

Cameroonian diaspora organisations in Germany and their development activities



The study was carried out by the Migration for Development programme on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

Around the world, societies are changing and individuals are on the move: around 250 million people currently live outside their country of origin. This evolving situation presents opportunities for all concerned: diversity and exchange across national borders provide impetus for economic, political and social progress – both in host countries and in countries of origin.

Migrants themselves play an important role in building bridges between countries. Through their expertise, ideas, experience and contacts, they stimulate sustainable change. In a variety of ways, they help their countries of origin to remain competitive, while simultaneously shaping society in their host countries. This interaction offers great potential for development. On behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), we support the activities of migrants from emerging and developing countries and advise our partner countries on how to use migration to advance sustainable development.

The Migration for Development programme focuses on four areas of activity:

- Knowledge transfer through returning experts
- Cooperation with diaspora organisations
- Migrants as entrepreneurs
- Migration policy advice

Author:
Dr. Jenni Winterhagen



Contents

1 Introduction	4
2 Definitions and methodology	5
2.1 Definitions	5
2.2 Online research	5
2.3 Telephone interviews	6
3 Migration from Cameroon to Germany	7
3.1 Persons with Cameroonian citizenship	8
3.2 Residence status	8
3.3 Geographic distribution and employment	9
3.4 Naturalisations	9
3.5 Educational migration	9
4 Diaspora policies of Cameroonian institutions	11
5 Cameroonian diaspora organisations in Germany	13
5.1 Types of organisation of the identified Cameroonian organisations	13
5.2 Overview of the identified organisations	15
5.2.1 <i>Development projects supported by the identified associations</i>	15
5.3 Overview of the interviewed Cameroonian organisations in Germany	17
5.3.1 <i>Particular development activities of the associations</i>	17
5.3.2 <i>Challenges and support requirements</i>	18
5.3.3 <i>Challenges at political level and associations' strategies</i>	19
6 Networking and lines of conflict within the Cameroonian diaspora in Germany	20
6.1 Networking and umbrella organisations	20
6.2 Lines of conflict	20
7 Executive summary	23
Appendix	25
Bibliography	29



1 Introduction

The topic of migration and development has garnered increased attention in academic and public discourse (again) in the last decade and a half. Debate revolves mainly around the impacts emigration has on the countries of the global South, as well as how negative consequences can be mitigated and positive effects nurtured. Perspectives on this thematic area are both pessimistic and optimistic, and they are subject to periodic trends (cf. Haas 2012; Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration 2011). Aspects of emigration contributing to development include, in addition to the prominently debated aspect of migrants' remittances (cf. Ratha 2003, representing many), migrants' knowledge transfer and engagement in development activities. These activities often take place in what are referred to as diaspora organisations (cf. Baraulina et al. 2006).

German development cooperation agencies have been increasingly working in the field of migration and development since 2003. The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH has commissioned a number of studies in order to explore 'options for cooperation' (Riester 2011, p. 275) with diaspora organisations. These studies usually focus on one group of migrants in Germany and examine their diaspora organisations that are active in areas of development (cf. Schüttler 2007; Wolf 2007; Ragab et al. 2013, representing many).

The current survey, which was commissioned by GIZ, examines Cameroonian organisations and networks in Germany along the lines of these studies. Despite its comparatively small size, the Cameroonian diaspora in Germany is heavily involved in development. This is due to the fact that a high proportion of migration from Cameroon to Germany is educational migration. Many Cameroonians in Germany are highly trained academics who are able to contribute their skills and strong motivation to their development activities.

The present study, which expands on a predecessor study on the Cameroonian diaspora from the year 2006 (see Schmelz 2007), pursues a twofold research interest:

First, it aims to capture structures of the Cameroonian diaspora organisations and provide an up-to-date overview of existing associations and their engagement in development activities.

Second, it aims to examine what political agendas the Cameroonian organisations pursue and whether they attempt to influence political developments in Cameroon. It seeks to describe any existing lines of conflict within the diaspora organisations. This approach accounts for the fact that diasporas do not represent homogeneous units and that, acting from within the diaspora, politically mobilised groups may exacerbate or prolong conflicts in their countries of origin (cf. Anderson 1992; Fahrenhorst et al. 2009; Collier and Hoeffler 2002). This is particularly significant amid experts' increasing warnings that the international community should not overestimate Cameroon's stability (cf. International Crisis Group 2010b; Pigeaud 2014). For example, in September 2014 the International Crisis Group wrote:

"The key question for both local and foreign observers of Cameroon is always the same: how will the transition to a post-Biya political landscape play itself out? After 32 years as president, 81-year-old Paul Biya, reelected in 2011 for seven more years at the helm, does not seem ready to leave office in 2018" (International Crisis Group 2014:1).

