Custody
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGO	Inter-Governmental Organisations
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Funds

IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
ITUC	International Trade Union confederation
LDC	Less Developed Countries
LON	League of Nations
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MIDA	Migration for Development in Africa
MNC	Multi National Cooperation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PPC	Paris Peace Conference
PRC	Pew Research Centre
RCC	Revolution Command Council
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SCNC	Southern Cameroon National Council
SDF	Social Democratic Front
SODEPA	Society for development and Exploitation of animal production
SONARA	National Refining Company
TNC	Transnational organizations
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	The United Nations Refugee Agency
UNPO	Unrepresented People Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

INTRODUCTION

The movement of people from one place to another is as old as human history and had been in practice from time immemorial to our contemporary society. By 600 AD, humans had migrated through land and water to most parts of the earth (except Antarctica and some isolated islands) and had adapted to the environment which culminated to the development of new technologies to ease communication and transportation (Fisher, 2014:27). Migration in human history was often triggered primarily by the quest for food, shelter, security, gold and many others, in a bid to survive (Ferrie and Hatton, 2013:3). These movements from one place to another is often carried out in groups by members of similar clan, tribe, family or religion, seeking for a better place to make a living which is in line to the adage that 'life is an endless struggle for survival'. With passage time, the phenomenon of migration changes due certain events that occurred at the international arena.

The creation of nation state in Europe after the Westphalia Treaty of 1648 following the Thirty Years Wars and its subsequent expansion to the rest of the world meant the state was the most important actor in both internal and international politics (Kwachuh, 2017:1). The ascension of the state as the most vital actor in society ushered in a new era in human migration as state policies on immigration rapidly affects the flows and trends of internal and international migration in the world. In most cases state policies attenuates the rates of global migration while in other cases the policies of some states increase international migration, a point in case is the Slave Trade which was based on the political and economic policies and interests of European powers. Nonetheless, even in a case where states enact stringent policies to curtail immigration, there are some loopholes in these policies because states are bound to respect human rights such as the right of refugees and asylum seekers, family rights and the protection of the most vulnerable and persecuted persons (Hein de Haas et al, 2018:8). The bond of contention here is to posit that since the formation of nation-state, the state has remained one of the most important factors in determining internal and international migration.

The advent and upsurge of Industrial Revolution in Great Britain in the 18th century which later spread to other parts of Europe thwarted the socio-economic and political status quo of the world and played a pivotal role in determining migration flows around the globe. This era was characterized by advancement in technological know-how and development of factories which led to improvement in transport and communication, that facilitated migration of Europeans (Corbett, 2011:2). This period led to reduction in agricultural activities and development of industries which triggered rapid urbanization accompanied by rural exodus and birth of the capitalist mode of production. The sophisticated means of transport which was manufactured as an aftermath of the Industrial Revolution transform international migration and pave the way for the rise of global economy as European business people and traders were able to easily and amicably adventure to most parts of the world in order to establish their businesses.

Similarly, the economic and political changes that transpired during post Second World War period change the pattern of international migration. The modus vivendi during this period stressed on internationalization of the world economy and political system which fomented the collapse of colonial rule in Asia and Africa as most countries gained independence from colonial rule. Europe was transformed from a continent of colonizers to a destination of mass immigrants including Europeans who were working and living in colonial areas and other non-Europeans who were citizens of former colonial territory and could visit Europe due to colonial ties and privileges (Hein de Hass et al, 2018:8). The world was moving towards an epoch of globalization and free trade with an emphasis on open borders and less stringent immigration policies and this help to augment internal and international migration, this portrays how migration succumb to the new world order, in other words known as a global village. Economic globalization advocates for economic integration via free trade and open borders in which economic activities and transaction is dominated by transnational organizations (TNC), while political globalization emphasizes on buoyant connectivity of nation-states under the regulations of international institutions such as International Monetary Funds (IMF) and World Trade Organization (WTO) with consent from member states (Mosedale, 2013:1). The reforms and changes that was brought about by globalization had positive impact on migration and the rise in international migration which is visible

in our contemporary society can be traced back from the period of globalization and internationalization.

In Africa, the hope and euphoria that swept across the continent in the 1960s when most African countries gained independence was short-lived and dashed by political instability and economic hurdles. Immediately after gaining independence, some African countries were plunged into civil wars and conflicts such as the Biafra War in Nigeria (1967-1970), Congo civil war, the wars in Somalia, the conflicts between Ethiopia and Eritrea, rebellion in Cameroon, military coups, the genocide in Rwanda and the other conflicts that triggered humanitarian crisis and forced migration in the continent. Knight posited that the causes of conflicts in Africa can be local in some cases while in other cases it is caused by the imminent and consistent transformation of international structures. The Rwandan genocide that was caused by the conflict between the Hutus and Tutsis claimed the lives of over 800,000 Rwandans including women and children and the displacement of over a million Rwandans which caused a major humanitarian crisis in the region (Shaw, 2012). These wars and conflicts in Africa unleashed untold havoc on the continent and strengthened the humanitarian and economic crisis which compelled many Africans to migrate from one place to another in search of economic and political opportunities, thus the African continent nowadays is a hotspot for push factors that compels emigrants to leave the continent. Since after independence, migration in Africa is dominated by intra-regional migration as many African migrants move within the continent due to the policy of integration adopted by African countries. By 2015, more than 50 per cent of the 34 million African migrants live within the continent especially in countries like Ivory Coast, South Africa and Nigeria which are among the leading destinations of many African migrants (Abebe, 2017:2).

Furthermore, many migrants in Africa are forced to leave their continent due to wars, poverty and extreme climatic conditions and the struggles and deaths of African migrants in the Mediterranean portray the depth of the emigration crisis in Africa. Another source of crisis is financial dependence of African Union (AU) to EU and its failure to effectively administer migration policies (Bruey, 2018:70). Bruey went further to posit that focus on socio-economic development by AU and economic regional organizations in Africa will go a long way in curtailing

emigration in Africa and that the dearth of data on the voyage through the Mediterranean has handicapped proper and holistic examination of the crisis via the Mediterranean. In a bid to curb the economic crisis that hit post-independence Africa, the international institutions under the auspices of the Bretton Woods institutions (International Monetary Funds and World Bank) coaxed African countries to implement the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) as a panacea to the economic plight of Africa, this program called for strict control of public expenditure, elimination of price control and reorganization of the public sector (Nkongho, 2014:39). This measure failed to contain the economic and political quagmire in Africa, thus, internal and international migration in Africa continued in an alarming rate in a bid to escape economic and political predicament.

The world today is a product of centuries of international migration and everywhere we go today there is a sizeable number of immigrants in almost every country in the world. The general trends of international migration most often than not are generally from the developing countries to developed countries, internally the movements are generally from rural areas to urban areas due to the dichotomy in economic and political opportunities between the centers and the peripheries. In 2015 there were about 244 million migrants around the world with over 64 percent of the migrants coming from the developing countries, Europe hosts most of the immigrants followed by Asia (75 million) and this shows how rapid the number of migrants has increased in the world (Bruey, 2018:48). According to International Organization for Migration (IOM) world migration report 2020, the number of international migrants in 2019 was around 272 million which correspond to 3.5 per cent of the world population (IOM world migration report, 2020:19). Furthermore, the report shows that among the international migrants there are around 164 million migrant workers who generate around 126 billion USD (IOM world migration report, 2020:10). As long as immigrants can generate such income, international migration is bound to persist and perhaps increase as many aspiring migrants from low income earning countries will be motivated by pull factors to embark on migration as in the case of Africa and other parts of the developing world.

In Africa, the demise of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi in 2011 following the upsurge of the Arab Spring unleashed a series of conflicts and wars in Libya that

triggered and augment irregular emigration from Africa. Libya delved into a sectarian conflict after the fall of Qaddafi due to lack of a strong and nation-backed government to control the sporadic skirmishes and conflicts that erupted after the fall of Qaddafi. During his rule, Qaddafi provided economic and political stability in Libya which attracted millions of migrants from many parts of the world; there were around two million foreign workers in the country including 30,000 Chinese, 30,000 Filipinos, 10,000 Turks, 10,000 Vietnamese, and several thousand people from Sub-Saharan Africa. When the crisis started, rich governments evacuated their citizens while others were left stranded and had no other option than to rush to UNHCR refugee camps (Fisher, 2014:120). This move worsened the migration crisis in Libya and increased the number of migrants in the region. In a bid to understand why Libya became one of the most popular transits for illegal migration, Hamood pointed out that among the factors that made Libya favorable to irregular migration is the fact that the geography of the area is located near poor and conflict prone regions, the region is easily accessible and the fact that the country is considered a gateway to Europe (Hammod as cited by Bruey, 2018:60). Most migrants in Libya undergoes horrible and inhumane treatment from smugglers, slavers and bandits; and some of the migrants are being sold as slaves as reported by CNN news, while thousands of African migrants die in the Mediterranean in an attempt to cross to Europe (Mafu, 2019:1). Despite all the risks involved in irregular and illegal migration, many Africans are aspiring and taking part in irregular migration irrespective of the costs and risks.

Under the light of this background information, this study seeks to assess how economic difficulties such as unemployment cause emigration in Sub-Saharan Africa using Cameroon as a case study. The study will further investigate the risks and challenges faced by migrants in the process of undertaking emigration, as well as challenges faced by African immigrants in country of destination. Finally, the work will investigate and analyze the impact of emigration on the economy of country of origin in this case Cameroon.

Statement of Problem

The existence of a state is to meet with the aspiration of the people and provide security. One of the ways to provide security is to set rules on how to move in and out of a country. Thus, every state has laid down rules and laws on how to move in and out of a country otherwise known as migration; however, these laws just like in the case of many laws, are being violated around the world by many citizens who seek to acquire illicit means to move in and out of a country.

The general trend of migration is from developing countries to developed world for economic and political reasons. Emigrations from developing countries are caused by push factors such as poor economic conditions, wars, income inequality, and pull factors such as better health facilities, educational opportunities, and high income (Swain, 2019:3). In Africa, increase in social unrest, economic difficulty and political instability has triggered different wave of migration across the continent with thousands of youths emigrating from Africa for greener pastures to other parts of the world. There are different methods and routes used by the migrants to leave the continent; some uses legal means while others follow the illegal or irregular means. The irregular migration takes place across the continent, and it depends on the location of the country of origin, for instance in East Africa notably in Ethiopia thousands of people illegally emigrate via the sea through Yemen to Saudi Arabia and other rich Gulf countries. However, there is a different and perhaps the most perilous dimension of illegal migration in Sub-Saharan Africa as migrants move through the desert mainly in Cargo trucks and across the sea to their respective destinations in Europe without the required papers. This type of migration is not new in Africa but it was boosted after 2011 with the fall of Muammar Qaddafi. The demise of Qaddafi led to a fragile and unstable Libya which acted as a green light for smugglers to illegally transport migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to their various destinations. According to International Organization for Migration (IOM) reports, in 2016 alone around 5097 migrants who attempted to cross the Mediterranean Sea loss their lives among the 387,739 who attempted to make it to Europe through the sea (Bruey, 2018:51). Thousands of migrants from Africa lost their lives in the Mediterranean in the course of migrating while others are subjected to barbaric and inhuman treatment.

In spite of all the risks involved, many African youths are looking for ways to move out of the continent through irregular routes. Accordingly, the main aim of the study is to investigate how economic difficulties leads to irregular and regular emigration in the continent. The research also investigated the risks involved in the process of irregular migration, challenges faced by African immigrants in country of destination and the economic impact of emigration on the country of origin.

Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the following research questions.
Main Research Question:
To what extent does unemployment cause emigration from Cameroon?
In order to have a better understanding of the subject matter, other sub questions will be relevant to complement the main research question.
What are the challenges involved in emigration process?
What difficulties are faced by immigrants in receiving countries?"
What are the consequences of emigration on sending country (Cameroon)?

Research Objectives

The main objective of the study is to investigate how unemployment in Cameroon has triggered the emigration from the country. Other sub objectives include,
To investigate challenges involves during the emigration process.
To evaluate challenges faced my African immigrants in country of destination.
To assess how emigration affect the economy of sending country (Cameroon).

Hypotheses of the Study

Unemployment among youths is the main factor that causes people to leave Cameroon and take such a dangerous journey.
The possibility of death remains the most dangerous challenge incurred by the migrants during their journey.

Brain drain is the most significant consequence of emigration from Cameroon.

Methodology

The research was conducted using qualitative method and both primary and secondary sources of data collection were used.

Sources of Data Collection

In carrying out the study, I used of primary sources of Data. I interviewed some of the emigrants in Cameroon who had already migrated once and are now in Cameroon with the help and guide from experts in migration domain. The interview was constructed with the aid of my supervisor, a pilot study was done to confirm and ascertain the validity and reliability of the interview guide. The study also used reports, archives, documents and administrative and diplomatic circulars.

Secondary sources include books, reports, articles in journals, newspapers, magazines, internet, and other researchers' works that that are related to the field of study. This work made good use of media reviews which included data from international and African news channels such as CNN; BBC; Media Afrique and a host of many others. Public discourse and debates on the subject by experts were also utilized to add more flesh to the subject and present different perspectives on the matter.

Instrument of Data Collection

The semi-structured interview was one of the main instruments that was used in collecting data for this study. The researcher took into consideration the validity and reliability of the instruments of data collection while carrying out the study to provide a holistic and plausible finding. Research ethics was adopted and put into practice and the researcher is fully aware that all data collected was used in the study accurately. The researcher sought the consent and permission of the interviewee, and all references and citations were dully acknowledged.

Method of Data Analyses

Data collected for this study was analysed through systematic content analysis. Some of the data collected was analysed and presented in a qualitative manner, other data was analysed with the help of charts, diagram, maps, pictures, and many others.

Significance of the Study

The findings of this study will be of benefit to states and policy makers in Cameroon and Africa in general in the sense that the study will be resourceful in coming up with improved managerial techniques for handling the issues of unemployment and migration, the investigation will tackle the causes of emigration and proffer solutions on how to curb it.

The study will likewise benefit governmental and humanitarian activities at the national and international level who are interested and concern about the welfare of migrants around the world. Besides, both migrants and potential migrants will benefit from the findings of the study: they will become aware of the risks, realities and process of migration from the country of origin to the country of destination.

The study will moreover fill the gap in existing literature. Investigations on how unemployment motivates emigrants in Cameroon was carried out with focus on political, economic and historical determinants of migration which will bring something new into the study in that that most of the studies done on migration in Africa lay more emphasis on the economic and political issues without proper analysis on the role of history in contemporary emigration plights in Africa.

The study equally set a tone for further research on the subject of migration in Sub-Saharan Africa. This is due to the variety of issues that were presented in assessing the causes for undertaking regular and irregular emigration which involves high risk and the solutions that will be deduced as an aftermath of the investigations. The study will go a long way in providing holistic investigation and data in the

academic domain by taking the readers into the mind of the migrants via in-depth interview and interaction with those who undertook the journey.

Scope:

The study will cover Cameroon, which will represent sub-Saharan Africa, Cameroon is chosen because of its ideal location in the western and central part of Africa, and the fact that it embodies all the geographical features of Africa such as Savannah, Sahel and forest. The country is the only country in Africa that practices both the English and the French system in Africa and has a unique history. The unique nature of Cameroon has earned it the name "Africa in miniature" due to the fact that it possesses most of the characteristics found in Africa. The respondents that took part in the study will be from Cameroon and will be representative of Sub-Saharan Africa. The time frame of the study is from 2011-2020; this period was chosen because emigration in Africa reaches its peak during this time especially after 2011 with the fall of Qaddafi couple with other political and economic hurdles in Africa which triggered emigration. The emigration crisis is on-going thus, data collected may be updated depending on that changes that may occur in the process of carrying out the study.

Limitations:

The topic is broad, and it is used by different disciplines and departments so there are many available data on the topic which may not necessarily be important to student of political science. To curb this problem, the researcher narrows the subject to meet the desired goals and objective of the study.

The world today is in a standstill due to the outbreak of Covid19 pandemic which started in Wuhan China in 2019, this virus has distorted the economy of the world and makes travelling and data collection cumbersome because many countries have imposed stringent travelling policies in order to fight the virus. It was thus, difficult to travel and conduct interview directly in Cameroon, however, with advent of science and technology the interview was conducted with eased using social media.

Moreover, the respondents were hesitant to participate in the interview due to insecurity and failures involved in their respective adventures. However, when we assured them of confidentiality and research ethics they willingly accept to participate in the study.

Organisation or layout of the study

Here, an overview of the thesis structure will be described in order to give the target audience and an understanding on how the study will be conducted.

The work is comprised of three chapters. The first which is the introduction, followed by the statement of the problem which will vividly indicate the intention of the study. The methodology will be included in this part and the methodology portrayed how data will be collected and presented in the course of the study. The research questions, research objectives and hypotheses were presented and construed in this part. The delimitations and scope of the study were included in the introduction and finally the structure of the thesis will be the last section. Chapter one will which is background of the study include the definitions and classifications of migration in order to unearth the main focus of the study and concepts relevant to the study and subject matter. The demography and history of Cameroon was outlined to understand the choice of the case study and to justify why Cameroon can epitomised Africa from a historical, demographic and political point of view. This was followed by the literature review and theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter two will focus more on assessing and interpreting data on the findings of the first and second research questions. The variable unemployment will be explained in a Cameroonian context in order to allow the audience to comprehend and understand in an utmost manner the relation between the two variables. Chapter three will be comprised of the findings on the third and fourth research questions, data will be presented in a qualitative and quantitative manner. The conclusion which is the last part will be made up of general findings of the whole study, summary of the work, recommendations and conclusion. Bibliography and appendix of the work will be the last part of the work.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1.   WHAT IS MIGRATION/EMIGRATION?

The concept of migration is an overly broad and extensive topic which is being studied by different disciplines and departments in the academic domain from different point of views and perspectives. Geographers, economists, historians, sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists all study migration from different ankles and for different reasons due to the importance and role of migration in the society. The concept of migration changes in meaning and scope with the passage of time, thereby making the concept of migration difficult to comprehend and understand, as different epoch and society views migration differently. Generally, migration is considered as the movements of people from one place to another, the distance covered and the reason for the movement is another vital element of migration. In simple terms, migration can be considered as the movement of individual or group of individuals from one area to another which can be on a temporal or permanent basis. To a Lehman understanding thus, migration is simply a shift in physical space.

According to International Migration Law (IML), glossary on migration, migration connotes the movement of people out of area of their usual residence across international boundaries or within a particular country (IML glossary on migration, 2019:137). In their work on migration, Ngong and Nkain purported that migration is a process of moving from one place to another by a person or group of people with the intention to stay in the area of destination for a temporal or permanent period. Their study emphasized on the motive of migration, with focus on whether the causes are voluntarily or involuntary (Ngong and Nkain, 2014:59). According to IOM, the definition of migration should imbibe the following elements: *"The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a state. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes. It includes the*

migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification". (Ogu, 2017:51).

According to the definition above, in order to understand the concept of migration it is worthwhile to understand certain elements related to migration. Migration as broad as it can be categorized and classified in order to facilitate the understanding of the subject matter. There are basically two types of migration (internal and external migration); internal migration is the movement of people within the same country while external migration is the movement of people from one country to another. In terms of labour and market, international migration can be construed as a mobility of labour or a mobility of a worker who is part of a labour force in another area out of his country (Karaduman and Çoban, 2019:235). In other words, external migration is a movement that involves crossing international boundary from one particular country to another (Nkwelle, 2002:96). The direction of internal migration is generally from rural to urban, urban to urban, rural to rural and inter-regional migration (Nkwelle, 2012:130). International or external migration on its path can be classified into different categories depending on the geography, distance and political set-up. Some of these classifications include:

- Trans-oceanic migration: this includes a movement that refers to crossing one or more oceans.
- Border migration: this type of migration takes place between borders of countries.
- International region migration: this takes place among people in the same political block such as the EU and Economic Committee of Central African Countries (CEMAC). This type of migration doesn't require visa.

In terms of causes of migration, there are basically many causes depending on the socio-economic and political atmosphere of sending and receiving countries, which can be evaluated within push and pull factors. In regions like Sub-Saharan Africa, the push factors that generally cause migration include political instabilities such as wars, slavery notably the transatlantic Slave Trade, famine, natural disaster, geography and climate, unemployment, and overpopulation. Pull factors that attracts migration in the region include search for jobs, better education opportunities and

social facilities (Nkwelle, 2012:130-131). The causes or motives of migration can further be classified under physical factors such as harsh climate conditions and natural disasters, economic factors such as unemployment and poverty, social factors such as change in size of a family and political factors such as migration caused by those abdicating political persecutions (Ngong and Nkain, 2014:60).

Migration can also be classified into political or legal category; this is based on the migration policies of receiving and sending countries. This type of political migration can be divided as follows:

- Free migration. This type of migration takes place with the approval of both receiving and sending countries and it is often determined by factors such as demands for labor.

- Regular migration. This takes place when all the legal documents and rules of emigration and immigration of both the sending and receiving country are respected by the migrant.

- Managed migration. This takes place within countries of the same economic or political block such as the European Union and it is usually visa free.

- Irregular or unauthorized migration. This happens in a situation where migrant voluntarily or involuntarily undermines migration laws of the sending and/or receiving countries. There are many types of irregular migration, and the focus of the study is on unauthorized migration as well as legal migration.

Having a better and concise understanding and meaning of key terminologies related to migration is another milestone in facilitating and understanding the subject. Based on the focus of this study, it will be worthwhile to understand the differences between emigration and immigration, the two antonyms are central in migration studies nowadays due to the role of states in managing migration. Emigration is defined as the act of someone leaving his country of origin or residence to another country for a permanent or temporal period of time (IML glossary on migration, 2019:64). Immigration is the act of people moving into another country other than country of residence or origin so that the country becomes his new area of residence temporarily or permanently (IML glossary on migration,

2019:103). Another important aspect in relation to emigrants and immigrants is the composition and structure, this takes into consideration gender, age, and educational level of migrants.

Another important aspect that easily facilitates the understanding of migration is by differentiating between a migrant, a refugee, and an internally displaced person (IDPs); these words are often used interchangeably and can be misrepresented due to the similarities among the terms. According to Article 1A (2) of the UN in accordance with the Refugee status of the UNHCR (1951) convention on refugee, a refugee is defined as such: *"Any person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside of the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is willing to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country his former habitual residence as a result is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it"* (Bruey, 2018:46).

Refugees can seek asylum and be granted legal papers to stay and work in country of destination as long as they meet the required conditions of the host country. A migrant is a person who has moved from area of origin or usual residence to another place temporarily or permanently within a particular country or across international borders. The term migrant can be applied to anyone who acquire legal papers and is working as a migrant worker in country of destination, those who were smuggled and do not have the legal papers required to stay in host country and those whose statue is not adequately defined and spelt out under international law such as international students (IML glossary on migration, 2019:132). According to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (GPIN) 1998, IDPs can be defined as:*" Persons or group of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflicts, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who have not crossed internationally recognized state border"* (Bruey, 2018:46).

In summary, these three terms are very vital in migration study and setting a clear-cut distinction among them helps the reader to better understand the subject matter. Refugees and IDPs can all be considered migrants as seen from the above definition, but not all migrants can be considered as refugees and/or IDPs. The focus of this study is on migrants; consequently, the term will appear more often in the course of the study. The study will also use the terms emigrants and immigrants interchangeably depending on the context.

Furthermore, another important element of migration includes the consequences of migration on migrants, sending environment and receiving environment. These consequences are generally classified into positive and negative causes. The different classifications of migration above are particularly important since they help to simplify the concepts related to the subject so as to give the reader the direction and purpose of the research; in other words, it helps in contextualising migration to the objective of the study.