The present study therefore also aims to discuss how the Cameroonian diaspora organisations position themselves in this political situation and what conflict-related activities exist within the diaspora.

2 Definitions and methodology

The next section defines the concepts relevant to the study. It is followed by a description of the methodology, which is largely based on online research and telephone interviews. Statistical data on Cameroonian migration to Germany were also evaluated and existing secondary literature was reviewed.

2.1 Definitions

In the following, a migrant organisation is defined as an organisation that has a relevant proportion of (board) members with a migrant background¹, for which the study assumes a proportion of around 40% as a rough guide.² The second, equally important criterion is that migration-related themes or biographical ties with the themes of migration and displacement play a role in the activities of the association (cf. Stahl 2009; Weiss 2013, p. 22; Berlin Participation and Integration Act, Section 6 (4)). Internet research usually provided clear indications as to whether the association was a migrant organisation. Key indicators were the names of the board members and the organisations' own descriptions, which mentioned the importance of migration biographies for the association – including in its establishment. Diaspora organisations also have a strong connection with their countries of origin, in the present study usually involving development projects, so that they are referred to in the study as international solidarity associations.³

The following three cases were included as migrant organisations in the survey, but represent borderline cases:

- » The first one is a Cameroonian-German division within a non-migrant development association. The division is sustained by the commitment of a German-Cameroonian who realises projects in his home region through the association. Its current activities could not be implemented without his networks, knowledge and biography-driven motivation. However, persons with a Cameroonian background do not

represent a relevant proportion of association members. Still, the division was included in the list of Cameroonian associations because his person plays a central role, but the association overall was not counted with regard to its members and year of establishment (cf. Figure 9).

- » The second case is a Cameroonian organisation in eastern Germany, whose members with a migrant background make up 30%, but here, too, the migration biography of the chairperson plays a central role for its activities, so the organisation was included in the list. The same applies to a third association in which members with a migrant background make up only 10%.

With regard to the definition of development activity, the study follows Blome and Priller, who define it as 'individual action that explicitly or implicitly follows the guiding principle of sustainable development and works towards improving the situation of persons in what are referred to as developing countries.' It is characterised by 'voluntariness and the absence of any intention of personal gain' and 'usually takes place in a public space' (Blome and Priller 2013, p. 29f.).

2.2 Online research

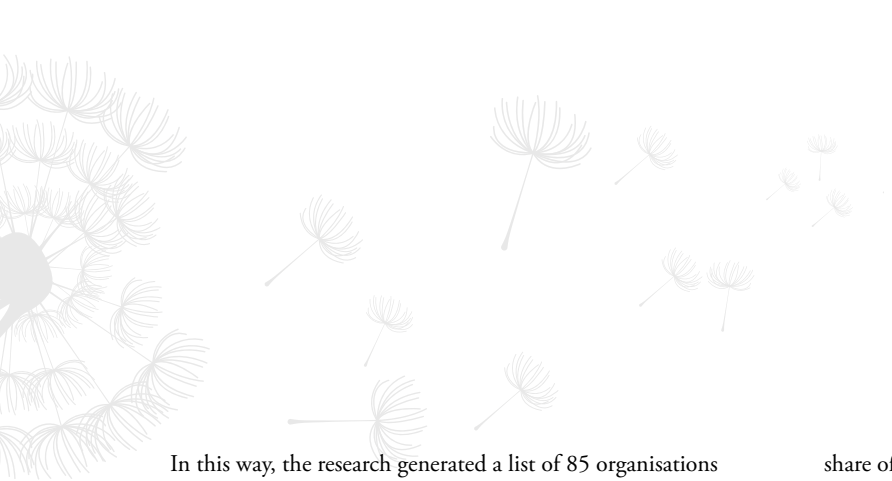
A list of Cameroonian organisations in Germany was compiled on the basis of online research (mapping). The first step was to search for registered associations with a connection to Cameroon using various keywords through the common register portal of the German federal states. The second step was to determine more precisely the names of organisations so obtained through an online search, to establish contact data and – where possible – to identify and categorise development projects. The project categories are not exclusive, but they overlap. For example, a project that collects donations in kind for a hospital and ships them to Cameroon was categorised under 'donations in kind' and 'health'.

Relying primarily on online research, this methodology has its limitations in that it allows the study to capture only projects and associations that document themselves and their activities on the internet. Consequently, the findings of the study should be regarded as a rough field guide.

1 The German Federal Statistical Office coined this term in its micro-census 2005 to include all persons who, in short, either migrated to Germany themselves or have/had parents who migrated there (cf. German Federal Statistical Office 2011, p. 6).

2 The literature sets the minimum proportion at between 40% and 70% (cf. Fahrenhorst et al. 2009, p. 19; Reinecke et al. 2010, p. 35; Diallo 2011, p. 6; Reinecke et al. 2010, p. 35; Berlin Participation and Integration Act, Section 6 (4)). GIZ and CIM define a migrant organisation on the basis of the proportion of (board) members, which must be at least 50%. In this study, the minimum was chosen in order to be able to also take into account the material criterion – the importance of knowledge based on migration experience. For more details cf. Winterhagen 2015.

3 Based on the classification of fields of activity in accordance with the ZIVIZ survey, whose categories, in turn, follow the International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations (cf. UN Handbook) (cf. Krimmer 2013).



In this way, the research generated a list of 85 organisations which are almost exclusively registered associations. Besides organisations that were already known to the commissioning party (26), organisations were primarily identified through the register portal (25) or through online research (18). Eleven organisations were found through recommendations or mailing lists and five through private networks.

2.3 Telephone interviews

For reasons of research efficiency, it was not possible to contact all the identified organisations. The focus was therefore placed on associations that possess experience with development projects, already present themselves more professionally and thus are potentially using support and advisory services offered by the commissioning party. On that basis, 45 associations were contacted, 16 of which were interviewed in early summer 2015. One interview was also conducted with an expert.

The questions posed in the interviews mainly related to the association and its development work (number of members, activities etc.) and to its views of the Cameroonian diaspora in Germany (its integration, political activities, tendencies, lines of conflict, etc.). The interviews lasted an hour and a half on average.

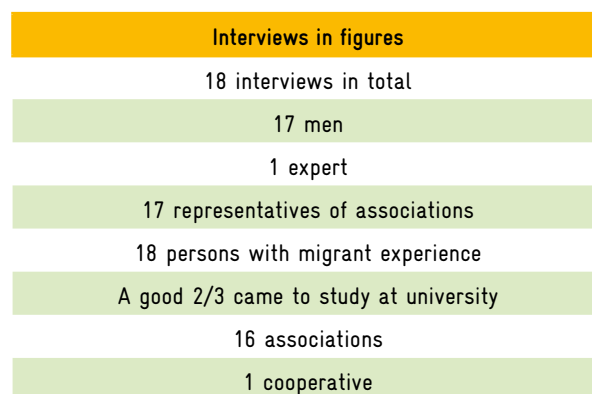
They were logged both during and immediately following the conversation.

A total of 17 persons were interviewed in this way, 16 of whom were men. This was evidence that men dominated as contact persons in the associations and on their boards, although the

share of women among the members was stated as a good 40% on average. All interviewed persons had migrated to Germany themselves, a good two thirds of them with the aim of attending university.

The interviewees arrived in Germany between 1989 and 2010, the vast majority of them as early as in the 1990s or around the turn of the millennium, so that most of them have lived in Germany for a good decade.

Figure 1: Interviews in figures



Two persons arrived in Germany as refugees and one as a labour migrant. Almost all of them completed their education and were in employment, usually as highly qualified professionals in the areas of engineering, information technology, electronics, management and medicine.

3 Migration from Cameroon to Germany

The central African country of Cameroon, which is also nicknamed 'Africa in miniature' for its ethnic and geographic diversity, has approx. 23 million inhabitants. Its population is composed of around 250 ethnic groups who speak languages from 24 language groups, which puts the country's ethnic diversity far above the sub-Saharan average (cf. Fearon and Laitin 16. 2005, p. 2). Around 40% of the population each adhere to Christianity and indigenous religions while Muslims account for around 20% (cf. CIA Factbook 2015).