1.2. HISTORY AND DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF CAMEROON

In this section, history, geography, and demographic features of Cameroon will be diagnosed alongside the incumbent political and socio-economic reality of Cameroon to better comprehend the study and to justify why Cameroon is a perfect case study for Sub-Saharan Africa.

Portuguese explorers led by Fernando Po were the first Europeans to arrive at the coast of Cameroon in 1470s through Wouri River in present day Douala where lies the economic life wire of Cameroon. When the Portuguese realized that the river had a lot of prawns, they named the area "Rio dos Camaroes" meaning "River of Prawns" which was the origin of the name Cameroon as we have it today. The Portuguese set up a trading center shortly after they contacted the natives of Douala; their trading activities flourished and attracted many European merchants from countries like Britain and Netherlands who instantly started conducting business along the coast of Cameroon (Julius, 1979:1-2). During the era of Slave Trade, many slaves were taken from Cameroon through the Bimbia slave Bay which was one of

the most popular transit routes used by the slavers to evacuate slaves to America and Europe.

By the 19th century, trading activities along the coast of Cameroon were dominated by Germany, Britain and France; the three powers who started a scramble to colonize the territory. Following secret and nocturnal activities organized by the Germans, Cameroon was finally colonized by Germany on July 12, 1884, when a treaty was signed known as the Germano-Douala Treaty between King Bell and Akwa of Douala and the German traders represented by Eduard Schmidt, Adolf Woermann and Johannes Voss. The territory was later recognized as a German colony during the Berlin West African Conference (BWAC) of 1884-1885 which was organized by the then German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck and French Prime Minister Jules Ferry in order to map out strategies on how to colonize and annex the continent of Africa (Lekane and Asuelime, 2017:135). This move by the Germans angered Britain and France who were interested in annexing Cameroon and their plan were in progress. During that time period, the British Foreign Secretary dispatched a delegation led by Hewett to annex Cameroon on behalf of the British government and the French were also busy signing treaties with King "PASS ALL", but the Germans outsmarted them and annexed Cameroun, which is popularly known as the 'German Coup' in Cameroon (Julius, 1979:5-6).

The German administration in Cameroon lasted for 30 years until 1914 when the First World War (WWI) started during which Cameroon was a battlefield between the Allied forces and the Germans. When the Germans were finally defeated during WWI by a combined Anglo-French, and Belgian forces alongside support from local African forces, Cameroon was split between British and France as mandated territories of the League of Nations (LON). France took control of the lion share of the territory which corresponded to around 80 percent of Cameroon while the British took only 20 percent of the territory because they did not want to bear the financial cost of administering the colony (Lekane and Asuelime, 2017:137-138). The British went further to divide her own part of Cameroon into two separate colonies known as the British Northern and the British Southern Cameroons, the former was governed as part of British Northern Nigeria while the latter was governed as part of British Eastern Nigeria.

The British administration in Cameroon like in many parts of Africa was carried out using indirect rule system and the British Cameroons were administered as an integral part of Nigeria which was already a British colony (Lekane and Asuelime, 2017:138). The indirect rule system allowed the local authorities at the forefront of administration with direction and supervision from the British authorities and this played a pivotal role in terms of maintaining African values and norms throughout the British colonies. France on its path imposed a policy of assimilation in administering its own part of Cameroon, this policy was aimed at transforming Cameroonians to think, act, eat and behave like the French (Lekane and Asuelime, 2017:140). The policy compelled Africans to completely proscribe their culture in favor of French culture because the French considered its colonies as French overseas territories.

During the Second World War (WWII) Hitler demanded that all German colonies that were seized after WW1 as an aftermath of the Paris Peace Conference (PPC) should be returned, he went further to launch a campaign in Africa to retake former German colonies ipso facto plunging Cameroon into the war. During WWII, African soldiers were recruited by the Allied powers to fight against the Germans who were considered as imperial powers and the belligerents. This act of recruiting Africans by the Allied powers acted as a boomerang on the path of the Europeans because it unraveled hypocrisy of the Allied powers who claimed to be fighting against imperial Germany and at the same time subjugating Africans under imperial rule. After the war, African soldiers were honored and celebrated with awards for the bravery they showed during the war. The success of experienced Africans during the war had a psychological impact on how they viewed the Europeans, and this spurred the decolonization process across Africa (Myrice, 2015:3-4). The WWII played a pivotal rule in igniting the agitations for self-rule and clamor for independence across the continent after the war and by early 1960s most of Sub-Saharan Africa has gained political independence from their colonial masters.

After a series of struggles with the French, French Cameroon gained independence on January 1,1960 under President Amadou Ahidjo as the first President of the Republic of Cameroon with Yaoundé as the political capital. In

February 1961, the United Nations (UN) organized a separate plebiscite in British Northern and Southern Cameroons. It was held to decide their fate after independence which was earmarked for October 1, 1961. British Northern Cameroons voted to join Nigeria in the aforementioned plebiscite while British Southern Cameroon voted to join Cameroon and on October 1, 1961 British Southern Cameroon reunited with the Republic of Cameroon and formed the Federal Republic of Cameroon with French and English as the two official languages of the country (Ardener, 1962:342). In 1972 Cameroon moved from a federal system to a unitary system which is still in function. In 1982 the first president of Cameroon resigned and handed power to his Prime Minister Paul Biya Bivondo who took an oath of office from then till today after winning every election since the return of multi-party politics in 1990 (multi-party politics was ban in1966), he is still the incumbent president of Cameroon.

Geographically, Cameroon is located in west-central part of Africa and covers a surface area of 475,650 km2. Cameroon is bordered by Atlantic Ocean in the south-west, Nigeria in west, the Republic of Central Africa and Chad in the north-west, and the Republic of Congo, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea in the south. Cameroon is a very diverse country with more than 230 different ethnic groups and vernaculars spread across ten regions with two Anglophone regions and eight Francophone regions, and English and French are the official languages of Cameroon. Christianity is the most popular religion (around 69 %), followed by Islam (around21 %), African traditional religion and other minor religions (JICA report, 2015:9). The population is estimated to be around 25 million and over 60 per cent of the population are under the age of 25 making it an ideal emblem of the African continent which is made up of majority youths. Douala is the economic capital of Cameroon, and it is the most populated city in Cameroon followed by Yaoundé the political capital of Cameroon. The diversity and uniqueness of Cameroon has made it a perfect case study for Sub-Saharan Africa.

The economy of Cameroon like in most African countries depends on agriculture which is the backbone of economy, and a sizeable number of the population works in the agricultural sector. Agriculture in Cameroon is carried out both for home consumption and exports of goods such as cocoa, timber, coffee and

banana which contributes to over 40 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) while providing employment for around 70 per cent of the population (Abia et al, 2016:2). Since the discovery of oil in 1970s, petroleum production by SONARA (National Refining Company) has immensely contributed to the country's finance and occupies a very central role in the industrial sector of Cameroon alongside other activities such as refining, food processing, textile and timber production (Nkongho, 2014:22). This depicts how diversify bless the economy is in terms of natural resources as it is the case with many Sub-Saharan African countries. Cameroon economy like that of most developing countries depends on employment from public corporations and parastatals such as Cameroon Development Corporation(CDC), Cameroon Sugar Company (CAMSUCO), Cameroon, Chocolate Company (CHOCOCAM), Cameroon Tea Estate (CTE), Cameroon textile industry (CICAM), Society for development and Exploitation of animal production (SODEPA) and a host of others which was created by the state and later privatised with hope to boost the economy and meet with the demands of with Millennium Development Goals (MDG). These public corporations and Parastatals were meant to reduce unemployment among youths, but they failed to curb unemployment, the youths were compelled to emigrate in order to solve their economic problems.

Cameroon is an incredibly unique country and can epitomized Africa in that it has most of the features that can be found in Africa. Cameroon is the only African country that passed through three colonial powers (Germany, England and France), and is the only country that uses both the Anglo-Saxon and Francophone system – which are the most common practice systems in Africa– due to its unique position and history. Geographically, Cameroon is located in West Africa but economically belongs to Economic and Monetary Community of Central African States (CEMAC) due to French influence and has the largest economy in Central Africa. The climatic condition of Cameroon makes it distinct because it shares the features found in Africa, which includes a semi-Sahel region in the North, equatorial rainforest in the Southwest and the East and finally savannah in the West (Nkongho, 2014:24-25). Cameroon is often referred to as "Africa in miniature" because it has most of the features found in Africa due to its political, economic, geographical, social, and demographic composition, thus it will be a perfect case study in determining

irregular migration from Sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, Cameroon will be a perfect emblem of Africa in relations to migration phenomenon.

From the above features and history of Cameroon, the choice of using Cameroon as case a study can be vindicated because Cameroon epitomizes Africa in many aspects including geography, demography, history and location. Consequently, the study will move to the next stage which is statement of problem.

1.3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Migration as already observed is a broad subject and the existing literature trace migration to the origin of human. In light with the aim of the study, my literature review will focus mainly on the evolution of migration since after the Industrial Revolution to the present day at the international arena, as well as the different trajectories of migration in Africa as a whole and Cameroon in particular. The literature will also cover contemporary migration trends in the world, Africa and Cameroon. This part thus, consists of two sections. First, I will make a review of history of migration and second, I will continue with migration studies specifically about Cameroon, and lastly, I will focus on theories of migration.

Migration has always been part of human behaviour and culture; thus, the history of migration is as old as human history. Throughout human history, the human race has been moving from one place to another for different reasons including the search for food and shelter, the search for gold, freedom and abdicating from enemies, this consequently led to the spread of their culture, language, genes and ideas. During the period of the Middle Ages in Europe, short distance migration was reduced due to feudal economic system, but after the fall of the system migration, continued in an alarming rate (Ferrie and Hatton, 2013:3). Migration in other words has been in existence from time immemorial, thus wherever there is a human society migration is inevitable because it is part of human culture.

The advent of Industrial Revolution which started in the 18th century in Britain and later disseminated to other parts of Europe acted as a turning point to

migration across the world. The Industrial Revolution led to upsurge of industrialization and factories across European towns and cities which attracted migrant workers from local areas to urban areas due to reduction in agricultural practices that unleashed misery to many farmers and thwarted European economic system and general status quo. By second half of the 19th century the Industrial Revolution ushered in rise of railroads, the development of factories and a change in economic scale which revolutionized life and working conditions of millions of people in Europe and North America. This consequently culminated to massive rural exodus and movement of people from one city to another in search of economic opportunities (Corbett, 2011:2). Between 1850 and 1914 in Germany and France, the era of urbanization and industrialization ushered in as a result of the Industrial Revolution led to bureaucracy in the public sector. This culminated to increase in state postal services and educational opportunities in urban areas which consequently pull migrant from rural areas to urban areas in search of training programs and employment with the state, the state was the largest employer at that time following the establishment of nation state in Germany and Third Republic in France (Moch, 2011:19). The Industrial Revolution is very central in history of migration studies because it brought unending changes in socio-economic and political domain of people and states in Europe and across the world which facilitated the movement of goods and services and made it possible for people to cover both short and long-distance migration in a very short period of time which hitherto was impossible. The technological advancement of the transport system facilitated the migration of over thirty million immigrants between 1820-1920 to the United States, a place that was welcoming and was considered as home of immigrants (Kim, 2007:3). The United State as we have it today is made up of immigrants from different part of the world who migrated some years back and started a new life in what was then referred to as The New world.

Again, the Industrial Revolution set a base for globalization which is an outstanding determinant of present-day international migration pattern. The Industrial Revolution made it easy for capitalist economic ideas to spread across the world which led to the creation of a global market. Capitalism penetrated to every corner of the world in developed and less developed countries as a result of massive industrialization and advanced technology that followed the Industrial Age.

Apparently, the present-day globalization process and activities was established on economic structures that were established by the Industrial Revolution (Ateş, 2008:46). The concept of globalization and world citizens is very popular in many countries around the world especially in the west and has augmented migration among countries through tolerance and acceptance of foreign cultures and values. However, nowadays there are many populists' ideas and anti-immigration policies that challenge globalization and immigration in Europe and North America.

Another milestone event in the evolution of migration was the Second World War (WWII), this period recorded a sizeable number of displaced migrants and cause involuntary migration of millions of people around the world, more than the humanitarian crisis took place in WWI. This acted as an eye opener to the creation of the first international organization in charge of refugees and involuntary migrants such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The UNHCR office was created in 1950 to coordinate and protect refugees around the world and to curb any problem accruing from refugee camps, as well as making sure all refugees are allowed to exercise their rights and are able to seek for asylum following legal procedures (Fisher, 2014:119). There are many conflicting reports on the actual amount of people displaced during the WWII due to the difficulty encountered when quantifying the issue and the different criteria use by governments and international organizations in identifying the problem. It was estimated that there were around 30 million Europeans that were displaced during the War, while others believed the numbers could be up to 60 million (Redondo, 2018:159). The crux of the matter is that the war raised awareness on the vulnerability of refugees and migrants that later triggered the development of international organizations solely responsible in managing refugees, IDPs and volatile migrants around the world.

After the war, migration to countries like France, Netherlands, and Britain–former colonial masters –was very instrumental. The former colonies enshrined in their policies the desire to welcome people from countries with colonial ties; this saw influx of many people mainly from the undeveloped world to countries like Britain and France under colonial privileges and preference. The British founded the New Commonwealth (former British colonies in the Caribbean, the Indian subcontinent

and Africa) in order to keep colonial ties and grant special opportunities for immigrant workers from these regions who came with their families and stayed in Britain. This sort of migration was alarming until 1971 when it was restricted and reduced. The French on its path founded "The Francophonie" an international organization for France and its former colonies which triggered the influx of migrants from places like Morocco, Algeria, Mali, Senegal and many other francophone countries especially from Africa (Rooij and Zsoka, 2015:3). This created a migration bridge between those immigrants working in Europe and their relatives and friends back home thereby facilitating and augmenting migration to former colonies which still exist today.

The era of globalization and internationalization of market economy has significantly transformed and facilitated migration and movements of people around the world. International migration today is at the heart of the globalization process which made it easy for people to migrate for many reasons including the desire to improve their economic situation, avoid political and religious persecution in their country of origin, to re-unite with family members and a lot more. International migration pattern is generally from the developing countries to the developed world and this have socio-economic, political and psychological consequences on the migrants, around three percent of the world population are involved in the international migration pattern (Kahanec and Zimmermann, 2008:2). In spite of the challenges by globalization and the unwillingness by many states to liberalize their immigration and facilitate free movement, the number of immigrants living out of their country has tremendously increased from 120 million in 1990 to 244 million in 2015 which corresponded to over three percent of the world population (Balan, 2017:27). This is due to cohesive and free market relations established among different countries due to influence of globalisation which ushered in tolerance towards different cultures and the idea of world citizen with aims and desire to establish a new world order.

In order to comprehend migration in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa, it is worthwhile to highlight the historical evolution of migration in different epochs ranging from pre-colonial Africa, the period of slave trade, the colonisation era and finally the post colonisation era. The historical evolution that Africa went through

during these different eras have significantly changed the socio-economic and political status quo of the Africans and clearly determined and influenced legal and clandestine migration in contemporary African society.

The Migration trajectories in pre-colonial West Africa were mainly orchestrated from the northern part of the continent southwards in search of peace and land for settlement and agricultural purposes (Yaro as cited in Ikwuyatum, 2018:2). The movement was mainly carried out in large scale mainly by members of the same tribe, clan or family for political, economic and social reasons. Some nomadic tribes like the Fulani who had accepted Islam before the coming of Europeans and had profited from the Trans-Saharan trade migrated southward and blend with other Muslims communities to form the Hausa-Fulani Sultanate in Northern Nigeria which extended to other part of west and central Africa. This led to conflict with other communities which culminated to the migration of some of the subordinated groups who were not willing to accept Fulani hegemony and rule (Fisher, 2014:73). In Africa today, some of the major tribes like the Yoruba, Hausa, Fulani, Wolof, Mandinga and many others are located in more than one country because of free migration that took place before the establishment of colonial empires in Africa by the European colonizers.

The introduction of transatlantic slave trade by the Europeans along the coast of Africa which lasted from the 16th century to the 19th century witnessed one of the most devastating and involuntary migration of native Africans via the Atlantic Ocean to work in European plantations in the Americas. Africans were captured, tortured, chained and assembled like goods in European cargo ships and transported to an unknown land of no return, this period of so-called Triangular trade accentuated inter-tribal conflicts and wars due the slave raids by Europeans and some Africans who collaborated and benefitted from the trade. The slave trade led to the forceful migration of approximately 12 million African migrants under barbaric and vicious conditions which led to death of one third of the unwilling slaves during the process. Among the slaves who succeeded to arrive in the Americas, Fisher pointed out that around five million were estimated to have been sold to work in Brazil alone, while others were sold to work in British colonies of North America, the Caribbean and in Spanish America (Fisher, 2014:76). The slave wars that accompanied the slave trade

led to involuntary movement of people escaping from been captured and enslaved which culminated to a demise in agricultural activities in areas affected by wars and unrests. Many of those enslaved were youths who were healthy and strong enough to carry out difficult economic activities assigned to them by their masters. This crippled the economy of Africa and created a vulnerable ambience which ignited the Europeans to rush and occupy.

The slave trade has far reaching effects which still negatively impede the continent of Africa and the black race around the world. The magnitude of the effect of slave trade is large, Studies have indicated that parts of the continent where the greatest number of slaves were taken from are among the poorest countries of Africa today, thus if the slave trade had not occurred in Africa, the most African countries today would be in possession of a better income like other developing countries around the world (Nunn, 2008:34). Racism against the black race around the world and the wanton exploitation of Africa which still exists today have their roots from the slave trade which introduced and engulfed Africa to European economic system. By the 19th century, Industrial Revolution has altered European economic system and the slave trade was no longer lucrative and viable, these among other reasons led to abolition of slave trade spearheaded by Great Britain. This ushered in a period of the scrambled and colonisation of Africa, another nightmare in the history of Africa as will be unearth in the subsequent paragraph.

The Industrial Revolution led to socio-economic and technological transformation in Europe accompanied by increase in factory and population and reduction in agricultural activities. The demand for raw materials to satisfy the growing industries was increased and with a reduction in agriculture, the inadequate available raw materials in Europe could not meet the demand of the European industries which triggered them to look for solution overseas and as a result Africa was colonised and balkanised among European powers in a bid to provide raw materials for European market (Ocheni and Nwankwo, 2012:47). The European powers met at the Berlin West African Conference (BWAC) between 15 November 1884 and 26 February 1885 under the auspices of the then German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck and former French Prime Minister Jules Ferry to divide Africa among themselves like a piece of cake and mapped out strategies and guidelines on

colonisation without any representative from Africa (Craven, 2019:38-39). During the colonial system, migration in Africa changed and took a different dimension that affected the local society; migration was influenced by the demands and administrative structure of the colonial system (Egerö, 1979:22).The French colonial rule over West Africa introduced military rule which carried out punitive military expeditions into hinterlands in order to extend French dominant and power under the supervision of Minister of colonies in Paris who was the highest authority in colonial matters, as a result traditional authority lost controlled of managing and ruling the cities (Dembele, 2018:286). The European established commercial urban settlement in Africa which affected the movement of people and migration pattern in Africa with people mainly moving from rural areas to urban areas for jobs and other economic activities established by the European colonizers.

The political and administrative structure put in place by the Europeans during colonialism is still shaping the pattern of migration in contemporary African society. The Europeans mapped out boundaries base on their political and economic interest without taking into consideration ethnic and geographical setting of the people, consequently members of the same ethnic group could be citizens of more than two states, or several members of different ethnic group included in one country. This triggered the movement of people within and out of the colonial boundaries (Castles, Haas and Miller, 2014:174). A case in point is Fulani tribe who can be found today across many countries in central and west Africa in countries like Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Guinea. This made it impossible for post independent states to controlled migration flows among countries which facilitated free movement from one country to another.

By end of the WWII, nationalistic sentiment and desire for self-rule and political emancipation had disseminated in most parts of Africa with the decolonisation process at its apex which culminated to independent of most African countries by 1960s.The new states were struggling to establish a better living conditions for their citizens who had toiled and suffered under the yoke of colonial rule for decades, it was at the backdrop of this that African head of states met in Addis Ababa the capital city of Ethiopia to form Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 which later metamorphosed into African Union (AU). The OAU was

formed to promote ties among member states in social, economic, political, cultural, and scientific domain with emphasis on the principles of non-intervention and respect of colonial boundaries as enshrined in OAU charter (Yihdego, 2011:568-569). This bold move by African leaders encouraged the movement of people from one place to another and triggered regular and irregular migration in the African continent as the called for African unity was echoed in the OAU by pan African leaders. Africa became the first continent to develop a legal and concise policy on migration when they organised a regional convention on refugees due to the challenges faced by the many refugees who fled during independence conflicts (Abebe, 2017;3). In order to consolidate and solidify economic and political integration in Africa, member countries were encouraged to spur the process of African unity by forming regional blocks for economic and political reasons, some of these blocks include Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Eastern Africa Community (EAC), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Economic Community of Central African States (CEMAC), Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). These blocks made it easy for people to move freely among countries belonging to the same regional blocks thereby increasing the migration flow in Africa as Konseiga observed when carrying out a study on migration in West Africa focusing on Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso in which he pointed out that migration is an expression of regional integration which is encourage by states (Bilger and Kraler, 2005:15). The creation of AU has boosted the continent's economic integration and has upgraded trade within member states (intra trade) and external trade with the rest of the world (extra trade) which consequently led to increase in Gross domestic product (GDP) and living standards of Africans (Mohammed and Magai, 2019:132). The creation of AU has propelled integration in Africa by inculcating and imbibing the spirit of unity and togetherness among African states which help them to work hand in glove in targeting refugee problems and migration.

In spite of all the methods put in place to minimize and curtail illicit emigration from Africa by Inter Governmental Organisations (IGO), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) and states, desperate and determined migrants

most often than not find a route to carry out migration effectively with the aids of traffickers and smugglers who act as middlemen and play a very important role in clandestine migration process. The growing focus on irregular migration from Sub-Saharan Africa as a security issue by European Union (EU) has led to anti-immigration policies geared toward reducing unauthorised migration which stipulated constant surveillance and patrol along the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean. This move was aimed at controlling migration flows to Europe; however, it led to the creation of new pirogue by desperate migrants mainly from West Africa who passes through Morocco to Europe (Carretero, 2008:72). This portrays how relentless and resolute migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa can be in pursuing their adventurous dream amidst rules and regulations put in place by states and IGOs. Irregular migration in Africa has been practiced by migrant for a very long time and it seem the phenomenon will continue for a very long time until African states eradicate poverty in their country and provide their citizens with basic necessities.

Following the Arab Spring that started in Tunisia in December 2010 and later spread to other Arab countries, the reign of colonel Muammar Qaddafi in Libya came to an end in 2011 and this suddenly open the door for undocumented migrants and acted as a turning point for irregular migration as many Africans travelled through the Mediterranean to Europe. During Qaddafi's tenure, there was relative calm and stringent border controlled partly due to the treaty signed between Libya and Italy in 2008 which stipulated naval patrol along the Mediterranean coast with the aimed of detecting and controlling irregular migration (Friebel et al, 2018:6). This provided security and stability in Libya and deters irregular migration through Libya until the demised of Qaddafi which followed a series of conflict between his forces and rebels backed by North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) forces. Colonel Muammar Qaddafi took power in 1969 when he ousted King Idriss through a military coup and established a socialist revolutionary government aimed at developing and uniting the country under the supervision of Revolution Command Council (RCC), a council in charge of development and reforms in the country. His government provided social amenities such as free education, free health care, free electricity and water.He equally introduced some political reforms after the Cultural Revolution of 1973 when the RCC was repealed and replaced by General People

Congress (GPC) which was designed to augment direct democracy and local self-governance (Siebiens and Case, 2012:7-8). The demised of Qaddafi has far reaching repercussions on Libya and Africa as it led to sectarian conflicts in Libya and opens the Central Mediterranean Route (CMR) which rapidly attracted many migrants from different parts of Africa to involve in clandestine emigration to Europe.