This ethnic diversity characterises the country's history. It is described as a challenge, on the one hand, because policy-makers need to take local identities and interests into consideration and there is no pan-Cameroonian sentiment or united opposition. In this setting, the Cameroonian Government emphasises ethnic differences and ethnicises the political landscape, as described by Page, Evans and Mercer, for example:

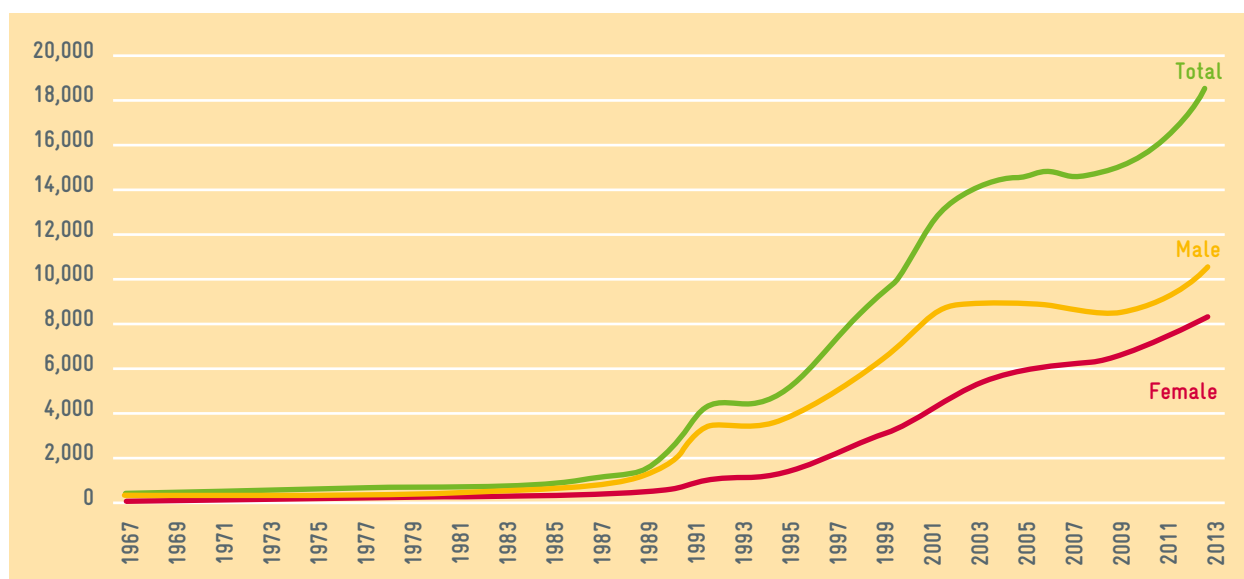
'In the Cameroonian case the national government has been shown to have instrumentalized the sentiments associated with home in its own interest [...]. It does so in order to help secure regional power bases and to undermine political rivals by nurturing localist movements and so pre-empting the emergence of any ideologically coherent opposition [...]' (Page et al. 2010, p. 346)

For Fearon and Laitin, on the other hand, the diversity of groups and interests represents a source of political stability, as the absence of a unified opposition, among other factors, has prevented civil war (cf. Fearon and Laitin 2005).

Cameroon is both a migration destination – primarily for people from neighbouring countries – and a source of emigration, particularly to Europe and primarily France. There is also a dynamic internal migration flow from rural to urban areas (cf. IOM 2009). In 2007, the number of Cameroonians living outside the country was estimated at a good 170,000, almost 40,000 of whom were living in France (DRC according to IOM 2009). It is primarily highly qualified people who leave the country. The Cameroon Medical Association estimates that more than 4,000 Cameroonian doctors are working abroad, compared with around 800 doctors in Cameroon's cities (cf. IOM 2009, p. 24). Undocumented emigration is also believed to be gaining importance at the same time (cf. International Crisis Group 2010b, p. 13, FN 92).

The following sections describe migration from Cameroon to Germany in more detail and provide an overview of existing statistics. From the findings, the following overall picture emerges: around 25,000 persons with Cameroonian citizenship and naturalised Cameroonians live in Germany. The most important kinds of immigration are educational migration, family reunification, and refugee or asylum migration. Migration for

Figure 2: Cameroonian citizens in Germany (1967-2014), German Federal Statistical Office.



university study plays a key role, which explains why a large portion of the Cameroonian diaspora in Germany is composed of graduates from German universities who are characterised by high levels of motivation and activity (cf. Section 3.5).