In carrying out his qualitative studies on why African migrants chose to leave their country though the Libya Mediterranean route despite of the risks involved using the case of Nigerian migrants, Dimkpa finds out that unemployment, political instability, gender discrimination, poverty, conflicts and gender-based violence were among the main causes of emigration in Nigeria (Dimkpa, 2019:35-36). In similar light, Ogu posited that illicit migration in Africa is cause by many factors which comes together to create the phenomenon based on economic, political, socio-cultural and global motivations which can be analyse at both the micro and macro level (Ogu, 2017:64). This portrays that irregular migration in Sub-Saharan Africa is complex and can be comprehended from a multidimensional approach due to different factors and motivations that surrounds the phenomenon. As the socio-economic and political predicament in Africa increase, many desperate youths look for orthodox and unorthodox means to emigrate from the continent specifically to Europe and America. According to Pew Research Centre (PRC), more than ten million Africans had moved to Europe between 2010 and 2018 (PRC reports, 2018:3). Emigration in Africa will thus persist as long as the roots causes of the crisis is not address at the national, continental and global level by states and NGOs.

In terms of the structure and composition of African migrants, most of the migrants are youths who in most cases are skilled but cannot find an appropriate avenue to showcase their skills and talents in their country. According to Africa Migration Report (AMR), analyses of IOM indicates that the number of youths planning to emigrate from Africa has increased tremendously since 2010 and between 2010 and 2015 the number has increased by seven per cent during this period (AMR report, 2020:19). Most African migrants are educated and skilful who are usually attracted by the higher wages for their services out of the continent. Observations and reports from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2005 indicated that more than 50 per cent of migrants from

Nigeria and Egypt are educated and skilled, and more than 40 per cent of migrants from South Africa, Chad, Benin and Sudan (Mberu and Pongou, 2012:110). In a similar vein, US Census Bureau acknowledged in 2006 that 17 per cent of Nigerians immigrants had master's degree and 4 per cent of them are Phd holders making Nigerians the most educated immigrants in USA (Casmir as cited in Mberu and Pongou, 2012:110). This shows the calibre of people leaving the continent for economic opportunities in the developed world due to lack of political and economic stability in Sub-Saharan Africa.

In Cameroon like in most African countries, the migration trend and destinations of most of the migrants is within the continent. In 2005, around 60 per cent of international migrants from Cameroon were residing in Africa and bulks of the migrants were educated and skilled migrants (Mberu and Pongou, 2012:109). Moreover, 52 per cent of the 34 million African-born migrants in 2015 live in Africa (Abebe, 2017:2), this depicts the importance and level of inter-regional migration in the African continent which is facilitated by the called for regional integration and free trade zone in the continent. Emigration from Cameroon is facilitated by the role of brokers who act as middlemen between the migrants and their destinations. Most migrants trust brokers by entrusting them with huge amount of money to facilitate their travel because most often than not migration without the help of the brokers stands a greater chance of ending in a deadlock (Alpes, 2017:317). The motivations of migrants in Cameroon in many cases is economically motivated primarily to boost the income and prestige of a family and the decision to migrate as well as the financial expenditure incurred in the process in some cases is provided by a well-to-do family member with consent from the migrants, thereby unveiling how difficult it will be for emigration to succeed without the help of relatives (Fleischer, 2006:26). The phenomenon is popular among youths who are unable to find jobs suitable to their skills and financial needs in both the public and private sector, thus prompting regular and irregular emigration from the country.

Potential migrants in Cameroon are aware of the dangers and risks involved in irregular migration as repatriation of migrants is now common accompanied by influx of deportees. This, however, does not dissuade the migrants from fulfilling their dreams and has not attenuates emigration from Cameroon as pointed out by

Alpes because the potential migrants associate it to their own failure of not being able to leave the country from the onset (Alpes, 2014:18). In spite of campaigns to demoralise irregular migration from the government and NGOs, Emigration from Cameroon in particular and Africa in general is skyrocketing as already observe and this quagmire is primarily for economic motivations. Conflict and political instability are among the most prominent causes of internal and international migration in Cameroon. When the terrorist network Boko Haram which was formed in Nigeria extended its terrorist activities in Northern Cameroon along the border with Nigeria and Chad, war and political instability erupted in these regions which led to forceful migration of many of the inhabitants in those areas. Boko Haram has launched numerous attacks in these regions in places like Limani, Makary and Amchide, and swift retaliation from the military has led to continuous fighting in these regions (Fonkeng, 2018:7). Boko Haram has not yet been defeated and constant skirmishes and fighting between them and the military have intensified the humanitarian crisis in Northern part of Cameroon which triggered internal and international migration. Similarly, the Anglophone crisis which started in October 2016 in the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon has escalated to a war in the Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon. The Anglophone part of Cameroon presented many grievances such as marginalisation of the English regions, failure of the government to uphold the 1961 constitution, and the poor management of the 1972 referendum among others (Fonkeng, 2018:8). This led to the called for secession of the English part of Cameroon which led to a war between the secessionists and the government of Cameroon to the detriment of the civilians as many are force evacuate and migrate from those areas. Emigration from Cameroon is still rampant due to economic and political upheavals in the country; thus, this study seeks to investigate the emigration crisis in Cameroon.

From the foregoing review of literature on migration, it can be observed that the emigration crisis in Africa is a phenomenon that has existed for a long time, and it is still a major challenge in our contemporary society, however, there is a gap in terms of unravelling the causes and impact of the phenomenon in Cameroon, thus this study seeks to investigate these shortcomings. This study will help in providing holistic evidence of the phenomenon in Cameroon using latest data which will go a long way in cementing the existing gap in literature. Consequently, the next section

of the study will be geared towards examining the various migration theories in relation to the aim of the study.

1.4.   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are many scholarly books and works on the concept of migration, this is due to its' vitality and role in socio-economic and political spheres in barely every society in the world. There are many diverse and broad theories on migration because it is a broad and complex subject which is studied in different disciplines such as economics, geography, sociology and political science. In relation to my topic, the migration theories I will use will be classified into two paradigms, these are functionalist theories and historical-structural theories. The functionalist theories views migration as a positive phenomenon which serves the interest of many people in a society and as a system made up of independent individuals and actors. The functionalist approach sees migration as a phenomenon that is dependent on each other with a tendency to move towards equilibrium and a system which ignites people to move from low-income areas to high income areas. The theory thus, stress the fact that migration is triggered by inequality in the society which constitutes the cornerstone of the functionalist paradigm, thus migration is cause by push and pull factors in a society (Haas, 2011:8). The historical-structural theories on its path, analyse migration from a neo-Marxists and political economy perspectives. Proponents of this school of thought argue that migration is the outcome of social, economic, cultural, and political structures put in place by the capitalist system to create inequality in the society. In this study I will analyse two main theories from the functionalist approach (Push Pull theory and neo-classical theory) and two main theories from the historical-structural approach (Globalisation theory and segmented labour market theory). These theories are chosen because they are a sheer reflection of migration in Sub-Saharan Africa from a political, economic, social, and historical perspectives and reality which will help guide the audience to comprehend the direction of the study.

Ravenstein is one of the earliest scholars to propound a migration theory following publication of his two articles (1885-1889), in which he formulated his

laws of migration, this work set a base for subsequent scholars to propound and expand on various theories of migration. As a geographer, Ravenstein saw migration as an integral part of development which prompted him to point out that migration is economically motivated. His analyses of migration were based on Newton's law of gravity which permitted him to deduce migration phenomenon in sending and receiving regions base on distance, population size and economic advantages (Castles, Haas and Miller, 2014:28). He pointed out that most migrants move for short distance and that migration trend is generally from the peripheries to the centres which consequently create a vacuum in remote areas and attract migrants from other remote areas to fill, thereby creating a migration flows even in the most remote and backward areas (Corbett, 2011:3). In relation to gender, Ravenstein (1885:196) argued that women are more migratory over short distance than men and that they are more likely to migrate from rural areas to town in search for meaner jobs such as domestic services as well as venture into lucrative activities in a manufacturing company. This argument is still very profound in our contemporary society as there have been an upsurge in women trafficking especially from less developed countries (LDCs) to develop countries and the Middle East to work as domestic servants under inhumane and barbaric conditions in what is popularly known as modern day slavery.

Ravenstein's analyses of migration were based on his experience in the second half of the 19th century in Europe at that time characterised by rapid economic development which was ushered in by Industrial Revolution accompanied by rapid urbanization and improve transport system that accelerated rural urban migration and migration from Europe to North America (Ravenstein as cited in Çağlayan, 2006:69). Improve in science and technology has tremendously changed the pattern of migration both at national and international level, however, some of his observations can still be applicable to better understand migration. Revenstein's observations and analyses differ from contemporary scholars because he comments little on the attitudes of migrants, however contemporary scholars lay emphasis on migrant's attitudes and features such as age, sex, ethnicity, and social status. Notwithstanding, most of his observations such as the effect of urbanization on migration are still very important in migration studies (Rees and Lomax, 2020:351-352). His works laid a solid and profound foundation on migration study, and he is

often considered as a pioneer scholar in migration studies due to his breakthrough and the groundwork he set with limited data, this latter had influence on subsequent scholars to expand more on the topic.

Another important theory on migration is "push and pull theory of migration" propounded by Everett Lee, this theory emphasizes more on how economic factors determine migration in both sending and receiving areas. The push factors include the socio-economic and political factors that compel people to leave their areas of origin such as wars, hunger, and political instability, while the pull factors are those factors that attract the individuals to destination areas such as jobs educational opportunities and peace. This theory can be applied to explain the contemporary migration pattern of Africans to other parts of the world. Some part of Sub-Saharan Africa nowadays is mired in conflicts and political instability such as the wars in South Sudan, Libya, Somalia and a host of others, due to these crises and economic hardship many individuals migrate to Europe in search of opportunities (Ogu, 2017:53). The diverse economic advantages and opportunities in receiving areas such as job opportunities, high incomes, social security and better working conditions attract individuals from sending region and create a push migration phenomenon (Karaduman and Çoban, 2019:324). Lee (1966) also posits that migration decisions are determined by intervening obstacles incurred during the process of migration such as distance, physical barriers, cost, and migration laws in the country of destination (Castles, Haas and Miller, 2014:28). According to the push and pull theory therefore, migration is a process that involves calculation by migrants as they weighted between the costs and benefits incurred in the process from area of origin to area of destination, thus, migration is most likely occur when the positive factors in the country of destination are more than those in sending areas (Dimkpa, 2019:12). On factors that determine migration, Lee pointed out two major determinants which are personal (micro) and other impersonal factors (macro). The migrant assesses the negative and positive impact of migration in both the sending and receiving areas as well as the cost and risks involved thus calculating the pull and push factors of migration (Çağlayan, 2006:74).

The neo-classical migration theory posited that at the macro level migration can be construed by geographical differences in the supply and demand for labour,

while at the micro level the theory treats migrant as rational individual and income-maximizing actors. One of the prime propositions of this theory is that migration is driven mainly by geographical differences in demand and supply of labour at a macro-economic level, and at the micro level migration is based on economic theory of decision-making which argue that people are more likely to move to wherever income on their human capital is highest (Todaro as cited in Hochlethner and Exner, 2018:15). This theory was influenced by Ravenstein's theory of migration which has a pivotal role in many theories on migration. The theory perceives migrants as those who decide to move on a basis of cost-benefits calculations which is accentuated by free choice and full access to information. The neo-classical theory sees migration as an intrinsic part of development cycle in relations to demand and supply of labour whereby surplus labour in rural areas supply for the workforce in urban areas due to wage differentials between the rural and urban areas (Castles, Haas and Miller, 2014:29). This is the case in many developing countries like Cameroon where rural exodus is the order of the day as many youths migrate from countryside to towns and cities to make a living due to the social and economic disparity between centres and peripheries.

The central ideas of the functionalist approach which construed migration based on causes and drives was challenged and castigated by other school of thoughts including Conflict Theory proponents. The conflict theory purported that migration is a collective household strategy geared towards overcoming market failures and to spread income risks rather than a response of income-maximizing individuals to wage differentials in different geographical zones. The theory castigated the functionalist view that migration decisions are influence by cost-benefit calculation of individual in a free and fair market. The theory equally argues that migration is cause by uneven distribution of income and relative deprivation within sending societies; hence migration is not cause by wage differentials as highlighted by the functionalist paradigm (Haas, 2011:9). However, irrespective of the challenges and criticism of the functionalist approach, it remains one of the main theories that explained migration in contemporary academic debates.

The historical-structural approach sees migration from neo-Marxist perspective, they castigate the neo-classical view that migration is based on

individual choice and pointed out that individual's choice in migration is constraint by structural forces of the capitalist economic system. They argue that economic and political power is unevenly distributed between rich and poor countries of the world and between different classes in the society, thus migration is seen as a way of generating cheap labour for capital that deprives origin areas the desirable labour and skills needed for the enhancement of their society (Castles and Kosack, 1973). The theory is influenced by dependency theory developed by Gunder Frank which stated that underdevelopment in the underdeveloped world is caused by development in the developed world via wanton exploitation of resources from the peripheries during colonialism and unbalance and biased terms of trade between the developed and the underdeveloped world in post-colonial era. Radical thinkers of the dependency theory argued that the underdeveloped world depends on the developed world because there is link via technological dependence and one-sided Terms of Trade (TOT) which favours the developed world and this is as a result of the capitalist system that balkanised the world into centre and periphery countries (Ndefru, 2016:49). This theory is central in this study in that it unravels the political and economic reality of Africa since establishing relations with the western world, the relations moved from one tragedy to another from the slave trade to colonialism and now neo-colonialism, this capitalist tendencies has impeded economic and political progress of Africa to the advantage of some western countries due to exploitations and an unequal relation akin to that of a predator-prey relation.

Dependency theory later influenced the Globalisation theory of migration that emerged in the 1990s, this theory buttressed the fact that migration is a part of a broader relations among difference societies. From an economic perspective, migration can be seen as a proliferation of foreign direct investment (FDI) and deregulation in cross-border flows which leads to international division of labour. Most of the economic globalisation programmes such as the structural adjustment programme (SAP) are imposed on developing countries by International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organisation (WTO). From a political perspective, globalisation is seen as a way of spreading western ideologies to the rest of the world, in fact it is seen as the latest phase in the evolution of capitalism based on the strategies initiated by the Reagan administration in United State (US) and Thatcher's administration in United Kingdom (UK). Globalisation led to the introduction of

innovation in the agricultural sector which is costly, thereby allowing only rich farmers to have access to agriculture which deprived many poor farmers the opportunity to do agriculture which is the economic backbone of economies in the underdeveloped world, thus, poor farmers in many parts of the third world countries are compel to migrate to other areas in search of lucrative job opportunities (Castles, Haas and Miller, 2014:33-34). Globalisation is no longer a concept it is a reality, the world today has intermingled and no matter where one is today, we see and feel the effects of globalisation which has unleashed the spread of western ideas and cultures at the detriment of other cultures.

Segmented labour theory sees migration as structurally included in modern capitalist economies influenced by demand for skilled and unskilled labour from poorer countries. The central idea of this theory is that international migration is caused by the demand for skilled and unskilled labour within the developed economies to participate in the production process (Castles, Haas and Miller, 2014:33-34). This theory went further to argue that migration is not caused by micro economic factors such as the push and pull factors as highlighted by the neo-classical theory, but rather migration is triggered by a structural pull which is embedded in the economic system of industrial society. This structural pull system is characterised by the present of bottom level positions which are filled by migrant and stable creation of capital-intensive and less stable labour-intensive situations which create room for migrant labour and thus migration (Hochlethner and Exner, 2018:15). According to this theory, migration is generally from periphery to the centre and that both international migration and rural-urban migration of young people concretise the aging process and gap of the old in a society (Bueno and Prieto-Rosas, 2019:2). The movements of migrants in our contemporary society are characterised by movements from less developed countries to developed countries which affirm the core arguments of this theory.

The historical-structural theories are very central in this study in that it relates to historical reality of Africa from past, present and future. This paradigm which in most part is a pro- Marxist theory dwell mainly on how global relations between global north and south contributed to global trend of international migration. This can be cited in the history of Africa bearing in mind how relations between Africa

and Europe led to Slave Trade, Colonialism and neo-colonialism and these tragedies massively change migration pattern in Africa and the world at large. Dependency theory and its proponents such as Gunder Franck postulated that underdevelopment in the undeveloped world is cause by uneven relations between global south and global north, a system ushered in by capitalism. In summary, the core idea of dependency theory underscore development and underdevelopment in relation to centre-periphery wherein the centre exploit the periphery (Kutor, 2014:17). From a political economic perspective, most of the problems and challenges faced by Africa today including emigration originated from perpetual exploitation of the continent in three different epochs; slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism. During the colonial era for instance, the Europeans balkanised Africa without taking into consideration the ethnic and political setting of Africa. Africans were deprived of their resources, ways of life, culture, politics and the basic economic questions of who gets what, when and how was determined by the colonizers. The subjugation and domination of Africans during the colonial era was total and inhumane as the economic system put in place were meant to satisfy European markets and interest (Nkongho, 2014:42). This exploitation continued in a form of neo-colonialism whereby former colonial masters still has control over the economy in some African countries. This directly and indirectly leads to economic and political problems in Africa including emigration.

As observed from the different theories and school of thoughts mentioned mention above, it can be seen that migration is a very broad topic and has many theories which explain the phenomenon, these theories can be apply on different studies depending on the direction and aim of the study. In terms of carrying out my research, I will use the Push Pull theory by Everett Lee, this theory is appropriate in explaining the roots causes of migration in Africa, and the Pull-Push factors of migration is a perfect motivation for millions of African migrants around the world. However, this theory has a weakness in that it does not underscore the historical and political causes of migration, this is uncalled for, especially given the fact that African colonial and political experienced are the main drives behind most of the crises in the region today including migration. In order to curb this issue, the study will fully highlight the historical evolution of migration in Africa and will use other theories to complement the study.

This chapter has dissected the concept of migration and has unearth the aim of the study as well as necessary literature review and theoretical framework. The next chapter will delve directly into investigating research questions one and two.

CHAPTER TWO

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION IN CAMEROON AND RISKS FACED BY MIGRANTS IN COUNTRY OF DESTINATION

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the causes of emigration from Cameroon and the risks involved in the process, this corresponds to first and second research questions of this study. In order to investigate and diagnose these questions, two methods will be applied: first the study will probe the main causes of emigration and risks faced by migrants in the course of migration, this will thematically be examined by using secondary data and will be limited to migration phenomenon from 2010 to 2020. Secondly, I will extract causes and risks of emigration in Cameroon based on interviews conducted with repatriated migrants in Southwest region of Cameroon. The second part thus, will fully focus on the narrative and experience of the interviewees which will be followed by commentaries and analyses of the interviews. The chapter will therefore fulfil three main purposes, examine main causes of emigration in Cameroon, examine the main risks faced by migrants in migration process and finally to analyse interviewees narratives in light with first and second research questions.

2.1. MAIN CAUSES OF EMIGRATION IN CAMEROON

There are two fundamental causes of emigration in Cameroon. The first one is political instability which is mainly overshadowed today by Boko Haram insurgency in Extreme North and Anglophone crisis in NW and SW regions of Cameroon. The second one is economic problems such as unemployment, inflation, neo-colonialism and many others. In relations to this study, Boko Haram terrorism, Anglophone crisis, general economic instability and unemployment will be discussed as main causes of emigration in subsequent paragraphs.

2.1.1   Political Instability

For any country to flourish amicably in socio-economic and political domain, political stability is of primary importance. Africa as a whole has been plaque by political instability which reflects migration trajectory in this continent; this is because migration and political instability are intertwined. Thus, people are inclined to migrate out of an area that is mired in political instability; a point in case is the African continent between 1993 and 2002 wherein over half of the population in all 53 states were plaque by violent political instability. This culminated in humanitarian conflict in the region and by 2005, 18 per cent of all African migrants were vulnerable refugees which on average is more than global figures at that time (Kohnert, 2007:6). Elmadmad (2008) and Peraldi (2008) purported that emigration from Sub-Saharan Africa is generally flame by harsh climatic conditions and political disarray which embittered the lives of many Africans and thus ignite migration in search of peace and stability (UN Office on Drugs and Crimes, 2010).In a nutshell, lack of economic opportunities in region of origin and internal political instability such as civil wars, dictatorship, failing states, proxy wars among others, are primary causes of migration in Africa. This cause many migrants to abdicate these ordeals in search of asylum in Europe through Libya which is one of most important transit routes for migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa (IOM report 2014:113). Cameroon on its path is a country that has experienced political instability on-like other African countries. However, the case of Cameroon is different in that unlike most African countries that were plunged by political instability immediately after independence, major political instability in Cameroon started from 1980s. Historically, major political instability in Cameroon include "maguisards" rebellion against French rule in Cameroon, abortive military coup in 1984, multi-party revolt in early 1990s mainly orchestrated by members of Social Democratic Front (SDF), Boko Haram terrorism in Northern Cameroon and Anglophone crisis in NW and SW regions of Cameroon. In relation to this study, Boko Haram terrorism in northern Cameroon which started in 2010 and the Anglophone crisis which started in 2016 will be explored, these two political issues were chosen because it started within time frame of the study and both crises continue till date.

2.1.2   Boko Haram Terrorism in Northern Cameroon

Terrorism is one of the most dreadful security challenges that have bedevilled Africa over decades with several terrorist networks across the continent such as Al-Shabab in Somalia and Kenya, ISIS in Libya, AL-Mourabitoun in Mali and Boko Haram in West Africa. The insurgency caused by these organisations has wreak havoc and untold suffering to people in these regions and remains one of the main causes of political instability at the national and regional level in Africa. In West Africa, Boko Haram is the deadliest and the largest terrorist network, with it headquarter in North-East Nigeria. The group has succeeded in extending its terrorists activities to neighbouring countries including Chad, Niger and Cameroon in a bid to overthrow all the secular governments in these regions so as to establish an Islamic state in west Africa under its incumbent leader Aboubakar Shekau.

Boko Haram was established in 2001 by Mohammed Yousoufa, an Islamic scholar and leader under the name "JamatulAhlis Sunna Lidda'Awati Wal-Jihad", this movement aimed at propagating and protecting Islamic laws and values in Muslim dominated regions of Nigeria. However, this movement slowly metamorphosed into Boko Haram which is today among the most cruel and barbaric terrorist organisations in West Africa (Pichette, 2015:2). Etymologically, Boko Haram comes from two words, "Boko" meaning western education in Hausa, and "Haram" meaning impermissible in Arabic, thus, Boko Haram means western education is impermissible. The central idea of this organisation is rejection of western education and all secular institutions such as the state in favour of Islamic institutions and status quo. Rejecting secular ideas and institutions was preached by some scholars in Northern Nigeria and this provided an environment willing to listen to the ideas of people like Muhammed Yousoufa (Cambell, 2014:2). Muhammed Yousoufa and his followers started demanding for Sharia Law to be established in Maiduguri state and other Muslim dominated state in Northern Nigeria. The government of Nigeria refused to succumb to the demands of the organisation and instead crackdown on the organisation which led to death of many of its prominent

members including their erstwhile leader Muhammad Yousoupha and several members of his family. This worsened the situation as their new leader Aboubakar Sheakau embarked on targeting government institutions through suicide missions and other vicious means which escalated the crisis in the region. Since 2012 the group has adopted a militant approach which led to hundreds of deaths as a result of the combat between the terrorists and government forces. In 2014 alone, it is estimated that around 600 thousand people died because of the fight between the government forces and the terrorists (Pichette, 2015:2). After series of fighting between the two camps, Boko Haram eventually conquered several places in Northern Nigeria and controlled over a million people in three different states in Northern Nigeria which led to the birth of an Islamic Caliphate in August 2014 (Fonkeng, 2019:6). This facilitated them to extend their insurgency to Northern region of Cameroon which shares a boundary with Maiduguri, a border city and Boko Haram's hotspot in Nigeria.

As Boko Haram gained power and position in Nigeria, they decided to extend their activities to neighbouring countries including Chad, Niger and Cameroon. This move aimed at boosting morale of their fighters and to help them realize their pseudo dream of creating an Islamic Caliphate in West Africa. The first incursion of Boko Haram into Cameroon territory is in 2012, this led a counter offensive by Cameroon Armed Forces which resulted to a serious war in the region (Kouma, 2017:727). Since then, the activities of Boko Haram in Northern Cameroon have increased leading to constant attacks on innocent civilians. The government of Cameroon with assistance from international community are seriously engaged in a relentless war to eradicate Boko Haram in Cameroon and even though the government has recorded some degree of success, the war is far from over as Boko Haram is still causing havoc in Cameroon. Boko Haram easily spread to Northern Cameroon due to high illiteracy rate in the region (literacy rate in Cameroon is 74 per cent but in this region, it stands at 40 per cent), and also due to poverty among other reasons (Vincent et al, 2017:12). According to Cameroon government assessment, more than one thousand civilians were killed between 2013 and 2017 because of Boko Haram attacks in Northern Cameroon (Kouma, 2017:728). In addition to the casualties, the region hosted around 190 thousand IDPs, 23 thousand refugees and 35 thousand Cameroonians returning from Nigeria which create a mammoth humanitarian crisis

in the region (Rackley, 2017:3). This crisis has caused displacement of many civilians living in the region thereby triggering internal and international migration of Cameroonians who abdicated from Boko Haram's insurgency in the region. This terrorist insurgency however, is not the only political problem that has been rocking the country in recent history, the Anglophone crisis is another political dilemma that has cause political instability in Cameroon.

2.1.3   Anglophone Crisis in Northwest and Southwest Regions of Cameroon

The Anglophone crisis which started in the late 2016 following the strikes of lawyers and teachers from the two English speaking regions of Cameroon, who complained of marginalisation and discrimination among other issues from the majority Francophone government sparked a series of events which culminated in a full-scale war in these regions. Cameroon is made up of ten regions among which two of them practice the Anglo-Saxon system while the remaining eight regions practice the Francophone system due to colonial history of Cameroon as already observed in chapter one. The English part of the country has been complaining of marginalisation as far back as the 1960s, citing marginalisation and assimilation of Southern Cameroonians. The Anglophone problem was therefore, concerned with resistance to protect the identity of the Anglophone Cameroonians in a country dominated by the French system (Mbuy, 2018:39). The Anglo-Saxon system of education, common law system and the Anglophone way of doing things, were among some of the issues Anglophone Cameroonians considered their identity.

After decades of struggles by activists to echo the Anglophone problem to the state, some activists of the Anglophone problem founded Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) in 1995 and joined Unrepresented People Organisation (UNPO), in order to push the Anglophone problem to international level, and to ignite demand for secession of southern Cameroon (Lohkoko as cited by Ekah, 2019:144). However, some Anglophone elites notably members of Cameroon People Democratic Party (CPDM) and traditional rulers castigated the Anglophone activists

for agitating for independence of Anglophone Cameroon, the elites reiterated unity of Cameroon and called on the president to protect and project the unity of Cameroon (Konnings and Nyamnjoh, 1997:226). The Anglophone problem escalated to a crisis in 2016 when lawyers and teachers from the two English speaking regions protested against the government. This move handicapped education and courts in the entire region as the ring leaders of the protest call for schools and courts to be boycotted in the region until the government attended to their grievances. Consequently, this ushered in a sporadic unrest across the regions due to constant conflict between the government and the protesters. The situation was aggravated when the population mainly the youths joined the teachers and lawyers to protest, this led to a gory conflict in the region. The presence of natural resources, geography, demography and location played a vital role in triggering the demand for independence by the secessionist who considered the geopolitics of the region (Ekah, 2019:143).By the end of 2017, the military was involved in a full-scale war with secessionists who had declared independence of the Southern Cameroon known by many as "Ambazonia" in Mamfe and other parts of the regions (Mbuy, 2018:15). As the government deployed more troops to crackdown the secessionists, the fighting soon disseminated to interior of the regions where the fighters had set camps and barracks to resist the military, this plunged the regions to a warzone which unleashed untold suffering and deaths of many civilians who were caught in the crossfire. This culminated to a forceful displacement of many civilians to neighbouring Nigeria and/or other parts the country which is not affected by the war; by 2019 over 160 thousand people were internally displaced as a result of the conflict in the Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon (Fonkeng, 2019:16). The war against Boko Haram in Northern Cameroon and the Anglophone crisis in the English-speaking regions in Cameroon have contributed tremendously to force migration in these regions with over 180 thousand internally displace persons. The crises in these regions are still on-going and are of the main drives of internal and international migration in Cameroon; this is because many people try to move out of these areas in order to seek for peace and security in other parts of the country or in a different country. As already noted, political instability is not the only cause of emigration from Cameroon, economic problems play a pivotal role as well.

2.2 ECONOMIC INSTABILITY IN CAMEROON

Africa as a whole and Cameroon in particular are among the most backward region in the world in terms of economic development and this has an instant effect on migration in this region. Many migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa are economic migrants due to dire economic situation in Africa that has triggered Migration from the area. In this section, I will unravel how general economic upheavals contributes to emigration from Cameroon, and how unemployment particularly triggers unemployment.

When African countries finally acquired independence from European colonizers, African head of states were tasked to provide economic stability and uplift the continent from economic huddles that European imperialism unleashed on the continent. However, this was not the case as few decades after independence the economic quagmire in most African countries worsened due to several reasons including cavalier management, corruption, political instability and foreign interventions.

Cameroon on its path has a relative strong economy compared to other developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa before 1986 economic crisis (Hodgkinson as cited by Nkonghoh, 2014:21). This was due to diverse economic nature of Cameroon, a country endowed with economic resources such as cocoa, tea, petrol, minerals and many others. Nonetheless, after the economic crisis of 1986, Cameroon's economy was brought to its knee and this influenced international migration in Cameroon. Following the economic crisis, Bretton Woods institutions (World Bank and IMF) coaxed and compelled Cameroon to adopt privatisation as a panacea to curb the economic predicament, however this was just another ploy use by imperialist powers to have economic control over Africa through wanton and perpetual exploitation, as the IMF and World Bank were in charge of the privatisation process, most of the MNCs that took over the privatised companies were from the western world (Nkongho, 2014:78).

Another economic tragedy that hampered economic activities in Cameroon is 2008 economic crisis that started at Wall Street in USA. This crisis had a devastating economic effect on developing countries including Cameroon; this has a direct

impact on banking system in Cameroon which was exposed to international markets and on export sector in Cameroon which led to a decline in prices of exports products such as oil, cocoa, rubber and aluminium (IMF Country Report No. 09/318, 2009:12). This led to reduction in output and purchasing power of individuals whereby an average worker finds it difficult to pay for basic necessities with minimum wage rate. The crisis generally leads to a reduction in the country's growth rate which had a negative effect on employment, public spending, and poverty. More so, the crisis internally reduces activities of some particular sectors such as oil, aluminium, forest and rubber which had a negative effect on the population (Nkama, 2009:20). This led to poverty and economic hardship in Cameroon thereby igniting youths who couldn't find opportunities to resort to emigration from the country for betterment of their lives and that of their kin and kith.

Summarily, the economic dimension of Cameroon has been characterised by high and lows from an economic prism, there has been some era of successes and failures. The failures are caused by internal factors such as mismanagement, corruption and political faux pas and to a greater extend by external factors. The external factors include calamitous colonial experience which saw economic exploitation of the country orchestrated by European colonial powers and modern exploitation of natural resources generally by western countries under the umbrella of IMF and World Bank (Markham et al, 2015:61). Continuous economic exploitation of Cameroon was facilitated by MNCs following privatisation that was imposed on Cameroon and other developing countries by IMF and World Bank, this allowed imperialist power to control the economy via these MNCs wherein key economic decisions were made in favour of the West rather than the people (Nkongho, 2014:217). This in other word meant that even the government has limited power in terms of decision making because most of the MNCs are owned by foreigners. This indicate why in 2003 a former finance Minister in Cameroon told parliament that it was not possible to increase wage rate of civil servants because it was against policies and directives of IMF and World Bank (Nkongho, 2014:221). This economic predicament unleashed by imperialism in Cameroon is a microcosm of economic reality in most Sub-Saharan Africa whereby economic relations between Africa and global north is imbalanced and one-sided. Such environment produces an avenue for continuous economic and political exploitation of Africa akin

to the pathetic experience during slave trade and colonialism but in a different and subtle manner generally known as neo-colonialism

Economic instability generally ushers in poverty, unemployment, general political instability and consequently emigration. When people especially youths are unable to meet their economic and social wants due to economic upheavals, they migrate from one place to another in order to improve their living standards thus economic instability in Cameroon is one of the most prominent and imminent causes of both internal and international migration. Among the economic factors that triggers emigration in Cameroon, youth unemployment plays a vital role as shall be espouse in subsequent paragraphs.

2.3 UNEMPLOYMENT IN CAMEROON

Unemployment is a global phenomenon that even the most advanced countries in the world cannot boast of completely eradicating it. Every country struggle with this nightmare but it is countries from undeveloped world that are most likely affected by unemployment which is rampant and perpetual in these regions. In Cameroon and Africa as a whole, youth unemployment is on a spike and despite the mechanisms put in place by states and NGOs alike to remedy the situation since independence, unemployment is still common especially among youths in urban areas as panacea to curb the problem seem farfetched and illusive.

In simple terms, unemployment can be comprehended as a situation in which those who are able and willing to work do not have jobs at a current wage, this is a case where the unemployment is "involuntarily" because the individual is willing and able to work but cannot find a job (Nyugab, 2011:330). This type of unemployment is common in developing countries where graduate and other individuals especially youths from different strata of society who possess the necessary skills and are willing and able to work but do not have jobs. According to International Labour Organisation (ILO), unemployment can be defined as *"The proportion of the labour force that has not worked more than one hour during the*

short reference period and is actively looking for and is available for work",
(Nkwelle,2020:3).

There are different types of unemployment and some of the popular types common in economic lexicon include the following:

- **Frictional Unemployment**: this type of unemployment occurs in a situation where there is immobility of labor and job seekers are not aware of employment available in other parts of a region or country. This type of unemployment is common in areas where communication and accessibility to information is rare and inadequate, it is often cause by lack of mobility of labor and ignorance of available opportunities.

- **Seasonal Unemployment**: this occurs when labor is temporarily unemployed due to changes in season that affects the activities of laborer; there are certain activities and jobs that cannot occur in every season due to weather condition ipso facto workers in such domain remain temporarily out of work until the said season is over. This type of unemployment is very common in Cameroon's rural areas where most settlers who are farmers cannot cultivate certain crops during dry season due to changes in weather condition.

- **Structural Unemployment**: this is primarily caused by changes in demand for particular commodity which often corroborates with changes in taste and fashion and/or proliferation for substitute goods. For instance, development of computers has directly handicap demand for type writers; thus, causing redundancy in the latter's company thereby creating structural unemployment (Nyugab, 2011:331).

- **Disguised Unemployment**: this occurs when additional workers are employed in a particular sector but it doesn't lead to commensurate increase in total product. In other words, it is a situation where a company employs more than what is required thus, the physical marginal product of a worker is zero and this often in a situation where someone is employed to work in a sector which he was not trained for, for example, a history teacher to be employed to teach mathematics at a school.

- **Residual Unemployment**: this refers to a situation where an individual cannot be employed due to physical and mental disability. This type of unemployment was common in the past however, nowadays there are many

programs and policies from States, NGOs and IGOs aim at redressing the situation of disable in a society by providing them with jobs opportunities and special competition in order to integrate them into the society and to reduce the cleavages between disable and able people.

- **International Unemployment**: this type of unemployment occurs in a situation where the demand for exports drops at the level of international market. This type of unemployment is common in Cameroon where the economy depends hugely on cash crop production for exports, some of the main exports which include primary product such as coffee, cocoa, banana; tea and petroleum are often subjected to price fluctuation due to constant change in demand and supply at the international level (Jonathan,2012:520).

This type of unemployment is visible in Sub-Saharan Africa due to neo-colonialism, wherein the bulk of economy is still under invincible auspices of former colonial powers who are more interested in making profits than improving living conditions of the people. Thus, exploiting resources and selling it at the international market as already observed. Besides, international unemployment is among one of the most common form of unemployment in Sub-Saharan Africa because the economy in this region mainly depends on agriculture which is the backbone of most economies in these regions. Consequently, agricultural products which are meant for international consumption are often at risks of facing price fluctuation due to internationalisation of world market system and spread of capitalisation to nooks and crannies of the world. This instantly translates to low income in the agricultural sector which leads to redundancy, wage slashes and unemployment.

In Cameroon, unemployment among youths has been skyrocketing from the late 1980s following an economic crisis that hit the country in 1986. The state took measures such as slashing wages of civil servants and devaluating the currency (CFA Franc) in order to combat the economic brouhaha, but this couldn't curb the crisis and unemployment persisted especially among graduates. Unemployment is basically caused by two main factors: structural factors and individual factors. The structural factors relate to all the avenues put in place by state which can affect unemployment such as educational system while individual factors dwell on inability of the individual such as lack of skills and education. Youth unemployment in

Cameroon is mostly concentrated on urban areas than in rural areas and causes of unemployment are mainly attributed to structural factors rather than individual factors (Ekane, 2010:60-70). This implies that in order to minimise unemployment in Cameroon the government has to do more in terms of revitalising the educational system and providing avenues for youths to showcase their skills and talent and to augment favourable economic atmosphere to boost the economy.

Figure 2. 5 Youth Unemployment in Cameroon from 1990-2020
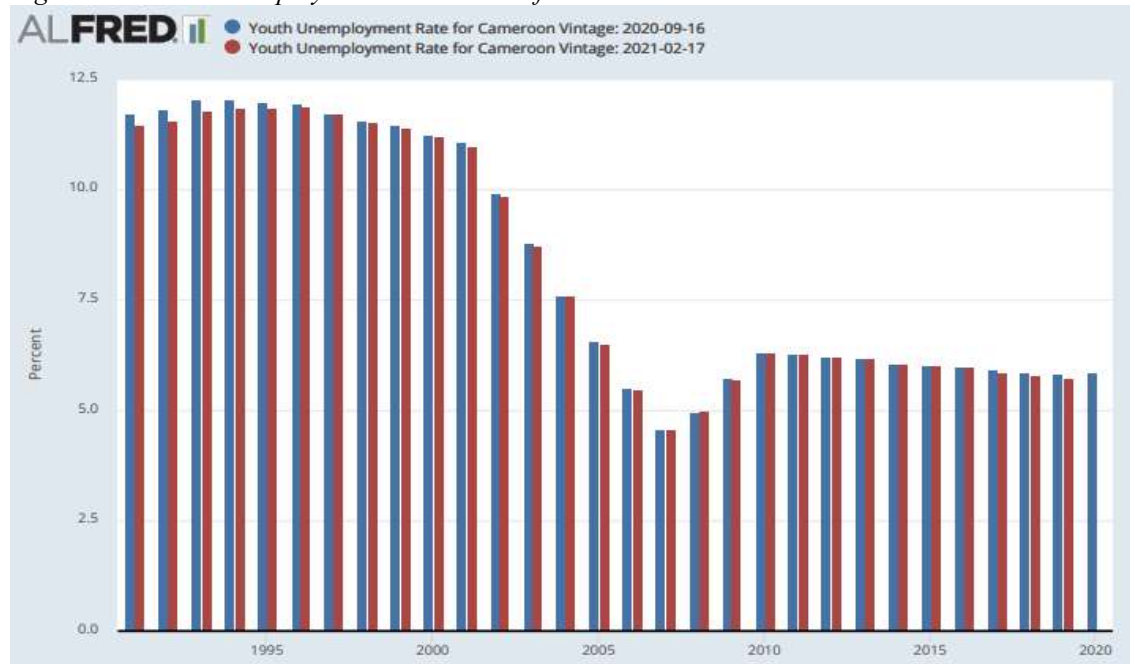
Souce: World Bank report 2020available at https://www.alfred.stlouisfed.org access on 20/02/2020.

As seen above, youth unemployment in Cameroon has been in constant fluctuation, even though unemployment has drastically dropped from 2000-2005, the period from 2005-2010 shows that unemployment was increasing. This shows how recurrent and consistent unemployment in Cameroon like in many other developing countries. Youth unemployment phenomenon in Cameroon is akin to that in Africa because the population is mainly made-up youths, In Cameroon like in many other African countries, over 70 per cent of the population is below 30 (Nkwelle, 2020:1), this explains why youth unemployment in this region is higher than other parts of the world which consequently leads to emigration from Cameroon in particular, and Africa in general.

Migration and economic growth generally have an impact on unemployment (Yocesan and Ozekicioglu, 2019:101), and this effect varies in region of origin and region of destination. Migration normally has a negative effect on unemployment in region of destination because immigrants will have jobs meant for residents; on the contrary, migration has a positive effect on unemployment in region of origin ceteris paribus. Consequently, Cameroonian youths who are unable to find lucrative jobs seek for ways to emigrate so as to cater for themselves and their family thus as long as unemployment remains a social and economic order in Cameroon, emigration from Cameroon will persist. Thus, economic problems as well as political problems drive people to emigrate from Cameroon to other parts of the world for a better economic and political conditions.

2.4 MAIN RISKS FACED BY MIGRANTS

International migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to the rest of the world normally involved risks and challenges irrespective of whether it is illegal or legal migration. In the case of clandestine migration from Africa, the risks are many and could last for several months. This section will explore some major risks faced by African migrants in the migration process from region of origin to region of destination.

2.4.1 Possibility of Death

Regular and irregular migration from region of origin to region of destination involves ups and downs due to complicated process involved including financial expenses. Irregular migration in Sub-Saharan Africa usually takes place with help from smugglers who act as middlemen between country of origin and country of destination. In the case if irregular migration in Sub-Saharan Africa most migrants follow through Sahara Desert to Libya, then through the Mediterranean Sea where migrants from Middle east and Africa meet to travel to Europe which is most preferred destination of many migrants. Some of the migrants end up dying in the process especially in deserts and in sea, these deaths are caused by general

maltreatment of migrants and carelessness orchestrated by smugglers (IOM report, 2014:111). In some instances, cases of sexual assault and general violence among migrants are reported. From sea shores, the migrants are packed like sardine in a boat by smugglers which can lead to a capsize of boats and death of migrants.

Figure 2. 6 Migrants rescued by a Belgian ship in Mediterranean Sea

Source: UN News 2020 available at https://news.un.org/en/story/ 05-03-2020

Figure 2. 7 A Private Boat rescuing migrant at sea

Source: BBC News 2020, at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-44458441 access on 08-03-2021.

Figure2.2 and figure 2.3 show the deplorable and inhumane conditions under which migrants are transported through Mediterranean Sea and the risks involve in migrants' adventure to Europe, wherein most cases they end up in refugee camps

especially in the case of unskilled and uneducated migrants. Death of migrants at sea has been consistently high in the past few years mainly due to increase in number of migrants as indicated by UNHCR as portrayed below.

Table 2. 2 Migrant arrival and deaths in Mediterranean Sea

YEARS	ARRIVALS	DEAD AND MISSING
2020	95,031	1,277
2019	123,663	1,336
2018	141,742	2,270
2017	185,139	3,137
2016	373, 652	5,096
2015	1,032,408	3,771
2014	225,455	5,538

UNHCR report 2020 at https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean/location access on 05-03-2021.

Table 2. 2shows that many of the migrants used the Mediterranean route to travel to Europe, however, many of them lost their lives at sea before arriving their final destination. The general death toll of migrants from 2014-2020 is over 20 thousand deaths, and in 2016 alone more than five thousand migrants lost their lives at sea making it the most disastrous year.

Most of these migrants that made it through Mediterranean Sea followed through Libya which is a hotspot transit for migrants since the demise of Muammar Qaddafi, an incident that led to civil strife and political instability in the country. Another reason that account for flow of migrants in this region is economic stamina of Libya during the Qaddafi regime and foreign policy adopted by his administration. Following sanctions by the UN on Libya and discontentment he had for fellow Arab countries, Qaddafi adopted a pan African approach that clamoured for unity of all Africa, these policies made Libya to open its borders to Africans which logically led to unprecedented flow of African migrants to Libya (Hein de Haas, 2008:4).

Moreover, during this period Libya was economically viable and market was booming which attracted migrants from different countries to work and live in Libya; more than 2.5 million migrants were working in Libya before the downfall of Qaddafi (IOM report, 2014:112). Some of these stranded migrants were compelled to smuggled through Mediterranean to Europe thereby increasing number of migrants in this volatile region. Surprisingly, in spite of all hurdles involved in irregular migration including death, the number of people willing to leave Africa has increased tremendously year by year due to political and economic unrest in country of origin, which further complicates migration phenomenon in the region.

2.4.2 Enslavement of Migrants in Libya

Slavery and slave trade which once occupied a big role in the annals of history is no longer legally accepted in our contemporary society thus for many it is a thing of the past. However, the world was taken aback when in November 2017 CNN international investigations unearth footage and proof of enslavement and slave trade of mostly Sub-Saharan Africans in Libya orchestrated by smugglers (Mafu, 2019:1). This cruel and barbaric act was facilitated by lack of a strong central government in Libya and proliferation of different armed militias who were fighting for personal aggrandizement and never had interest of masses at heart. In a similar manner, reports from Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), revealed that black men and women from Sub-Saharan Africa were sold as slaves in Libyan slave markets, the report also reiterated that the trade was based on racial discrimination against black people (CERD report, 2017). Associated with the enslavement of migrants was general torture including sexual harassment, kidnap, arbitrary arrest and detention of migrants and asylum seekers alike. This was one of the most horrific and inhumane practice that unshackle once more the plight and suffering of innocent Africans who were merely escaping from internal challenges from their respective countries for a better and blissful life abroad.

What further complicated the slave trade was the racial factor included, racism against black race is common in the world, but selling blacks as slaves that reminded people of Atlantic slave trade brought international condemnation and

attention. In a study carried out by Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM) indicated that, over 74 per cent of migrants had witness death or torture of companion, over 70 per cent had been tied up and over 80 per cent were denied water and food, and had experience inhumane and barbaric treatment (OXFAM media briefing, August 2017). In order to curb this tragedy, African leaders must take responsibility to provide economic opportunity and political stability in their respective countries to minimise youth emigration (Mafu, 2019:9). In 2016 alone, IOM estimated that around 170 thousand migrants crossed via Niger in a perilous adventure northward seeking to enter Europe (Tinti and Westcott, 2016:2). Mass exodus of Africans from their countries is a sheer indication of socio-economic and political turmoil in Africa accentuated by poor leadership and imperialist interventions. Economic turmoil in Sub-Saharan Africa was further fuelled by global economic crisis and implementation of Structural Adjustment Programme imposed on Africa by international financial institutions, this impoverished the people and exponentially increased migration flows southward to Maghreb region through Sahel and Sahara Desert from Sub-Saharan Africa (Kassar and Dourgnon, 2014:12). This increased the number of migrants in the region and provided a lucrative opportunity for smugglers who capitalised on the hopes of migrants to start a trafficking cartel for migrants that consequently culminated in modern slave trade in Libya wherein black migrants were put for auction and sold like commodities in a market.