3.1 Persons with Cameroonian citizenship

At the moment, 18,301 persons with Cameroonian citizenship live in Germany. Migration from Cameroon to Germany saw an increase particularly in the 1990s (up to 2003) and then again in the second decade of the new millennium (cf. Figure 2). It was male-dominated for a long time, but in recent years the proportion of women has risen significantly and is now at around 44%. This is also reflected in the average duration of residence, which is 6.3 years for women, just slightly less than the 6.9 years for men. Cameroonians in Germany are comparatively young. While the average age of non-Germans residing in Germany is around 39 years, Cameroonians are more than 10 years younger (women 28.3 years, men 28.9 years).

3.2 Residence status

If we analyse the various types of residence titles under which Cameroonian citizens live in Germany, it is evident that the most important immigration options are educational and refugee or asylum migration, as well as family reunification.

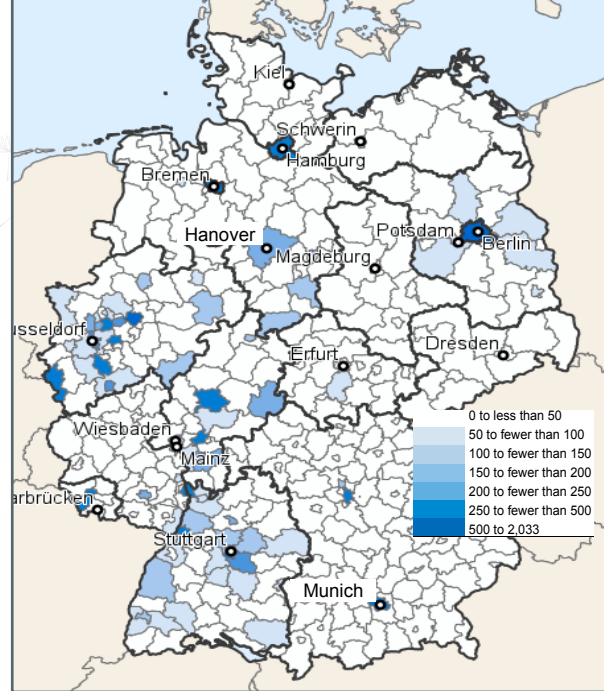
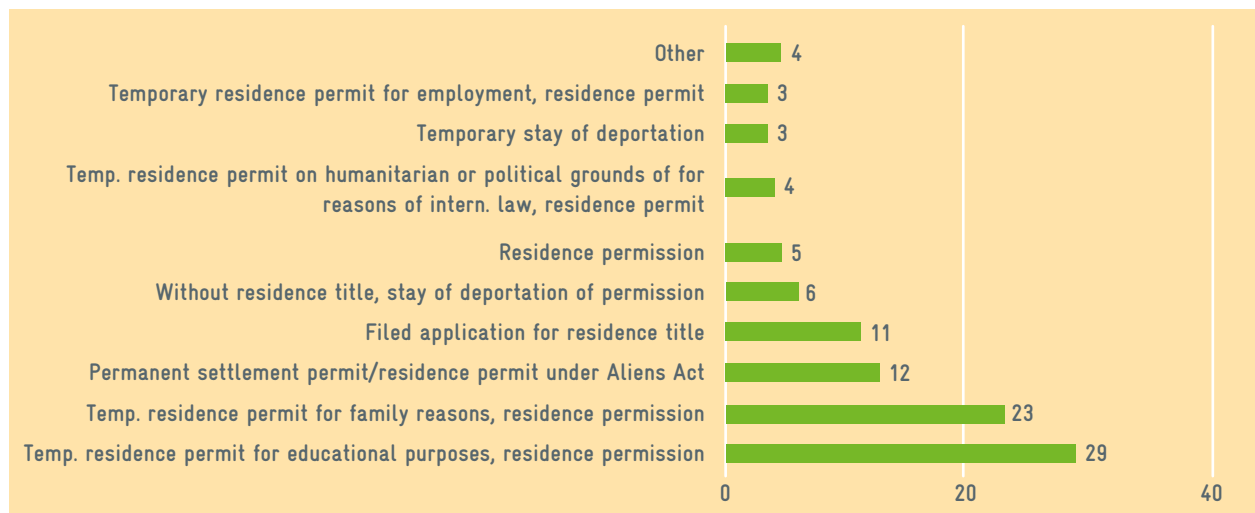


Figure 4: Geographic distribution of Cameroonian citizens by districts, as at 31 December 2014 (German Federal Statistical Office 2015).