The upshot of re-emergence of slave trade in Libya portrayed that much is needed to be done in terms of fighting against racism, equality, and human rights. To an extent, it also showed how adamant and dormant intergovernmental organisations such as the EU and AU can be in terms of addressing humanitarian crisis in Africa. In the first place, the crisis was caused by western countries especially NATO members who went against the demand of UN General Assembly and invaded Libya. They invaded Libya and overthrew Qaddafi without appropriate plan for future of the country despite opposition from AU, this plunged Libya into a civil strife that provided an avenue for enslavement of Africans in Libya. As for African leaders and stakeholders, one of the mechanisms to reduce migration flows out the continent is by providing socio-economic and political stability; this will provide a congenial environment that will allow youth to succeed in their various domains.

2.4.3   Lack of Protection

Refugees, IDPs and migrants alike are most often than not face with issues of lack of adequate protection from states, NGOs and IGOs which put them in a precarious and vulnerable situation. In the case of African migrants in Libya, even prior to the Arab Spring administrative officials especially security officers in most cases allegedly discriminate against black Africans (Hamood, 2006:41). This was usually more visible in a case where a foreigner and a citizen had misunderstanding, where the authorities would support the citizens irrespective of who is wrong and migrants without papers are more likely to suffer more than a legal migrant.

The process of emigration to Europe from Sub-Saharan Africa entails lots of risks from country of origin to country of destination, in most cases the migrants are left void of protection and are left at mercy of smugglers and travel agencies. According to Amnesty International, migrants in Libya were subject to torture including rape and detention on daily basis and the EU instead of intervening to eradicate the situation was training Libyan coast guard to catch and deport migrants back to their country.[1] This unearth how docile the EU was in terms of redressing the predicament of migrants who were left to toil, the situation has not change much and migrants wherever they are face challenges especially undocumented migrants. In the case of those traveling via desert, horrible and obnoxious tales had been narrated by migrants about their experiences. The migrants in most cases used pick-up trucks wherein more than 30 people in a same truck were squeezed in an inhumane and unhealthy condition for a journey that last for hours, in some extreme cases, vulnerable migrants fall from the truck and die but no one takes responsibility during or after the journey (Hamood, 2006:46). All this vindicate to the fact that migrants are helpless and lacks protection in most part of their adventure from region of origin to region of destination most particularly in the case of clandestine migration.

In short, the plight of migrants particularly in Libya is a sheer indication of lack of leadership at level of AU and power deficiency of African leaders (Mafu,

---

[1] http://www.amnesty.org/ access on 01-03-2021

2019:1). African leaders as well as AU who in most cases are at receiving end, that is they are told on what to do in terms of decision making at the international level due to imperial nature of international politics and economic position of Africa in global affairs. It is because of this that most of the aids and limited protection provided to migrants comes from the UN and EU in association with AU, which in most cases is dictated on policies to adopt and implement. From a pragmatic prism, it will be very important to acknowledge the effort put in place to protect migrants around the world by NGOs, IGOs and state alike, nonetheless, majority of undocumented African migrants are void of protection in many places around the world. Even legal migrants have been discriminated against in some cases for cultural, religious, racial, or political reason, thus, migrants in general lack adequate and meaningful protection in reality despite the fact that the protection of migrants is enshrined in international law.

2.4.4 General Torture

Astonishing figures of African migrants living out of their country face abuse. This is more common with undocumented migrants especially those using the Libya route and the Africans working as domestic servants precisely in Middle East countries. This ordeal is not however related only to African migrants alone as many migrants generally from the Third World suffer similar ordeal. According to International Trade Union confederation (ITUC), migrants and refugees in Libya are subjected to smuggling and trafficking by well organised and rich international trafficking cartels, these cartels sponsored armed conflict that fuelled conflict in the region in order to continue with their illicit slave trade. These migrants who are mostly from Africa and are smuggled and sold to Middles East and other parts of the world under barbaric conditions by slave traders who subjugated them to torture.[2] Similarly, Barbieri pointed out that, 90 per cent of migrants arriving in Italy from Sub- Saharan Africa are victims of torture and ill treatment either in their country of origin or during migration (UN Human Rights report, 2017:5). Migrants from a generic perspective are people abdicating from a difficult situation be it for a political, social, psychological, and economic problems to seek solace in another

---

[2]www.ituc-csi.org/libya access on 01-03-2021

area, it is rather unfortunate that in some cases they (migrants) moved from one sort of torture to another which in most cases is the reality.

Generally, migrants from Africa are most likely to encounter torture in three different phases: from country of origin which in some cases prompted them to migrate, in migration route and finally in country of destination. Mistreatment and torture of Africans reached its apex in Libya when slave trade and enslavement of Africans was reintroduced by human traffickers, these aggravated tribulations of Africa couples with other inconveniences and torture they encountered from security officers in Libya. In an effort to escape from security officers, undocumented migrants in some cases are transported inside an empty oil tanker by smugglers from one place to another, as if not enough the migrants are taken to ghettos where they live temporally (Kazeem 2018 as cited in Idemudia and Boehnke, 2020:125). These ghettos are similar to dungeon where migrants were dumped with little or no sanitary and health services, to make the situation impasse, smugglers extort high amount of money from migrants for rendering such a meagre service. Services provided by smugglers are generally not good which led to major and minor setbacks.

In case of journey through sea, smugglers usually piled a huge number of migrants in same boat which at times lead to a catastrophic end. According to The Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime (GITOC) reports, in 2013, a boat belonging to migrants capsized along Italian coast leading to the death of over 300 migrants and many among them were from Africa (GITOC reports, 2014:8). Migrants leave their respective countries abdicating for a better condition in region of destination considered as Eldorado; unfortunately, this is not the case in many situations as some migrants end up in worst conditions.

Figure 2. 8 Main migration routes in Sub-Saharan Africa
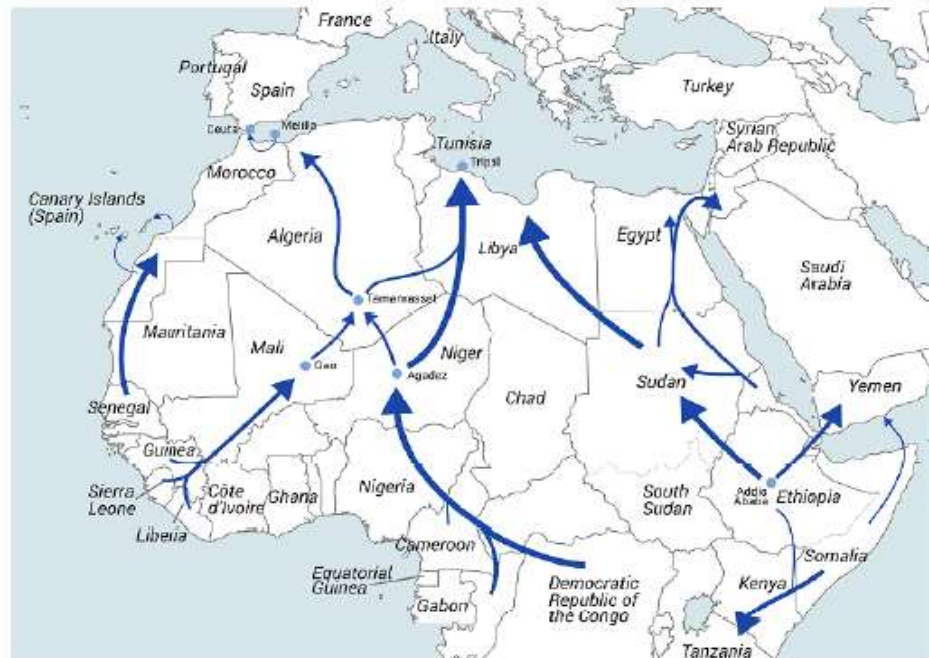
Source: Adapted from UNODC, the Globalisation of Crime: A Transnational Organized Crime Threat Assessment, 2010 as cited by IOM Reports, 2010:110.

This predicament underscore horrible experiences and challenges migrants face in migration process from region of origin to region of destination and maltreatment of migrants are often inflicted on them my smugglers, corrupt officials or by their travelling mates. These challenges are not only limited to undocumented migrants alone, even documented migrants face similar challenges, but as already mentioned the case of irregular migrants is more visible and alarming especially those migrating via the Libya route. Summarily, migration as a whole is a process that is not smooth, easy and void of challenges. However, the challenges discussed above are only a few of the main challenges face contemporarily.

2.5 INTERVIEW NARRATIVES

As already mentioned, interviews are one of the main tools used in this study. The interviews were conducted with six Cameroonians migrants who had traveled before and are now back in Cameroon after being repatriated. Repatriated migrants

were chosen as target because they have full experience of migration from country of origin to country of destination, thus they have a complete exposure to migration phenomenon, and this will help to provide answers to the research questions. More so, there are a lot of repatriated Cameroonian immigrants from different countries and destinations, targeting them thus, was aimed at getting different narratives from different perspectives which will help in replicating international migration in Cameroon.

The interview was conducted using a WhatsApp video call since the researcher could not travel to the field due to Covid-19 pandemic. Video call was chosen because it would give the researcher an insight to some facial expression. Six different migrants were chosen, including three females and three males in order to provide balanced perspectives from a gender point of view. The interviewees were skeptical to share their contact, so they decided to conduct the interview through the phone of their coordinator. The interview was aimed at answering the study's research questions, the following questions were asked to each respondent:

1. Why did you choose to leave Cameroon?
2. Did you have a job before leaving Cameroon?
3. What were the challenges that you faced during the migration process?
4. What were the Challenges you faced in country of destination?
5. Why were you repatriated?

Apart from the above questions, some information such as interviewee's age, gender, name and level of education were enquired and collected before asking the research questions. Follow up questions were also asked in some cases to complement some responds or to lure the respondent to provide detailed answers. However, the names of the respondents will be omitted from the study in order not to disclose personal identity of individuals. Again, I chose not to disclose their names because local names in Cameroon have meaning, hence, it provides information that would identify a respondent's region and tribe from his/her name. I will therefore assign imaginary names on my respondents based on their emigration destinations. Basically, my six respondents came back from three different destinations, which are America, Middle East and Europe. I will refer to those repatriated from Europe as

A1 and A2, those from US as B1 and B2, and finally those from the Middle East as C1 and C2. Thus, my six respondents will henceforth be referred to as A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2. In order to provide a comprehensive and holistic analysis of the interview, I will first summarize individual stories as narrated by the interviewees, and then I will analyze and comment on the general interview based on the purpose of this chapter.

A1, 33 Years

A1 narrated that he is a university graduate and after he graduated from the University of Buea he could not find a job that suited his educational level. He decided to run a small business and when he had enough saving; he decided that he would travel to Europe for greener pastures because there are more opportunities in Europe compared to Cameroon especially for an educated person like him.

He further pointed out that he knew it would be difficult to obtain visa and other documents that were needed to travel legally, so he decided to contact smugglers who promised him that they would take him to Libya via Sahara Desert and from there, they will travel via Mediterranean to Europe. He said he left Cameroon in 2014 through the desert in a truck filled with other migrants heading to the same direction, he stressed that the journey was horrible and that during the process some migrants die of dehydration and were instantly abandoned. Upon arriving in Libya, he said they were captured by armed militia for reasons he did not know, the armed group tortured them for several days, and some women were abused in the course.

After spending weeks in the hands of the militia they were finally released for reasons, he claimed he did not know simply because the communication was mainly done in Arabic which he could not understand. Some of them that had money contacted another smuggler in charge of boarding a boat that will take them to Europe via Mediterranean. He reported that they spent several nights in a small boat trying to get to Europe and more than two people drowned. Finally, they arrived southern part of Spain and were immediately arrested and taken to a refugee camp where they were expected to appear before Immigration court to plead their case.

According to him the camps were not comfortable enough because of the food provided and overcrowding. He succeeded in getting a lawyer who pleaded for him to be granted asylum because he was persecuted in his country. When his lawyer was unable to proof his argument, A1 was repatriated to Cameroon, where he now lives and always regrets spending all his money on such abortive and painful adventure.

A2, 28 Years Old

Interviewee A2 had similar story to that of A1 in that they both followed same route intending to reach Europe through Sahara Desert. A2 is a teacher by profession and is a holder of grade one certificate, a professional course to be qualified as a primary school teacher in Cameroon and she was teaching at a private primary school before leaving Cameroon for Europe in 2015.

She narrated that her teaching job at a primary school job wasn't giving her the desired money she needed to meet with her expected living standard. To her, she was managing the job because she was not yet integrated into public sector, thus it was just a temporal job. She said she wanted to travel in order to get a better job because the teaching job she was doing at the private primary school was not given her enough money. She thus, contacted some smugglers who promised to take her to Libya; she abandoned her job, took her savings, and headed towards Libya with hosts of Cameroonian migrants in 2015. She explained that during the journey they were joined by migrants from different countries. When asked how they did cross international border from one country to another, she recounted that the smugglers in most cases bribed security guard to cross from one country to another. She narrated a case of death in desert during the voyage and reported sexual assault toward her during the voyage from travelling mates and smugglers who were bossy in most part of the journey, but she didn't explain the extent of the assault for personal reason. When they finally reached to Libya, she said they went to a refugee camp and spent some time under protection from international NGOS, before they contacted other smugglers who took them to Mediterranean shore.

She narrated that they were tax high by smugglers in order to get a boat that will take them to Europe. According to her, the boat was small and over congested

but they managed it because that was the only available choice. They travelled for several days wherein many people died at sea before finally getting to Italy where they were arrested and taken to a camp. She spent years moving from one refugee camp to another until she was finally repatriated to Cameroon in 2019.

B1,29 Years Old

B1 like most of Cameroonian migrants is a graduate from University of Buea, before migrating he said he was a taxi driver in city the of Buea. However, what he was earning was not enough for him to carter for his family so he decided that he will move to America to make life better for him and his family members. In 2017 he traveled to Mexico with a tourist visa but narrated that his destination was USA. They contacted some smugglers who took them to Mexican border with USA where he met many migrants heading for the same destination.

He reported that their plan was to enter USA through a forest, so they entered the forest with hosts of other migrants and headed towards USA. He insisted that the journey in the forest was horrible, and many people died from diseases while others were shot dead by American guards. He reiterated the horror experienced in the forest where he said they spent around seven months before getting to America because in some cases they got lost in the forest and did not know which direction to take. When they finally reached America, they were taken to a camp and from there he contacted a lawyer and sought asylum. He claimed he thought he will be granted asylum because he was coming from one of the Anglophone regions, a crisis wrecked region, so he cited the crisis to get asylum but unfortunately it was rejected. He and a host of Cameroonians where immediately repatriated while some of his traveling companions from Cameroon were repatriated, while other fortunate Cameroonians were granted asylum.

B2,39 Years Old

Interviewee B2 had similar migration destination to B1, B2 was a professional mechanic and that was his profession since he dropout from secondary school. Unlike most international migrants in Cameroon, B2 is not a university

graduate and ended his education at level of secondary school; He said he was a secondary school dropout. He claimed he was motivated to migrate by some of his friends who echoed to him that as a professional mechanic his services will be highly needed in America with higher wages, more than what he was earning in Cameroon. He claimed he had his own personal workshop and some workers who were under him before he decided to abandon it and embark on a perilous adventure.

He narrated that he contacted some smugglers in Mexico before leaving Cameroon, they negotiated on cost of transportation, and they promised him they would take him to US border whenever he was ready. He claimed he was motivated to choose the Mexico way to US because he knew someone who succeeded through that path and is now in the US. B2 said he and some other Cameroonians applied for a tourist visa to Mexico, and when it was out, they left for Mexico in 2016 with host of many migrants. When they reached Mexico, the smugglers took them to border with America. From there, he recounted that they continued their journey through forest with his compatriots, he describes how horrible and unbearable the journey was, which led to death of some of his friends. Some were sick and abandoned because they could not continue. When they reached US border, they were arrested and taken to a refugee camp. He consulted a lawyer and who sought asylums for all of them coming from Cameroon, they spent more than a year following the case until 2020 when the court rule out against their demands. They were coerced to sign repatriation papers against their will. He said some of his travelling companions were granted asylum, but unfortunately for him, he did not succeed and as a result he was repatriated in 2020.

C1, 28 Years Old

C1 who is a university graduate, she pointed out that she never thought of travelling until 2016 when the Anglophone crisis started and made things difficult for her and her family. After her graduation from university, she recounted that she couldn't get a job, so she decided to be a farmer which is one of the most common economic activity in Cameroon. According to her one agency was doing an advert for jobs in Middle East, she took her savings and contacted the agency because she wanted to travel abroad in order to improve economic condition of her family. The

agency completed some of her payments and told her she would refund them when she starts working.

She narrated that she didn't experience any difficulty in the process because the agency handled all paperwork. When she reached Lebanon, she was taken from airport to her boss's apartment where her passport was immediately seized from her and confiscated. She was a housekeeper and was restricted from going anywhere, she narrated that she did all domestic chores and was harassed constantly by her master and his relatives. She reported that she toiled for the man for long without payment or any good treatment, it was afterward that she realized that she was sole as a property by that agency to her current employer. She suffered under him until an NGO which was in charge of investigating domestic violence and slavery in Arab countries rescued her and sent her back to Cameroon.

C2,27 Years Old

Interviewee C2 faced similar challenges as C1 in region of destination, the method used to travel out of Cameroon between them was also similar. C2 said she is not a university graduate but had completed junior secondary school and is a holder of General Certificate of Education (GCE), Ordinary Level. She narrated that she had a phone business in Cameroon before she decided to travel, however she claimed that the money she was making was not enough.

Just like the case of C1, C2 heard about jobs abroad from an agency which was doing adverts. She contacted them, and they told her the agency will do all her paperwork, so all she has to do was pay a certain amount of money. After completing the payment, she was told there was a work already waiting for her in Saudi Arabia, with other opportunities as well. With high expectations and euphoria, she said she left Cameroon in 2017, when she reached Saudi Arabia; her supposed employer took her from airport directly to his house. According to her, he confiscated her passport and immediately told her that she was a servant. She oversaw all domestic works and was not allowed to go out, she worked without payment and was a subject of abuse and torture according to her. When I asked whether she was sold as a slave like the case of C1, she said she didn't know but haven't received any better treatment from

her boss. She worked as his servant for more than a year until she finally escaped with help from an NGO fighting against such practices; she came back to Cameroon in 2019.

2.6 COMMENTS AND ANALYSES OF THE INTERVIEW

This section will solely focus on commenting and analyzing narratives from interviewees in relation to purpose of this chapter. This chapter, as already seen, is mainly concerned with addressing to two main issues, causes of emigration in Cameroon and risks involved in the process. Migration destinations from the above interviewees are a microcosm of emigration destinations from Cameroon. Migrants from Cameroon are most likely to migrate to Europe, America and Middle East especially to rich Gulf countries. It is for this reason that I decided to choose repatriated migrants from these different regions so that the study would have a complete and a balanced narrative. Even though there are a recommendable number of repatriated immigrants in barely every town and city in Cameroon, most of them were not ready to take part in the study for personal reason and it was because of this that the study was limited to six interviewees.

In an attempt to understand how unemployment affects emigration from Cameroon, interviewees were asked whether they were working before leaving Cameroon. From the respond they gave, only one of the respondents had a professional job (C2), he was a mechanic my profession and was thus fully employed. Most of the respondents were involved in petty jobs; these jobs were temporal and were only adopted when they failed to get a white-collar job after they graduated. For instance, A1, A2, B1 and C1 are all graduates of university but failed to get a job that suited their education, as a result there were doing random jobs which they were not satisfied about it. A1 was running a small business before finally abandoning it, A2 was teaching at a private school, B1 was a taxi driver after failing to get a job; C1 was a farmer, a seasonal work in Cameroon while C2 was doing a callbox business because she was not integrated into the public sector. Five among the six respondents were thus involved in temporal jobs, this represents more than 80 per cent of the respondents. From an economic point of view, they can be

term to be facing disguised unemployment; because there were not working where they were trained to, and they considered the work to be temporal thereby indicating that economic problems played a central role in their decision to emigrate. In a case where they were employed depending on their skills and academic level, maybe they might not be tempted to travel simply because their salary would have been higher and better.

However, we should not lose sight of the fact that general economic hardship and instability in Cameroon played an important role in emigration of the interviewees. As narrated above one of the interviewees was a car mechanic by profession and had done the work for several years to no avail, he indicated that the work was not able to provide him with enough money to realize his dream, consequently he decided to leave Cameroon for USA not because he never had a job but because he was not earning enough. His aimed was to emigrate to US and continue with his profession, this portray that he was contented with his work. This ties with the view of Todaro who purported that, people are most likely to migrate to where income on their capital is highest (Hochlethner and Exner, 2018:15). Furthermore, some of the interviewees who had temporal jobs such as taxi driving, callbox business and teaching were equally not happy with what they earned. They were motivated to migrate because the money they made was not enough to meet their economic expenses and expectations; they equally had high expectation about life in their various destinations. The desire to emigrate from Cameroon was therefore, influenced by low earnings as well as unemployment.

In relation to risks involved in migration as narrated by interviewees depicts that the risks vary depending on country of destination. Emigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa in general and Cameroon in particular, intending to travel through desert and Mediterranean Sea to Europe, are most likely to experience torture, enslavement and worst of all death due to nature of the route. As narrated by A1 and A2, some migrants lost their lives during the journey through the desert or in the Mediterranean Sea and were abandoned because the journey was illicit, and no one was held accountable for all the lives lost. More so, torture from co-travelers, smugglers and armed group are common phenomenon in this route, both A1 and A2 had narrated cases of torture especially in Libya which was mired in civil war and terrorism.

Summarily, the desert route is characterized by human right violation such as torture, enslavement, sexual assault, and death of migrants, consequently it can be considered one of the deadliest migration routes from Sub-Saharan Africa. For those who travelled to US from Mexico border through as in the case of B1 and B2, they were also subjected to horrible risks especially in the forest. Both B1 and B2 narrated cases of death during the journey in the forest, they both cited that they were affected by diseases in the forest. Apart from that, vas nature of the forest made it difficult for them to locate the right direction thus migrants may end up getting lost as narrated by B1. B1 went further to narrate that some migrants got sick and died while others were shot by American security guard, thus death of migrants is rampant in this route as well. However, for those interviewees who were subjected to domestic violence in Middle East (C1 and C2), migration process from country of origin to country of destination does not involved any risks, this was because the agency in charge of their travel did process all required documents. Migrant following this path thus has lesser risks compared to their counterpart who attempted to travel to US via Mexico and those who followed through the desert to Europe. As earlier stated, risks involved in emigration from Cameroon varied in relation to destinations, risks and horrible experienced of migrants who traveled to Europe via desert, US through forest and Gulf countries are different as indicated by interviewees from their narratives.

From these interviews, risks and disadvantage of clandestine and ignorant international migration can be understood. Besides, the world is aware of all the risks involve from enslavement of Africans, death at sea, and deportation from Europe and America. However, the fact that that all these huddles do not dissuade Cameroonian and African migrants as a whole from leaving their country of origin by every means necessary depicts their sheer determination and the dire economic and political fragility of sending countries. Another reason that motivates migrants from embarking on such a perilous journey is success stories of illegal African immigrants in US and Europe. For example, case of Mamoudou Gassama, an illegal African immigrant from Mali who was later nicknamed "Spiderman" when he singlehandedly saves a baby from a storey building during a fire incident in Paris. After the heroic incident, Gassama was granted an audience with French president

and was later granted citizenship and a job in France.[3] He went further to win international awards and is regarded a hero world-wide. This is a story of a young African that inspired many youths across the continent; however, this is just a tip of an iceberg compared to the bigger story of an African migrant. Most often than not, the journey is not that easy and involved a lot of horrible stories many of which are untold and unheard.

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate causes of emigration from Cameroon and risks involved in the process. Migration phenomenon as a whole is a complex and complicated subject that is viewed differently from different point of point of views. From a political point of view thus, some of the main causes of emigration in Cameroon include political instability, economic instability and unemployment as already noted. These however, are not the only causes of emigration in Cameroon, but they remain the main causes of emigration in Cameroon as cited by scholars and international reports. Moreover, narratives from interviewees portrays that these are some of the major causes in Cameroon. This is similar to risks endured by emigrants in the process; the main risks identified above are similar to some of the risks encountered by the interviewees as echoed in the interview. Having fully examined causes of emigration and risks involved in the process, the next chapter will delve into investigating and analysing risks face by immigrants in country of destination, and effects of emigration on sending country, in this case Cameroon.

---

[3]BBC News 2018, available at
https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe access on 17-03-2020

CHAPTER THREE

CHALLENGES FACED BY IMMIGRANTS IN COUNTRY OF DESTINATION

This chapter will examine challenges faced by Cameroonian immigrants in country of destination and effects of emigration on Cameroon, which is in line with third and fourth research questions of this study. In this regard, this chapter will argue that racism, maltreatment of workers, detention and deportation are among the main challenges faced by Cameroonians in country of destination. In relation to effects of emigration on Cameroon, this section will posit that brain drain is one the most negative effects of emigration. These arguments are achieved through interviewees' narratives and investigation based on secondary data.

3.1 CHALLENGES FACED BY IMMIGRANTS AS NARRATED BY INTERVIEWEES

In this section, some major challenges face by interviewees will be summarised and analysed as narrated in the interview. To make it easy for readers to digest, the challenges will be merged depending on country of destinations thus, challenges will be grouped under three different destinations which are Europe, America, and Middle East.

Interviewee A1 and A2 who travelled through desert and finally reach their destinations in Europe faced similar challenges in their migration adventure. Firstly, both were instantly arrested upon arrival in Europe and were immediately taken to refugee camps where they spend the most part of their time in region of destination. Life in a refugee camp is understandably difficult due to inadequate services to carter for thousands of refugees and lack of protection. A2 complained that she did not like some of food served in camps and thinks international community is not doing enough to guarantee protection of migrants. Both A1 and A2 claim that racism was visible in their country of destinations which was orchestrated by administrative officers or fellow non-black refugees at the camps. Fundamental human rights of both A1 and A2 were violated as host countries denied granting them asylum as

demanded by international law given that both were from a war-torn region. Finally, they were forcefully repatriated against their will to their country of origin. Summarily, detention, racism and immediate deportation were among major challenges encountered by A1 and A2 as narrated in their stories.

For those interviewees who travelled to US through Mexico border (B1 and B2), they were immediately detained upon arrival by US security officers. In the US they were allowed to get a lawyer who defended them in court as asylum seekers. Their court case, however, ended unsuccessfully when their pleas fell in deaf ears and the court decided that they will not be granted asylum which is a violation of their rights following civil unrest in their region of origin. Like many repatriated Cameroonians from US, B1 and B2 were compelled and threatened by immigration officers to sign deportation papers against their will, hence, portraying another incident of abject discrimination against African immigrants as a whole and Cameroonians in particular.

The immigrants who emigrated to Middle East via a fraudulent NGO experienced the most horrible incidents of this study. C1 and C2 who were sent to work as domestic workers in Lebanon and Saudi Arabia respectively, they were in a slave-like situation before they were rescued and sent home. C1 alleged that, she worked as a slave for her employer who she claimed bought her from the agency.C2 was also in a similar situation. This is human right violation of the first order and the interviewees suffered extremely because of the racist nature of the environment. State authorities in the Middle East are adamant to address domestic violence and modern enslavement going on in their countries and this has acted as a greenlight for human traffickers to orchestrate their business smoothly. As a result, C1 and C2 endued racism, human rights abuse, enslavement, and lack of support from government in regions of destination until they were finally rescued.

Based on narratives given by interviewees from these three different destinations, it can be argued that racism, domestic violence, detention and subsequent deportation are among prime challenges faced by Cameroonian immigrants in country of destination. These different challenges will be carefully analysed under thematic order below.

3.1.1 Racism

Racism against Africans more specifically against black Africans is a common phenomenon experienced by African immigrants living out of Africa. In Europe, Asia and America, racism geared towards blacks has existed for a very long time and panacea to this seminal conundrum is still farfetched in spite of all efforts put in place to battle racism, thereby putting black immigrants in a vulnerable and precarious condition. What motivates racism against black immigrants varies from political, economic, historical and socio-cultural reasons. Unfortunately, racism nowadays does not recognize any borders and is visible in professional sectors such as sports, politics and education and other random places such as in streets and markets.

Given that international migration trajectory is generally from developing countries to developed world, ipso facto, there are many African immigrants in rest of the world due to economic and political condition of Africa. In Europe alone, there were over 4 million immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa in 2017 who were pushed out of Africa primary by political and economic factors (Mbanya et al, 2019:3). By 2019, they were more than 7 million blacks in all EU countries including immigrants and those born and raised in Europe (Small, 2019:513). Similarly, around 970 thousand immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa were seeking in Europe between 2010 and 2017, such staggering figures of asylum seekers were augmented by resettled refugees, influenced by family members and international students (Connor, 2018:3). According to Amnesty International (AI) reports on Germany in 2016, over 476 thousand people applied for asylum in Germany by the end of 2015 which corresponded to around 100 per cent increase compared to previous year (AI report, 2016:41). However, this was not only limited to African migrants, it also included migrants from other parts of the world who were squabbling for asylum in Germany. Even though there are many Sub-Saharan immigrants in Europe, most of them faced difficulty in integrating into the society due to racial barriers. Interestingly, immigrants from North African countries such as Egypt and Morocco are more integrated than immigrants from Sub- Saharan Africa

(Fokkema and De Haas, 2011:21). This unearth how racism can be a barrier to social integration which is a fate of many black African immigrants in Europe and Asia.

In accordance with racism against people of African descent, a study conducted by EU's Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) found out that over 30 percent of respondents faced harassment in different forms including threat of violence and offensive threats which was mainly directed towards immigrants. The study also found out that around five per cent of the respondents faced violence assault even from security officers and in some cases the violence culminated in physical attacks (EU Fundamental Rights Report, 2018:37). Unfortunately, racism against blacks in some cases has been ironically orchestrated by police officers who were meant to protect them as vindicated in this study, not forgotten what happened in 2020 when George Floyd died in US following police brutality, an incident that sparked international protest. The advent of social media has provided another avenue for racial discrimination, hate speech and internet bullying in many European countries, such practices which were rare in mainstream media and newspapers are now common on social media networks such as Facebook and Twitter (Nwabuzo, 2015:31). Racial discrimination and prejudice against people of African descent which have been existing for centuries persists in Europe and such vicious phenomenon has derail integration of immigrants in socio-cultural system in country of destination (De Freitas et al 2018 as cited in Idemudia and Boehnke, 2020:30). Racial discrimination in Europe can also be observed in health and education sectors wherein some immigrants of African descent find it difficult to access social amenities. In Norway for example, immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa find it difficult to access health system due to several factors including lack of information, financial loopholes, job responsibility, language difficulty and inadequate satisfaction with the health system (Mbanya et al, 2019:1). All these complexities and upheavals make it difficult for immigrants especially those from Sub-Saharan Africa to fully integrate amicably in Europe. Unfortunately, some of these anti-immigration and racist sentiment in Europe was promoted by top ranking officials including parliamentarians who were shielded and protected by legislative immunity (Nwabuzo, 2015:18). This further complicates racism against Africans in Europe and makes it difficult to have a fuller comprehension of the underlying structural outlook of racism in Europe as well as solutions to it.

Additionally, immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa who are well educated and skilled in many cases find it difficult to get jobs which match their level of competence due to racial discrimination in Europe and America. There has been a general lack of recognition for qualifications held by black immigrants in Europe as Nwabuzo espoused that black people found it difficult to get jobs commensurate with their skills and educational level due to inability of society to properly recognise their qualifications in Finland, UK, and Sweden (Nwabuzo, 2015:18). This predicament in some cases pushed many immigrants from Africa to end up in streets looking for meaner jobs with low pay and usually in a domain where they have no expertise hence, leading to lower outputs, depression, and lack of confidence. In a case of undocumented immigrants, Bhugra posited that immigrant from West Africa who are mainly perceive as economic migrants end up with low paid and less skilled jobs with wages lower than minimum wage because they do not have legal documents (Chilunga as cited in Idemudia and Boehnke, 2020:30). In some extreme cases, their employers do not pay their wages because such work environment is usually without paperwork and is primarily based on verbal agreement between employers and employees void of any medical and security insurance. According to reports from EU's Fundamental Right Agency (FRA), skin colour was identified as one of main ground for discrimination against black people in Europe (FRA reports, 2018:37). This portrayed that mistreatment of black people in different sphere of life was based on sheer hatred of their skin colour thus uncovering high nature of racism in Europe.

More so, some countries had put in place administrative and political bottlenecks which made it difficult for immigrants to easily access employment and jobs. In US for instance, when Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was enacted to control and regulate employment of immigrants in a firm, a study by US General Accounting Office (GAO) found out that implementation of IRCA has led to massive discrimination against immigrants in many firms and that some employees with foreign accents were negatively treated which made them feel like illegal immigrants (Henegham, 2012:1808-1809). Another avenue for exploitation of African immigrants is employment sector in US wherein some of them who are highly skilled are earning lower than expected due to underemployment of black

immigrants (Capps, McCabe and Fix, 2012:18). Furthermore, in some developed countries women economic migrants were excluded from employment sector and such exclusion reflected exclusion of women in countries of origin wherein women are normally excluded in public life compared to men (Fokkema and De Hass, 2011:21). This shed light on the fact that women immigrants are less likely to get jobs compared to men which is akin to situation in less developed countries where most migrants came from. Consequently, segregation against immigrants in general and blacks in particular can be seen in socio-economic and political domain and varies from one region to another. In the US, where Africans had lived for centuries and had help in building the country to what it is today, racism against blacks has been on a spike and immigrants from Africa are not exempted from this horrible experience. Historically, incidents of racism against Africans have unveiled plight of black immigrants included unjust killing of an Ethiopian student Mulugeta Seraw in Portland and wanton shooting of West African immigrant Amadou Diallo in 1999 (Foner, 2016:63). These incidents uncovered racial discrimination against Africans and epitomised their struggle in the US and other western countries where degradation of people of African descent has existed since during Trans-Atlantic slave trade to our contemporary society.

It will be worthwhile to note that racism and xenophobia against Africans do not only exist out of the continent. Discrimination against African immigrants also exist within the continent due to differences in race, culture, history, and economy among Africans. In Libya for example where population is predominantly Arabs, there was a massive enslavement and human trafficking of fellow immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa who were mostly black. This shed light on effect of socio-cultural cleavages in Africa and unearth how these differences are a massive blow to unity and integration of the continent. More so, in South Africa where the economic conditions are better compared to other African countries and because of this there are many economic immigrants from Africa in the country, there has been rampant xenophobic attacks against African immigrants. In 2008, angry mobs in South Africa unleashed their economic discontentment on immigrants by fiercely attacking them and their properties which culminated in death of over 60 immigrants with more than 600 people wounded (Henegham, 2012:1811). They accused immigrants of stealing their jobs and held them responsible for their economic plight. Nigerians in particular

has been subject of constant attack in South Africa especially between 2015 and 2020, this led to loss of lives and properties which attracted international condemnation. In 2019, around 200 Nigerians returned home from South Africa amidst tension and xenophobic attacks and threats on their lives and properties[4]. Despite racial and xenophobic discrimination encountered by African immigrants within Africa, this is just a tip of an iceberg compared to racial challenges they face out of the continent. The crux of the matter is to remedy racial upheavals faced by Africans abroad, and to re-establish dignity and respect for Africans in socio-economic and political sphere and certainly in daily life.

3.1.2   Violence Against Domestic workers in the Middle East

Dire economic conditions of many African countries have pushed economic migrants out of the continent to other parts of the world in order to uplift and better their economic and social conditions. As Europe and America are saturated with immigrants coming from across the world, couple with the fact that rise of populism and anti-immigration propaganda has ignited states to adopt stringent immigration policies. Many Africans and economic migrants from other developing countries are now heading toward the Middle East which is today a new hup for economic migrants from different parts of the world. Most of the migrants end up in oil rich Gulf countries, prominent among them include Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait and Qatar. Some of these migrants are employed as domestic workers but work environment in this region in some cases is hostile and migrants are usually exploited especially those from Sub-Saharan Africa.

UN database in 2015 pointed out that there around 25 million migrant workers in six Arab Gulf countries (Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, UAE, Qatar and Oman) which made up over 60 per cent of the population thereby making it one of the most popular melting-pot for migrants in the world (Geilsdorf and Pelican, 2018:155). In UAE and Qatar, nationals comprised only 12 per cent of the population and this is due to influx of migrants from different parts of the world

---

[4]BBC News, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa- available at access on 10-04-2021.

especially from developing countries. Even though some Sub-Saharan Africans had flourished and established successful trade in some cities like Dubai in UAE (Pelican, 2014), there are a sizeable number of Africans who worked under barbaric and inhumane treatment in these countries especially those working as domestic servants. Recruitment and employment of labour from these regions have been facilitated for years through middlemen and agencies in region of origin and region of destination (Geilsdorf and Pelican, 2018:155). The middlemen act as brokers between employers and employees which allowed them to tap resources from both sources since they are involved in preparing paper works thus, making it a lucrative business that many sought to exploit. However, the middlemen are not responsible for any misfortune that will befall migrants in country of destination as seen in the case of interviewee C1 and C2. This eventually provided human traffickers with breathing ground to run trafficking cartels disguised as travel agencies in what is popularly known as modern slavery. In Africa, women are subject to this form of scam wherein such agencies promised them white-collar jobs and salaries abroad to lure them into travelling. The moment they arrived their destinations, they are subjugated as domestic workers or sex slaves with little or no renumeration. Fernandez in her interview with Ethiopian who were once domestic workers in Arab Gulf countries pointed out that some of them narrated working for more than 10 hours a day and are on call for 24 hours. Some of them who were fortunate had a day off a week, while others had just one day off in a month as they worked restlessly under horrible conditions (Fernandez, 2010:254). This situation was further complicated because some important documents such as passport belonging to those workers were confiscated by their employers in a bid to make them helpless and unable to abdicate from their ordeals. Even some immigrants who were not domestic workers were not exempted from these barbaric and unhealthy working conditions as they are many firms with policies that violates fundamental rights of workers.

This unhealthy working environment in countries like UAE is facilitated by policies such as Kafala system which does not grant workers with adequate protection and security. The Kafala system does not allow workers to permanently stay or naturalise in this country and usually provide only a short-term residency programme (Geilsdorf and Pelican, 2018:156). This system pave way for workers to arrive this country with temporal contracts which allow them to stay as long as their

contract is applicable and once their contract expires, they have to leave the country or look for another work. The system varies from one country to another and in countries like Lebanon where economic situation has dwindled recently due to covid19 and other factors such as depreciation of their currency, the system has led to a slave-like treatment of black and brown domestic workers as their employers fired and abandoned them with no payment[5]. In Lebanon therefore, the system restricts rights of domestic workers, and this often led to conflict between employers and employees as the former in some cases do not pay their workers especially those from Sub-Saharan Africa[6]. This system thus, put immigrants especially those working as domestic servants in the Middle East in a precarious and vulnerable situation which allows their masters to treat them like slaves and second-class citizens. To make matters worse, state services and administrators in both country of origin and destination are adamant in addressing the predicament of these immigrants, for instance, when domestic workers were abandoned by their employers in Lebanon, those from Ethiopia sought refuge at Ethiopian embassy but unfortunately to their dismay the embassy ignored their worries[7]. This epitomised life of an average immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa wherein due to economic and political quagmire they left their places of origin to make a living abroad only to be manhandled and enslaved by so-called employers while state officials in region of destination are silent and also in some cases they are abandoned by their own government when they need them the most.

This huddles and challenges faced by immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa is not the case of all African immigrants in the Middle East, some had excelled in different domains such as sports, entertainment, trade and a lot more. In cities like Dubai Africans are one of the most progressive and successful groups and this allowed them to own big business establishments. Some of the reasons that made it easy for Africans to succeed in this city was due to fact that migration and trade were

---

[5]TRT world, 2020 available at https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/lebanon access on 16/04/2021

[6] BBC News, sept 2020 available at https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa-54018613 access on 16/04/2021)

[7] TRT world, 2020 available at https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/lebanon access on 16/04/2021.

interrelated and also because of increased in ethnic business which was very lucrative (Pelican, 2014:298). However, exploitation and maltreatment of immigrants are rampant in this region as observed above and such practices are encouraged by some policies such as Kafala system. From a political prism, these maltreatment and enslavement of Africans cannot be curbed by individual actors, African states need to stand up and protect their citizens abroad by compelling state officials in country of destination to take meaningful measures to end those ill treatment whereby perpetrators of such acts would be called to justice.

3.1.3   Detention and Deportation

Most undocumented migrants from Africa and other developing countries who migrated to Europe and America unfortunately end up in Refugee camps and detention centres and faced risks of imminent and arbitrary repatriation to their country of origin. Abortive migration thus, involved migrants leaving their country of origin and upon arriving their country of destination, they are arrested, imprison and latter deported to their home country without allowing them to explore available opportunities in country of destination. This signal a complete end to migration cycle of many migrants and dash their hope of making it in country of destination and this is common with migrants in developed countries due to stringent immigration policies whereby process of granting asylum and residence permit are difficult and involves cumbersome bureaucracy and paperwork.

Even though refugees and asylum seekers are protected under international law and their rights to seek asylum and protection are guaranteed on papers, in practice, these rights are violated by some countries who turned to undermine and overlook the rights of migrants. Under international law, the Principle of Non-refoulement explicitly and implicitly made it abundantly clear that migrants should not be repatriated to a state where they may face threats or where their life is endangered (Cernadas, 2009:17). However, even in Europe and America where rule of law and human rights are embedded in their lifestyle, some states still overlook international law and practice gross discrimination against migrants from developing countries. Human rights NGOs have documented multiple cases of discrimination

against migrants in different European migrants and this was partly due to lack of respect and implementation of EU's values[8]. In an attempt to curtail migration in Europe, different approaches and policies were adopted by different countries. In some countries like Sweden, some strict and decisive policies were adopted to increase deportation of undocumented immigrants (Dimkpa, 2019:25). In France, some harsh methods were adopted as there has been a couple of instances in previous years where police targeted and destroyed migrant's camps in cities like Paris. In an effort to deal with migrant crisis in Europe, France evacuated more than 500 Africans who were mainly from Africa to housing facilities[9].In a similar but more chaotic manner, police in late 2020 brutally dismantled a makeshift migrants camp in Paris and this led to a collusive confrontation between migrants and police officers[10]. This incident uncovered some hurdles faced by migrants in so-called migrant's camps wherein there are maltreated and ignored with little or no regards to national and international laws.

Figure 3. 3 Makeshift Camp in Paris After Destruction by Police

Source:https://www.google.com/search?q=makeshift+migrant+camp&sacces s on 20/04/2021.

---

[8]available at https://refugee-rights.eu/calling-for-change/human-rights-at-borders access on 04/19/2021.

[9]France 24 News, 2015 available at https://www.france24.com/en/20150917-france-paris-migrant-camps-refugees-africa- access on 20/04/2021.

[10] BBC News 2020, available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-55055914access on 20/04/2021

Similar fate awaits migrants in countries like the US where migrants may spend several months moving from one camp to another and ironically spending huge amount of money in order to get papers and in many cases, this usually ends in fiasco as migrants are deported to their home country. More so, most refugees and asylum seekers living in camps are normally restricted from free movement, legal employment and educational opportunities in the US (Capps and Newland, 2015;15). When Trump was announced elected president of the US, his tenure mark one of the most complicated and controversial regimes due to his anti-immigration tendencies which saw him curtailed entry of migrants in the US and saw deportation of more undocumented immigrants. His policies targeted poorer countries from Sub-African and other developing countries, the US visa was restricted to citizens of some countries while others were forcefully deported to their country of origin. In 2020, a plane bound for Africa departed the US with 37 Cameroonians, six Angolans and three Congolese who were deported from the US under unhealthy conditions.[11]

Figure 3. 4 A Cameroonian, Migrant and his Baby Trying to Enter Siglo Immigration Detention Centre to Request Humanitarian Visa

Source:https://qz.com/africa/1932261/trump-ice-deporting-african-asylum-seekers-before-bid access on 20/04/2021.

---

[11]Atabong 2020, available at https://qz.com/africa/1932261/trump-ice-deporting-african-asylum-seekers-before-bid access on 20/04/2021.

This portrays trials and tribulations of African migrants in the US and in other developed countries where migrants are not treated well. The US hosts one of the largest population of migrants from Sub- Saharan Africa, more than 400 thousand migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa moved to the US between 2010 and 2016, and among them 110 thousand were resettled while another 190 thousand were granted legal residence permit with an aid from relatives (Connor, 2018:3). Unfortunately, not all of them were able to get legal residence in the US and as a result some were repatriated to their home countries especially during Trump's era. Human right groups had documented that many Cameroonian migrants were detained at Customs Enforcement Custody (ICE) and in October 2020, ICE deported 60 asylum seekers from Cameroon. Some of these asylum seekers complained of torture and maltreatment from the US immigration officials and they went further to sue ICE but the process was obscured by ICE, thus at the end, they did not get the justice they deserved[12]. Detention and repatriation of immigrants are evidently one of the most devasting challenge that migrant face in country of destination because it signals end of an abortive migration cycle.

Based on narration given by interviewees, articles and reports from NGOs and IGOs such as IOM, it is abundantly clear that racism, maltreatment of workers, detention and deportation of migrants are among the major challenges encountered by African immigrants in country of destination. These challenges varied from one destination to another, in region like the Middle East, racism and maltreatment can be open and at times indirectly facilitated by political set up as seen in this study's interviewees' narratives. Europe and the USA however, have a different degree of racism given their democratic values and history of racism and enslavement of Africans. Here, racism seems to be subtle and immigrant are considered as rivals and a threat to their economy and security. All in all, migrants from Africa faced many challenges irrespective of their destinations and reasons for these Challenges varies from political, social and economic factors. International migration has effects on both sending and receiving countries, the bond of contention here is to examine the effects of emigration on sending region.

---

[12]Available at https://www.justsecurity.org/73509/mass-deportations-to-cameroon-undermine-us-foreign-policy-and-violate-international-law/ access on 20/04/2021.

Africa and Africans have suffered and continue to suffer in and out of Africa for hundreds of years and these challenges faced by Africans in country of destination is just a tip of an iceberg compared to general problems facing the continent. Although the continent is rich and endowed with natural resources, majority of its people are still mired in poverty, conflicts, as well as other political, social and economic instabilities. Many approaches have been adopted by African leaders and activists to curb these problems and one of the most popular among them is Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism which became popular through the works of people like Marcus Garvey, W.E. Dubois and many others in the Americas and Africa and was aimed at fighting against colonialism, racism and all other forms of discrimination meted against Africans and Africa, this movement gained momentum when Organization of African Unity (OAU), was formed in 1963 by independent African states. However, after decades since the OAU was formed, the goals of Pan-Africanism for a United State of Africa and a political and economic integration has failed and this is due to lack of a unanimous pathway on how to achieve these goals. While since independence some African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, and Modibo Keita clamoured for a revolutionary approach and for an establishment of a strong supranational organisation in the continent which is more powerful than the states, other leaders were against this approach to Pan-Africanism (Basiru et al, 2018:104). On the contrary other leaders led by Tafawa Ballewa of Nigeria were against the revolutionary approach and favoured an orthodox approach with more emphasised on nationalism as opposed to continentalism. This dichotomy is still fresh among Africans both in Africa and diaspora and has derail the continent and its people from achieving the ideals and goals of pan-Africanism. Today, Africans in Africa and those in the diaspora always disagree on the best way to better the condition of their people, nonetheless, majority of Africans still belief that the goal of a United State of Africa will be realized one day, and until Africa is united and integrated as one people with similar history and destiny, the solutions to Africa's problem will be farfetched and sedative. The unity of Africa is thus, the ultimate panacea to the past, present and future problems of Africa.

3.2   EFFECTS OF EMIGRATION ON CAMEROON

This section will solely focus on investigating effects of emigration in Cameroon using secondary data from reports, books and articles without any reference to interviewees' narratives because it will be complex to comprehend structural effects of migration from individual narratives. Data collected in relation to this investigation has shown that the effects on country of origin can both be positive and negative. The most obvious negative effect of emigration on Cameroon and other Sub-Saharan Africa is brain drain, while remittance send to home countries by those living in diaspora is one of the most positive effect of international migration on country of origin. Consequently, this part will explore brain drain in Cameroon as well as contributions of diaspora population to economic development of Cameroon.

3.2.2   Brain Drain in Cameroon

Brain drain as a concept was first used by British Royal Society in 1950s to describe a situation where professional workers from Europe such as engineers, doctors, lawyers and others were migrating to Canada and America in search of employment opportunities (Gibson and McKenzie, 2011 as cited in Boyo, 2013:1). In simple terms, brain drain is when professionals and other individuals that possess skills leave their country of origin to another region for economic and political reasons. In other words, brain drain connotates transfer of resources in form of human capital and is most often than not used to describe more educated people from developing countries to developed world (Docquiera and Rapoport, 2006:2). Globalization and internationalization of world economy and politics havefacilitated brain drain in the last few decades as well as demand for skills and technical workers by western countries. As a result of this, western countries and other rich countries make it easy for professional workers such as Doctors, lecturers and others to easily get working visas (Germain et al, 2014:2). Brain drain thus, occurs in a situation whereby qualified and trained professionals leave their country (mainly developing countries) to practice their profession elsewhere (mainly in developed countries), which economic-wise benefits host countries (Benedict and Ukpere, 2012:2421).

Milio on his path, sees Brain drain as abandonment of home country by professionals and other well-educated individuals to another country where wages are more favourable and lucrative, and also where living conditions will allow the individual to work without constraint (Milio as cited in Ache, 2016:17). This definition suits brain drain phenomenon in Sub-Saharan Africa because wages in Africa are low compared to developed world as well as working environment and living condition are very low compared to developed world. This makes it easy for them to emigrate to these regions especially due to the fact that wages are high and security system is efficient compared to region of origin. This is a stark contrast to how these same countries treats other non-professionals and unskilled immigrants as already observed in earlier in this study. Brain drain has both positive and negative effects on country of origin and as far as Africa is concern nowadays, demerits of brain drain is more visible and observable than the advantages.

In Africa, brain drain was deeply rooted in colonial culture and this trajectory was inherited after independence and continued till date. During European colonization in Africa, it was an established norm that children of elite class travelled abroad for education so that they can take colonial administration from the colonizers. Thus, the idea of travelling abroad was a focal to development in Africa (Germain et al, 2014:2). Some great names that championed Africa's independence and pan- Africanism such as Nkwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikwe, Tafawa Balewa and many others had the opportunity to travel abroad and study. However, not all those who travelled abroad came back to Africa, and this created a chain of brain drain that still persists today while Africa lack expertise in many fields such as health and education sectors. Upon having independence, some countries lack human resources needed to kickstart their economy, for instance in a country like Malawi, where colonial administration was adamant to train more doctors, they had only five doctors by independence some medical graduates were prevented from returning home by the colonial master (The African Capacity Building Foundation reports, 2018:13). Since independence, Africa as a whole is one of the highest continents that has suffered from brain drain and this is due to socio-economic and political quagmire that had hit the continent since then.

Brain drain generally has a colossal negative effect on region of origin especially in a region like Africa where there is inadequate human resource in various domains needed to propel development. Easterly and Nyarko (2007) pointed out that some major setbacks of brain drain on region of origin include: loss of skills which are necessary for long-run development, loss of human resource that may had positive impact on political system and political leadership on country of origin (Easterly and Nyarko, 2007:3). In summary, around 40 per cent of Africa's brightest mind lives out of Africa (Boyo, 2013:2), and this creates a vacuum in terms of human and material resources. In health sector, Africa has lost a recommendable number of medical professionals such as dentist and pharmacist to Europe, Australia and North America at detriment of the continent (Kirigia et al, 2006:1). More so, Tafah (2004) espoused that between 1985 and 1990, Africa has lost around 60 thousand professionals such as Doctors, engineers, University lecturers and since then Africa has lost approximately 20 thousand on average every year. In fact, Nigeria alone has more than 21 thousand practicing doctors in US while the country's health sectors suffer from inadequate staff (Germain, 2014:1). In a similar light, Ghana and Nigeria has thousands of medical practitioners and professionals working in US, while at same time these countries have inadequate medical workers in their home countries hence, worsening socio-economic and political situation of Africa. El-Khawas stipulated that in 2001, nearly half of teaching staff in University of Ghana left their country for greener pastures abroad and this conundrum left the country with inadequate teachers to train future medical professionals and this consequently translates to lack of proper medical care in the country (El-Khawas as cited in Benedict and Ukpere,2012:2424).

In a nutshell, international migration between global south and Africa from this perspective has not been a win-win game for both parties, it has been a one-sided relation which benefited host countries more than it does to country of origin. As already seen, in a situation where migrants from Africa do not possess necessary skills that will benefit host countries, such migrants are arrested and immediately deported in disregard to international law. On the other hand, these same countries provide free visas to professionals and lecturers from poor countries including mouth-watering salaries which convinced them to abandon their jobs, leave their motherland for greener pasture overseas.

In order to curtail this mammoth cleavage created by brain drain, some sort of balance sheet has to be between brain drain and brain gain in Africa. African countries are continuously denied billions of dollars every year in form of human resource and if this unfortunate situation is not fully redressed and curb, it will be difficult to meet MDGs in our contemporary generation (Ache, 2015:59). This phenomenon of brain drain has deprived Africa of human resources it needs most to augment development because many qualified and skilled migrants leave the continent to western countries which consequently pave a way for greater hurdles in Africa (Boyo, 2013:3). Generally, brain drain tends to impede economic and political situation in Africa, however, causes of brain drain should not be ignored. Most parts of Sub- Saharan Africa have been mired in socio-economic and political squabbles and this unhealthy environment has provided a push factor for many professionals to abandon their jobs halfway to a utopic El-dorado in western world. Perhaps, it could have been difficult for some of them to succeed in their country of origin due to economic and political constraints which most often than not is embedded in political and economic system of third world countries.

In Cameroon like in many Sub-Saharan African countries, brain drain has a negative effect on the economy as well as political setup of the country. Brain drain in Cameroon can be observe in Health and higher education sectors, and these sectors are among the most affected in the country thus brain drain in Cameroon mostly concerns these two sectors (Mberu and Pongou, 2012:109). This emigration of medical professionals from Africa posts a serious threat to the continent's health and according to WHO reports (2006), around thirty-six countries from Sub-Saharan Africa faced serious challenge in providing necessary health facilities to their citizens and this can derail attainment of millennium health development goals (Capuano and Marfouk, 2013:9). In Cameroon alone, they were more than 57 thousand Cameroonian migrants by 2005 living in OECD countries and more than 40 per cent of these migrants were high skilled and educated (Dumont and Lemaı̂tre as cited in Mberu and Pongou, 2012:109). The number has increased tremendously overtime as many skilled and educated Cameroonians emigrate to other countries for a better economic and political condition thereby increasing brain drain in Cameroon.

Salary and wage structure in Cameroon can be considered as one of the most significant factors that causes brain drain especially in higher education sector. Following economic crisis that hit Cameroon in 1986, the state of Cameroon adopted some tough mechanisms to deal with the economic plight, one of these included a drastic salary slashed of university lecturers and other civil servants while some sectors such as military were not affected by this slashed, this ignited many lecturers and teachers to emigrate to other countries (Evina as cited in Mberu and Pongou, 2012:110). Among those lecturers leaving Cameroon to other parts of the world, assistant lectures comprised majority of those migrants leaving, in a study conducted by Germain et al (2014), it was discovered that more than 60 per cent of departures in higher education sector were assistant lecturers (Germain et al, 2014:7). In comparison to senior lecturers and Professors, assistant lectures turn to emigrate in their numbers, and this can be cause by wage cleavages between senior lecturers and assistant lecturers as well as desire by the assistant lecturers who are mainly youth to improve their income abroad and get a better prospect to further their careers. This emigration by lecturers and other skilled individuals who were supposed to champion political and economic development in Cameroon has a negative impact the countries growth and has derail development and role of university education as well as their role as leaders of tomorrow which has been shattered due to brain drain (Edokat as cited in Ache, 2016:51). Generally, emigration of youth reduces Cameroon's growths by taking away educated and skilled manpower and this emigration in some cases is cause by access to higher education, nature of job market and a prospect of a better life abroad[13]. According to WHO reports (2013), Cameroon lacked both human and economic resources for recruitment of necessary health personnel needed in health sector. The reports further unearth that between 1990 and 2009 in Cameroon, less than 30 per cent of graduates from nursing schools were recruited by Ministry of health (Ache, 2016:55). This portrays lurk-warm attitude by government to recruit medical practitioners and explains why many of these skilled youths travel abroad to practice their profession which consequently increase brain drain.

---

[13]Zih Fon 2013, available at https://globalpressjournal.com/africa/cameroon/cameroonians-at-home-and-abroad-seek-solutions-to-brain-drain/ access on 28/04/2021.

Cameroon in particular and Africa in general has suffered and continue to suffer from brain drain especially in health sector and higher education sector. However, these are not the only sectors affected by brain drain, many other sectors face similar conundrum including, entertainment sector, arts, sports, and a lot more. In sport sector for instance, there are many successful African and Cameroonians athletes and footballers who are well known in the world and has won gold medals for their host countries while Africa slip down the pecking order. While no African team has ever won a world cup, African immigrants in Europe has help countries like France and Germany to win world cups, this is a sheer repercussion of brain drain to sending regions like Africa. To make matters worse, a bulk of these African immigrants do not pay taxes to their home countries once they migrate to Europe, in Cameroon for example, some of the education received by these migrants before they left was partly subsidized by state but when they emigrate, they do not pay taxes while taxes are very important to growth of any country (Ache, 2016:57). This portrays without mincing words that brain drain has a negative effect on sending countries and has derail development especially in Africa. However, there is a silver lining and good side of brain drain, in fact many scholars nowadays have pointed out that it advantages out weight it disadvantages, thus there is a debate of whether it is a brain drain or a brain gain. Africa has gained a lot from brain drain in terms of remittance sent by those abroad and next section of this study will investigate some advantages of brain drain.

3.2.3 Contributions of Diaspora Community to Development in Cameroon

Even though brain drain has negatively hindered economic and political evolution in Africa for several decades, it has as well foster development in socio-economic and political domain and future development and growth in African relies heavily on contributions from diaspora population. Many economies in Africa depends heavily on remittance from diaspora to boost their GNP and there are many projects in Africa today which is been sponsored by diaspora population such as Wakanda health projects which are aim at improving health sector in the continent.

This connection between Africa and her diaspora population has been echoed by AU for many years and is now finally yielding fruits as many has open their doors for Africans in diaspora to invest in various sectors.

Brain drain in Africa has contributed massively since during colonial era whereby European colonizers sent Africans abroad to get education and skilled and return home in order to assist in colonial governance and this move culminated development of languages, establishment of formal education and most important this brain drain nurtured political leaders who later championed independence in Africa. It was at the backdrop of this that even after independence, African leaders encouraged their peers to travel abroad in order to gain necessary skill and education needed to revamp their young economies and to champion development in the continent given dire economic condition they inherited from European colonizers (Easterly and Yaw Nyarko, 2007:28). The diaspora population thus, has always been pivotal in masterminding social, economic and economic development in Africa since independence and this trend continues today. In Ethiopia alone, official inflows of remittance from migrants working abroad were around 800 million USD and unrecorded amount was estimated to be equivalent or even higher than the official record (Fernandez, 2010:246). This shows that brain drain if well utilized will generate positive feedbacks in region of origin that is if we learn to live with it and bring out the best from it (Benedict and Ukpere, 2012:2424). This can be actualized through creating avenues that will allow those skilled and professional migrants abroad to establish projects and programs that will augment development in home countries such as the 'Wakanda' health projects in Africa. Across West Africa, many developmental projects are spearheaded by diaspora population including those who had lived abroad and are now back in their home countries, while others are living both in country of origin and country of destination (Easterly and Yaw Nyarko, 2007:28). Such connection help to protect and project brain drain as a positive phenomenon that can enhance economic and political development in both sending and receiving countries, thus it can be viewed as a win-win game.

Brain drain as a concept has long been viewed as detrimental to growth of source countries, however, some literature has posited a contrary view due to prospect of brain drain to benefit home countries citing plausible examples of how

some developing countries has gained from it. This new point of view pointed out that emigration from developing countries can positively affect growth and development in country of origin (Docquiera and Rapoport, 2006:7). These arguments are visible if one considers how many African countries benefits from brain drain especially in our contemporary society where advent of science and technology has made it possible to control economic activities from distance. Financial transactions are done within minutes from one country to another and this has facilitated diaspora population to send money to friends and relatives back home.

In Cameroon, diaspora population has contributed immensely in socio-economic and political domain. Remittance from those living out of the country still remains an important source of income for many families given economic difficulty in the country. Cameroonian diaspora with an estimated population of around 390 thousand as of 2013, has being applauded for massively contributing to the country's economy, which corresponded to more than one per cent of Cameroon's GDP (Ache, 2016:59). As of 2010, contributions from diaspora were valued approximately around 218 million USD, not to mention unofficial transactions and other materials benefits from diaspora which is very difficult to monetarized. Developmental projects by diaspora community can be seen in barely every sector and one of the reasons while many of them invest back home even though they live abroad is because they believe their descendent will one day return home when things get better in future[14].Contributions from diaspora to Cameroon is not only limited to remittance and economic contributions, but social contributions by diaspora are also equally worthy of mentioning. As a result of advancement in water and air transport, traveling has been facilitated and this has made it easier for those living abroad to constantly visit Cameroon. The diaspora community has what it takes to transfer vital ideas which they learned abroad such as democratic values, policy reforms, technological skills, and expertise to Cameroon (Nkongho, 2019:37). Cameroon also benefits from diaspora population through transfer of expertise, following IOM Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) projects, experts like Dr.Chantalle F. Ebongo, who was a member of Cameroonian diaspora in Belgium, were able to

---

[14]Kingsly   O.   2013   available   at
https://www.socionauki.ru/journal/articles/165438/ access on 01/05/2021

come and worked in a Hospital in Cameroon, she organized many projects and helped train nurses on better ways to manage the hospital[15].

Cameroonian diaspora has been active in construction of schools and other social services such as provision of drinking water in their home community with support from government and NGOs. Such volunteerism and programs help to instil hope among local population and distil brain drain from been considered as a curse rather than a blessing.

Table 3. 2 Distribution of Cameroonians living abroad in 2005

Host Country	Number of Cameroonians
France	36,000
United Kingdom	3,012
United States of America	20,000
Germany	14,414
Belgium	3,040

Source: United Nations 2005, extracted from Kingsly O, 2013.

Table 3. 2above indicates five different destinations of Cameroonians living abroad in 2005, they were around 36 thousand Cameroonians in France making it top destination for Cameroonians which is still the case today. Colonial ties between Cameroon and France explain why many Cameroonians chose France as their favourite destination. The figure shows that bulk of Cameroonians resides in Europe, normally, diaspora population has increased rapidly in past years, but this old figure is important in that it shows the emigration trajectory of Cameroonians and their preferred destinations.

In the political sphere, the diaspora community has also been active for a very long time by usually participating in elections and influencing electorate by campaigning for their preferred candidates. In 2011, a parliamentary decree was

---

[15]Natali, 2016 available at https://weblog.iom.int/how-diaspora-contributes-development-cameroon access on 01/05/2021

passed by to allow Cameroonians living abroad to participate in voting in their various destinations but this was however, limited to non-naturalized citizens because Cameroon does not recognize dual citizenship (Nkongho, 2019:41). Again, in a news documented by Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV), the diaspora population has been involved in decentralization process in Cameroon. This was officiated after an event that was held on March 19, 2021 organized by High Council of Cameroonians Abroad and some government representatives. This move will allow Cameroonians in France and other countries to work hand in glove with local authorities in order to enhance local development through participating in the decentralization process in Cameroon.[16] This however acted as a turning point for diaspora politics in Cameroon as they were granted liberty to exercise their political rights. The diaspora population of Cameroon like that of many African countries also participates in protest to denounce a particular policy or action adopted by government. In a nutshell, emigration as a phenomenon has both positive and negative effects on region of origin. Brain drain as a phenomenon on it path has similar effects on sending and receiving countries, a plausible balance sheet of merits and demerits of brain drain in sending and receiving countries will portray that it benefits region of destinations more than source regions. This is a mainstream idea of brain drain as a concept even though some contemporary literature debunks such ideas and present brain drain as positive phenomenon for both sending and receiving regions. All in all, the concept of brain drain can be viewed from a negative or positive angle depending on different school of thoughts and subjective point of view.

This chapter set out to investigate and unravel challenges faced by immigrants in country of destination and effects of emigration on country of origin. Following a plausible and thorough analyses of interviewees narrative, it was observed and revealed that racism, domestic violence, detention and deportation were major challenges face by immigrants. With regards to effects of emigration in Cameroon, both positive and negative effects were unveiled by this study, brain drain and remittance send home by diaspora population are main effects of

---

[16]CRTV news March 2021 available at https://www.crtv.cm/2021/03/decentralization-blueprint-for-participation-of-diaspora-presented-in-yaounde/access on 02/05/2021

emigration in Cameroon. This chapter has thus, investigated last two research questions of this study and has clearly outlined main findings, subsequent part which is the final part will mainly focus on summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CONCLUSION

This study mainly investigated why youths emigrate from Cameroon using Everett Lee's "push and pull theory of migration". This theory views migration as a phenomenon that occur due to push factors in region of origin and pull factors in region of destination. The theory emphasizes mostly how economic factors determine migration in both sending and receiving areas. The push factors include the socio-economic and political factors that compel people to leave their areas of origin such as wars, hunger, and political instability. Meanwhile, the pull factors are those factors that attract the individuals to destination areas such as job and educational opportunities and peace. This study, thus, primarily focus on investigating what factors push migrants to leave Cameroon.

In accordance with the interviews conducted for this thesis, it can be concluded that most of migrants from Cameroon in particular and Africa in general are economic migrants, that is they emigrate mainly for economic motives. Among the six respondents that participated in the interview, all of them underlined economic factors as their reasons for emigration. Even though they claimed that they emigrated because of political reasons in order to seek asylum when they arrived at their country of destination, the main reason they left Cameroon was to boost their economic conditions as indicated in the interviews. So as to answer why youths are desperate to leave the country, the study found out that unemployment and low wages played a pivotal role in triggering emigration from Cameroon. While some of the interviewees were employed before they emigrated, some others were unemployed and even the employed people would not earn enough to carter for themselves and their family; thus, economic factors were central in encouraging emigration from Cameroon. However, irrespective of the fact that economic factors played a major role in triggering emigration from Cameroon, political instability such as Boko Haram terrorism in Northern Cameroon and Anglophone crisis in Cameroon have enormously contributed to internal and international migration in Cameroon.

In terms of challenges faced by migrants in migration process, the study discovered that the challenges depend on the destination and migration routes used

by the migrants. The challenges are more visible in the case of clandestine migration especially those using the Desert route and those using the Mexico route. In interviews, cases of death, maltreatment and general torture were recounted for both routes. Additionally, enslavement and trading of African migrants in Libya which is one of the most inhumane stories in the last decade epitomised the risks and challenges faced by African migrants undertaking irregular migration. Migrants also faced different challenges in the country of destination as narrated in the interviews. Racism, lack of protection and arbitrary deportation were some of the main challenges mentioned in the interviews and this applies specifically to those who emigrated to Europe and America. In the case of migrants who emigrated to the Middle East, some of them were enslave and subjected as domestic workers while others were exploited by their employers, thus, the challenges vary from one region of destination to another.

Concerning the effects of emigration in Cameroon, the study uncovered that similar to many African countries, brain drain is the most negative effect of emigration, while remittance from abroad is one of the most positive effect of emigration. Similarly, the study dissected different school of thoughts on the subject of brain drain which unearth the concept from both positive and negative point of view. This study is important since it investigated migration from individual perspective through individual stories that were narrated in the interviews. This will allow readers to grasp emigration crisis from individual perspective and will fill a gap in literature that often deal with the phenomenon from a structural point of view. However, this study did not focus on the historical factors of emigration in Africa such as colonialism and neo-colonialism, this is because of the theory followed in the study and due to the direction of the study. In other words, the author of this thesis preferred to make his analysis through Lee's Theory of Migration. Nevertheless, he accepts the fact that colonialism and neo-colonialism are particularly important aspects in understanding Africa's past, present and future because these events have affected and still affect Sub-Saharan Africa; thus, he claims that this would be a favourable topic for further research.

In summary, emigration crisis in Africa and particularly Cameroon can be analysed and interpreted from structural and individual point of view as unravelled in

this study. From a structural point of view, emigration can be seen as phenomenon that occurs due to failure by the government to solve certain problems such as unemployment, low wages, economic crisis, political instability, and many others. These factors form push factors that cause migrants to emigrate from region of origin to other areas where economic, social, and political atmosphere is better. From an individual point of view, emigration can be seen as a situation where individuals chose to leave his/her region of origin based on a cost-benefit calculation. The individuals in most cases are encouraged by their friends and relatives and are attracted to pull factors in region of destination. In order to curb this emigration dilemma in Cameroon and Africa in general, the government have to provide political, economic and social stability. This will help in minimising the number of people that emigrate from the continent. The states should eradicate youth unemployment and poverty and all other economic and political upheavals that push youths to emigrate. Youths should also be sensitized on dangers and risks of irregular emigration as well due to existence of fraudulent trafficking agencies which exist in the region of origin. The youths should be educated to realize that emigration is not the only solution to their problems, and also the region of destination is not heaven, in fact they will have similar challenges and problems there too.

Emigration trends in most African countries in most African countries is inter regional because majority of African migrants lives in the continent as vindicated in this study. From a political perspective, this is a good thing for Africa and it will make it easy for the continent to unanimously and collectively eradicate some migration upheavals by adopting a common policy. AU and other sub-regional organisations in Africa should implement a common border policy that will allow free movement of people and goods within the continent which will go a long way in fulfilling the dreams of AU's founding fathers of a united Africa. The composition of African migrants are mainly youths who are educated and skilled, this is detrimental to the advancement and development of Africa as the youth are key element to any meaningful development. This can be curb by revisiting the educational system and encouraging youths to stay in Africa through reliable and youth-oriented projects that will allow them to exhibit their talents and realized their goals. More so, for Africa to solve this emigration crisis and other political and economic challenges wrecking the continent, Pan-Africanism should be adopted and implemented.

Pan Africanism as an ideology developed in order to emancipate people of African descent including those living in the diaspora and those in Africa. Proponents of Pan Africanism called for a greater connection and unity between Africans living in Africa and those in diaspora, they reiterated that people of African descent share similar history and thus should share similar destiny. This movement which was ignited by some tragedies in African history such as the slave trade, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, insisted on the unity of Africa and Africans which consequently led to formation of Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Proponent of this philosophy such as Kwame Nkrumah posited that, for Africa to be respected at the international arena, the continent must unite in socio-economic and political domain and hence he called for a supra-national approach to Pan Africanism wherein African organization such as the AU will be more powerful than individual states. Nkrumah further espoused that for Africa to be able to curb it challenges, the continent should have a common diplomacy, and common economic approach including a single currency and a common military approached. Nowadays, some major progress has been recorded in relation to pan Africanism in Africa including free trade zone, regional passports, intercontinental migration, investments from diaspora population and many others. However, this is not enough and more need to be done to alleviate Africa and Africans from some of the political and economic challenges in the continent. The unity and integration of Africa is the ultimate panacea to the challenges ravaging the continent, and unless Africa unite and fully implement the principles of Pan Africanism, the continent will face similar challenges in the future, thus pan Africanism is the inevitable panacea to challenges in the continent. This will lead to a unanimous self-reliance and complete independent which will thus protect and project the African identity and values at the global arena.

Thousands of Africans are dying every year in an attempt to emigrate to other parts of the world and despite the dire condition of African migrants around the world, emigration has tremendously increased in the continent, and this is mainly due to socio-economic and political turmoil in the continent. In order to reduce emigration from the continent, African leaders have to solve the root causes of the crisis, and this include issues like general economic crisis including unemployment,

political unrest such as wars, bad governance and many others. In a nutshell, African states should minimize and find a panacea to the socio-economic and political problems that has engulfed the continent since independence. This will boost economic and political situation that will allow youths to explore different opportunities thereby reducing emigration. African countries should work hand in glove with AU to solve all their economic and political grievances and this can only be achieved when the continent unite, integrate and establish a strong political and economic structures that will sustain development in the continent. Africa and Africans faced a lot of challenges in and out of the continent, for this to change, the continent have to unite and pull their resources together for betterment of future generation. Unity is thus, key to a strong and prosperous Africa.

REFERENCES

Abebe, T.T. *Migration policy frameworks in Africa,* Institute for Security Studies (ISS), December 2017.

Abia, W.A. et al, *Agriculture in Cameroon: Proposed Strategies to Sustain Productivity*, International Journal for Research in Agricultural Research, (2016) at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319312288.

Ache, A.I. *The Impact of Migration and Brain Drain in Cameroon,* MSc thesis, Tallinn University, Estonia, 2016.

Adeniyi, S. Mashud, B. Salawu, L.A. and Adepoju, A. *Radical Pan-Africanism and Africa's Intergration: A Retrospective Exploration and a Prospective Prognosis,* Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies, (2018).

Adepoju, A. *Migration in sub-Saharan Africa*, Nordiska Afrika institutet, Uppsala, Sweden 2008.

Agwanda, B. et al, *Cameroon and the Anglophone Crisis,* The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Studies (2020), available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11795-5_115-1 access on 10/02/2021.

Aliyu, A. Moorthy, R. and Nor Azizan Bin Idris, *Towards Understanding the Boko Haram Phenomenon in Nigeria*, Canadian Centre of Science and Education, (2015), Vol. 11, No. 10.

Alpes, M. J. *"Imagining a future in bush: migration aspirations at times of crisis in Anglophone Cameroon",* (2014) Vol21 NO (3): 259- 274 online at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/261884753.

Alpes, M.J. *Why aspiring migrants trust migration brokers: the moral economy of departure in Anglophone Cameroon,* International African Institute (2017), online at https:/www.cambridge.org/core/terms.

Alpes, M.J. *Bushfalling: How Young Cameroonians Dare to Migrate,* PhD
   Dissertation, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 2011.

Amnesty International 2016 reports titled *Living in Insecurity how Germany is
   Failing Victims of Racist Violence.*

Ardener, E. *The Political History of Cameroon*, Royal Institute of International
Affairs, (1962), Vol. 18, No. 8, pp. 341-350.

Atabong, A.B. *A wave of US deportations has left the fate of African asylum seekers
   in the balance,* (2020), available at https://qz.com/africa/1932261/trump-ice-
   deporting-african-asylum-seekers-before-bid access on 20/04/2021.

ATEŞ, D. *Industrial Revolution: Impetus Behind the Globalization Process*, Yönetim
ve Ekonomi (2008) vol15/2, 31-48.

Benedict O.H. and Ukpere, W.I. *Brain drain and African development: Any possible
   gain from the drain?* African Journal of Business Management Vol. 6(7), pp.
   2421-2428, 22 February, 2012 Available online at
   http://www.academicjournals.org/AJBM access on 22/05/2021.

BERK, F.M. *Migration Phenomenon: Early Human Migration in Historical
Perspective,* Uluslararası Eskiçağ Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, (2020).

Bilger, V. and Kraler, A. Introduction: *African migrations. Historical perspectives
   and contemporary dynamics,* Wiener ZeitschriftfürkritischeAfrikastudien, (2005),
   online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/255592506

Boyo, T.M. *The African Brain Drain and the Social Impact of Skilled Migration*,
   MA thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto, 2013.

British   Broadcasting   Corporation   (BBC)   News   2018,   available   at
https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe access on 17-03- 2020.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) News 2020, available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-55055914 access on 20/04/2021.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) News, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa- available at access on 10-04-2021.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) News, sept 2020 available at https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa-54018613 access on 16/04/2021.

Bruey, V.F. *Fatal Journeys of Displaced African Migrants Crossing the Mediterranean: International and Regional Effort and Response*, The Journal of Internal Displacement 2018.

ÇAĞLAYAN, S. *Migration Theories, Relationship of Migration and Emigrant,* Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, 2006.

Cameroon Radio and Television news March 2021 available at https://www.crtv.cm/2021/03/decentralization-blueprint-for-participation-of-diaspora-presented-in-yaounde/access on 02/05/2021.

Campbell, J. *Boko Haram: origins, challenges and responses*, Norwegian Peacebuilding Research Centre, 2014.

Capuano, S. and Marfouk, A. *African brain drain and its impact on source countries: What do we know and what do we need to know*? Munich Personal RePEc Archive, Munich 2013.

Carrasco, L.N. et al, *Do migrants lives matter? A comparison of causes of death between African migrants from SADC countries and South Africans in the post-Apartheid era (2002-2015*), International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care, 2020.

Carretero, M.H. *Risk-taking in unauthorised migration,* MSc thesis, University of Tromso, Tromso, Norway, 2008.

Castles, S. Hein de Haas and Miller, M.J. *The Age of Migration, lnternational Population Movements in the Modern World,* PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, UK, 2014.

Castles, S. vd, *The Age of Migration International Population Movements in the Modern World,* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2014.

ÇITAK, E. *The Effect of Globalization on Migration-Security Relationship*, Akademik Hassasiyetler, (2019) Vol.6.

Corbett J., *Ernest George Ravenstein, The Laws of Migration, 1885*, UC Santa Barbara (2003), online at https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3018p230.

Craven, M. *Between law and history: the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 and the logic of free trade*, London Review of International Law, (2019), Volume 3.

Cummings, C. Pacitto, J. Lauro, D. and Foresti, M. *Why people move: understanding the drivers and trends of migration to Europe,* Overseas Development Institute, Working Paper 430 (December 2015) London.Claudia Natali, *How the Diaspora Contributes to Development in Cameroon*, (2016), available at https://weblog.iom.int/how-diaspora-contributes-development-cameroon access on 05/05/2020.

Dembele, M. *Colonial Legacy and Changes of West African Cities - Comparative Studies between Bamako and Segou Cities, Rep. of Mali,* Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering, (2006), online at https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tabe20.

Dimkpa, P. *Africa-Europe Migration: A Qualitative Analysis of Nigerian Migration to Europe via the Libya-Mediterranean Route*, MSc thesis, Dalarna University Centre for African Studies, Falun, Sweden, 2019.

Djelti, S. *The Evolution of the Human Migration Determinants*, Conference Paper · March 2017, online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320427737.

Docquier, F. and Rapoport, H. *The Brain Drain*, (November 2006) available online at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228394436 access on 20/04/2021.

Easterly, W. and Nyarko, Y. *Is the Brain Drain Good for Africa?* New York University, New York, 2007.

Ekah, E.R. *The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: A Geopolitical Analysis,* European Scientific Journal (December 2019) edition Vol.15, No.35 ISSN: 1857 – 7881.

Ekane, D. *The Context of an Urban Social problem in Cameroon: Case study of Youth Unemployment,* MSc Thesis, Stockholm University, 2010.

EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey Being Black in the EU,* Publications Office of the European Union, Luxemburg, 2018.

Ferrie, J.P. and Hatton, T.M. *Two Centuries of International Migration*, Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn, Germany 2013.

Ferrieve, J.P. and Hatton, T.M. *Two Centuries of International Migration,* Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn, 2013.

Fisher, M.H. *Migration: A World History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2014.

Fon.Z.I., *The Cameroonian Diaspora: As Assessment of its Role in Local Development*, (2013), available at https://globalpressjournal.com/africa/cameroon/cameroonians-at-home-and-abroad-seek-solutions-to-brain-drain/ access on 28/04/2021.

Fonkeng, P. *Insecurity, Forced Migration, And Internally Displaced Persons along the Cameroon Nigeria Border,* 2003-2018, AfriHeritage Research Working Paper, Enugu, 2019.

France 24 News, 2015 available at https://www.france24.com/en/20150917-france-paris-migrant-camps-refugees-africa- access on 20/04/2021.

Friebel, G. Manchin, M. Mendola, M. and Prarolo, G. *International Migration Intentions and Illegal Costs: Evidence Using Africa-to Europe Smuggling Route*, Centre for Economic Policy Research, Discussion Papers, 2018.

Germain, S. et al, *Brain Drain in Africa: Stakes and Perspectives for Cameroonian Universities*, International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications (November, 2014), Volume 4.

Getis, A. *A History of the Concept of Spatial Autocorrelation: A Geographer's Perspective*, Geographical Analysis, California, 2007.

Gómez, J.M.G. Walle Y.M. and Zergawu, Y.Z. *Trends in African Migration to Europe: Drivers Beyond Economic Motivations*, Centre for European Governance and Economic Development Research, Discussion papers 2017.

Hamood, S. *African Transit Migration Through Libya to Europe: The Human Cost,* The American University in Cairo, Cairo 2006.

Hein de Haas, *Irregular Migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union: An Overview of Recent Trends* International Organization for Migration, Geneva, 2007.

Hein de Haas, *The determinants of international migration: Conceptualising policy, origin and destination effects,* International Migration Institute (IMI) Working Papers Series 2011, No. 32, UK.

Hein de Haas, The Myth of Invasion *The Inconvenient Realities of African Migration to Europe*, Third World Quarterly, (2008) available at http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/01436597.asp.

Hein de Haas et al, *International Migration Trends, determinants and policy effects*, International Migration Institute Network, 2018.

Hochleithner, S. and Exner, A. *Theories of Migration in and from Rural Sub-Saharan Africa,* Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy, Sweden, 2018.

Home, R. *Colonial Urban Planning in Anglophone Africa*, (2015) online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/298462625.

Https://www.justsecurity.org/73509/mass-deportations-to-cameroon-undermine-us-foreign-policy-and-violate-international-law/ access on 20/04/2021.

Idemudia, E. and Boehnke, K. *Psychosocial Experiences of African Migrants in Six European Countries,* Springer Nature Switzerland, Cham, Switzerland, 2020.

Ikwuyatum, G.O. *The Changing Face of Migration in West Africa: The Case of Nigeria,* online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326571633.

Ikwuyatum, G.O. *The Changing Face of Migration in West Africa: The Case of Nigeria*, (July 2012), online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326571633.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) Country Report*, Cameroon: Staff Report for the 2009 Article IV Consultation and Request for disbursement Under the Rapid-Access Component of the Exogenous Shocks Facility*, No. 09/318, 2009.

International Organisation for Migration Reports, *Migrants Caught in Crisis: The IOM Experience in Libya*, Geneva 2012.

International Organisation for Migration, 2019, *International Migration Law: Glossary on Migration*

International Organisation for Migration, 2020, *Africa Migration Report: Challenging the Narrative*.

International Organisation for Migration, May 2019, Displacement Tracking Matrix Libya's Migrant Report.

International Organisation for Migration, *Migration in West and North Africa and across the Mediterranean: Trends, risks, development and governance,* International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2020.

International Organization for Migration (IOM), World Migration Report 2020.

Kahanec, M and Zimmermann, K.F. *Migration and Globalization: Challenges and Perspectives for the Research Infrastructure*, Institute for the Study of Labour, Discussion paper 2008.

KARADUMAN, H.A. and ÇOBAN, E. *Brain Drain in Turkey: An Investigation on the Leading Motives of Skilled Migration,* Avrasya Sosyal ve Ekonomi Araştırmaları Dergisi, cilt 6 sayi 7 yıl 2019.

Kassar, H. and Dourgnon, P. *The big crossing: illegal boat migrants in the Mediterranean*, European Journal of Public Health, (2015) Vol. 24.

Kassar, H. et al, *Emigration flows from North Africa to Europe*, European Journal of Public Health, (2014), Vol. 24.

Kilic, C. Yucesan, M. and Ozekicioglu, H. *Relationship Between Migration and Unemployment: Panel Data Analysis for Selected OECD Countries,* Montenegrin Journal of Economics, (2019) Vol. 15, No. 3

Kirigia, J.M. et al, *The cost of health-related brain drain to the WHO African Region, African Journal of Health Sciences,* (2006) Volume 13.

Kliber, S. African *Emigration to Europe. Social Cohesion and Inequality Nexus*, Economics and Sociology, Pozman, 2018.

Kohnert, D. *African Migration to Europe: Obscured Responsibilities and Common Misconceptions*, GIGA Working Paper Series, Hamburg, Germany, 2007.

Konings, P. and Nyamnjoh, F.B. *The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon,* The Journal of Modern African Studies, (1997) Vol.37 (2).

KOUMA, J.C.G. *Cameroon Fighting Boko Haram*, Rudn University Moscow (2017), Vol.17. No.4 p 727—737.

Kumase, W.N. *Aspects of Poverty and Inequality in Cameroon*, Peter Lang, Frankurt, 2010.

Kutor, S.K. *Development and Underdeveloptment in Africa: The Blame Game and the Way Forward*, Reseach on Humanities and Social Science, (2014), Vol.4, No.7.

Kwachuh, T.P. *The Role of the United States of America in Promoting Democratic Elections in Cameroon (2000-2013),* MSc thesis, University of Buea, Buea, Cameroon, 2017.

Laurence, M. ve Hein de Hass,*African migration: trends, patterns, drivers,* Comparative Migration Studies, London, 2016.

Lekane, G.M. and Lucky Asuelime, L. *One Country, Three Colonial Legacies: the Politics of Colonialism, Capitalism and Development in the Pre- and Post-colonial Cameroon*, Journal for Contemporary History, (June 2017) online at https://dx.doi. org/10.18820/24150509/ JCH42.v1.8.

Linden, M.V. *Migration History in World History,* Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden the Netherlands, 2010.

Mafu, L. *The Libyan/Trans-Mediterranean Slave Trade, the African Union, and the Failure of Human Moralit*y, SAGE Open, 2019.

Mberu, B.U. and Pongou, R. *Crossing Boundaries: Internal, Regional and International Migration in Cameroon*, International Migration in IOM reports (2012), Vol.54 (1).

Mbuy, T. *The Mission and Role of The Catholic Church Towards Peace Building in A Crisis Situation: Perspectives from the Anglophone Problem in Contemporary Cameroon*, ARISE Bamenda, Bamenda, Cameroon, 2018.

Mohammed M. and Magai, P.S. *Effects of Regional Economic Integration on Regional Trade in Africa: The Case of Regional Economic Communities*, (2019), online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335892520.

Molua, E. *Migrant Remittance and Farm Production Decisions in Cameroon,* Journal of Applied Sciences Research, London, 2009.

Mosedale, J. *Globalization,* 2014 online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236881170 access on 20/02/2021.

Myrice, E. *The Impact of the Second World War on the Decolonization of Africa*, Africana Studies Student Research Conference, available at https://scholarworks.bgsu.edu/africana_studies_conf/2015/004/2.

Ndefru, J. *The Fundamentals of Development Administration*, Academic Publishing Company, Enugu, 2016.

Ngoh, V.J. *History of Cameroon Since 1800*, Presbook, Limbe, 1996.

Ngoh, V.J. *The Political Evolution of Cameroon, 1884-1961*, PhD dissertation, Portland State University, USA 1979.

Ngwa, W.D. *The First World War and its aftermath in Cameroon: A Historical Evaluation of a Centenary, 1914-2014,* International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science, (2015), Vol. 3 No. 2.

Nkain, C.J. and Ngong, T.H. *Mastering Concepts in Human and Economic Geography,* Fine Thing Publishing House, Buea, Cameroon 2014.

Nkama, A.H.G. *Analysing the Impact of the Global Economic and Financial Crisis in Cameroon*, Rethinking African Economic Policy in Light of the Global Economic and Financial Crisis Conference, 2009.

NKONGHO, K.F. *The Role of the Cameroon Diaspora in the Socio-Economic Development of Cameroon*, Research on Humanities and Social Sciences (2019), Vol.9, No.14,

Nkongo, T.M. *A Critical Analysis of State Transformation Through Privitisation*, LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, Berlin, 2014.

Nkwelle, N.R. *Human and Economic Geography*, SUNWAY Publishers, Limbe, Cameroon, 2012.

Nkwelle, T.H.N. *Youth Unemployment and Political Instability in Cameroon*, online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344728806 access on 14/02/2021.

Nwabuzo, O. *Afrophobia in Europe*, ENAR Shadow Report 2014-2015, December, 2015.

Ogu, P.I. *Africa's Irregular Migration to Europe: A Re-enactment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, Journal of Global Research in Education and Social Science, 2017.

Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (Oxfam), Media Briefing, August 2017.

Pelican, M. *International Migration: Virtue or Vice? Perspectives from Cameroon*, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, (2013), Vol. 39, No. 2, 237-257.

Pelican, M. Tatah, P. and Basile Ndjio, *Local Perspectives on Transnational Relations of Cameroonian Migrants*, (2008) African Sociological Review, 12, 2, pp.117-127.

Pew Research Center, March, 2018. *At Least a Million Sub-Saharan Africans Moved to Europe Since 2010.*

Pichette, A. *The Rise of Boko Haram: An Analysis of Failed Governance*, Outstanding Gateway Papers, (2015) online at http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/gateway/ access on 23/01/2021.

Rackley, E.B. *Cameroon's Far North: Responding to Boko Haram*, Oxford Research
Group 2017.

Rees, P. and Lomax, N. *Ravenstein Revisited: The Analysis of Migration, Then and
Now*, Comparative Population Studies (2019) Vol. 44, 351-412.

Rustamov, S. *Global Governance of Migration*, MSc thesis, Linköping, Sweden
May, 2011.

Schrieder, G. and Knerr, B. *Labour Migration as a Social Security Mechanism for
Smallholder Households in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Cameroon*,
Routledge, August 2010), online at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/713688309.

Small, S. *Ethnicity, Race, and Black People in Europe*, The Palgrave Handbook of
Ethnicity, (2019), online at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-2898-5_169

Smith, A. *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, Chicago
University Press, Chicago, 1976.

SUNDERLIN, W.D. et al, *Economic Crisis, Small-Scale Agriculture, and Forest
Cover Change in Southern Cameroon,* Foundation for Environmental
Conservation (2000), Vol.27.No3.

Swain, A. *Increasing Migration Pressure and Rising Nationalism: Implications for
Multilateralism and SDG Implementation,* A Paper Prepared for the Development
Policy Analysis Division of the United Nations, Department of Economics and
Social Affairs, June 2019.

Świerczyńska, K. and Kliber, A. *African Emigration to Europe: Social Cohesion and
Inequality Nexus*, Economics & Sociology, (2018), Vol. 11, No. 1.

The African Capacity Building Foundation reports*, Brain Drain in Africa: The Case
of Tackling Capacity Issues in Malawi's Medical Migration,* 2018.

The Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime, *Smuggled Futures: The dangerous path of the migrant from Africa to Europe*, 2014.

Timothy, M. *Cameroon: Flawed Decentralization & the Politics of Identity in the Urban Space,* Global Journals Inc, USA, 2012.

Tinti, P. and Westcott, T. *The Niger-Libya corridor: Smugglers' perspectives*, Institutes for Security Studies, 2016.

Turkish Radio Television (TRT) World News, 2020 available at https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/lebanon access on 16/04/2021.

Turkish Radio Television (TRT) world, 2020 available at https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/lebanon access on 16/04/2021.

UN Human Rights, Third Annual Expert Workshop organized by UN Fund for Victims of Torture, 2017.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Regional Bureau for Europe, *Arrivals to Europe from Libya* May 2020.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Economic Development in Africa Report, 2018.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) July 2015, *The sea route to Europe: The Mediterranean passage in the age of refugees.*
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), UNOV/DM/CMS/EPLS/Electronic Publishing Unit, May 2010.

Val Colic-Peisker, *Globalization and Migration*, Springer International Publishing AG (2017) online, at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318166838.

Velázquez, F.C. *Approaches to the Study of International Migration: A Review*, Estudios Fronterizos, (2000) vol.1 No1.

Yihdego, Z. *The African Union: Founding Principles, Frameworks and Prospects*, European Law Journal, (September 2011), Vol. 17, No. 5, pp. 568–594.

Zubiashvili, T. *Globalization and Migration Processe*s, International Academic Conference on Social Science,

APPENDIX

Interview Guide

Before conducting interview with my respondents, I send them an interview guide in order to prepare them for the interview, it read thus,

My name is **Usmanu Maliki,** I am a Master's student from the Department of Political Science and Public Administration in Eskisehir Osmangazi University, Turkey and my student number is **514520180027**. I am currently in my final year and writing a thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirement of MSc degree on the topic **"Emigration Crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa: Case of Cameroon".** It is for the purpose of this study, that you are solicited to answer the following questions and bearing in mind that this is an empirical investigation, your identity or any other personal information will be treated as a matter of confidentiality in accordance with research ethics.

- ✓ Why did you choose to leave Cameroon?
- ✓ Did you have a job before leaving Cameroon?
- ✓ What were the challenges that you faced during the migration process?
- ✓ What were the Challenges you faced in country of destination?
- ✓ Why were you repatriated?

Thank You for Your time