Just under 30% have a temporary residence permit for education and 23% have a temporary residence permit for family reasons. A total of 12% have a residence permission while their asylum application is being processed, have a temporary stay of deportation or a temporary residence permit for reasons of international law or on humanitarian or political grounds. Around 12% of the Cameroonian citizens in the Federal Republic of Germany have permanent residence (German Federal Statistical Office).

A closer look at the number of asylum seekers from Cameroon reveals that the recognition rate is relatively low. Of the 7,883 Cameroonians who applied for asylum between 2000 and 2014, just under 300 were recognised as refugees or were granted subsidiary protection or a temporary stay of deportation. That puts the recognition rate at just under 6% (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees).

Figure 3: Selected residence titles of Cameroonian citizens in Germany as at 31 December 2014, in per cent (German Federal Statistical Office).



3.3 Geographic distribution and employment

Most Cameroonians in Germany live in the federal states of North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden Württemberg, Berlin and Hesse (cf. Figure 13 in Annex). In North Rhine-Westphalia many Cameroonians live in the district cities of Dortmund, Essen, Cologne and Wuppertal. In Baden-Württemberg the main cities are Stuttgart, Mannheim and the rural district of Esslingen; in Hesse the rural district of Giessen and the urban districts of Frankfurt and Darmstadt. Other locations are Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen and Munich as well as the rural district of Saarlouis, where a comparatively high number of Cameroonian persons are domiciled (cf. Figure 4; see Figure 14 in the Appendix for a list of districts).

Only a small portion of Cameroonian citizens in Germany are looking for employment or are unemployed. In April 2015, the German Federal Employment Agency had 2,241 persons with Cameroonian citizenship registered as job-seekers and 1,131 registered as unemployed.⁴

3.4 Naturalisations

Between 1980 and 2000, 6,521 Cameroonians adopted German citizenship (German Federal Statistical Office, Schmelz 2007). The number of annual naturalisations has increased, from around 140 in the year 2000 to nearly 1,000 naturalisations in 2013, for example. No statistics are available on the number of undocumented persons with Cameroonian citizenship and persons whose parents have Cameroonian citizenship but are not in possession of a Cameroonian passport.⁵

3.5 Educational migration

Among students with non-German school education attending German universities and other higher education institutions, Cameroonian students are currently the ninth largest group overall, the largest from sub-Saharan Africa and the second most numerous group from the African continent after the group of Moroccan students (cf. Figure 12 in Annex). Nearly 6,000 Cameroonian students were enrolled in Germany in semester one of 2012/13 (cf. Figure 12 in Annex).

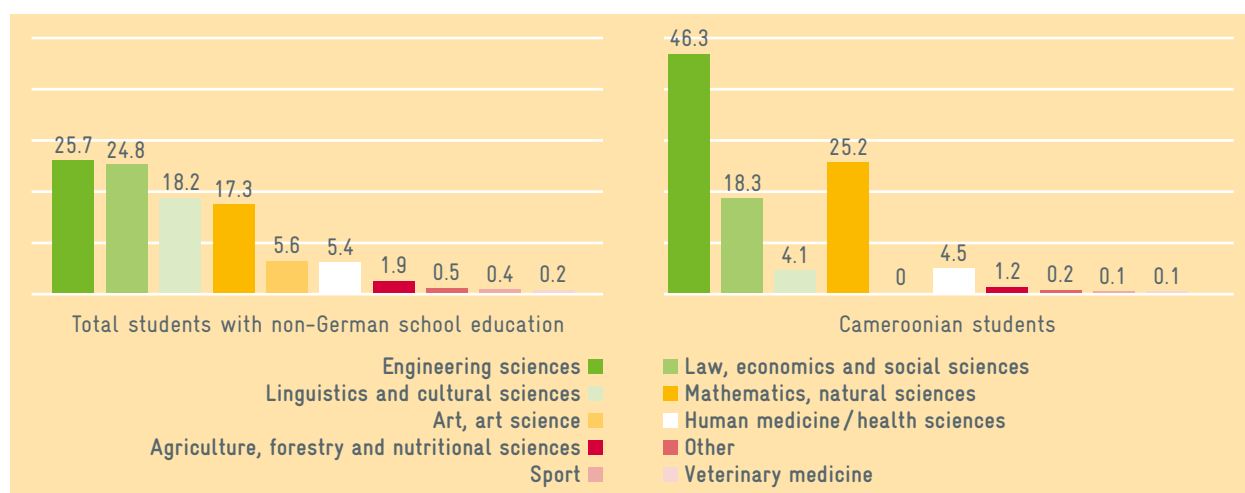
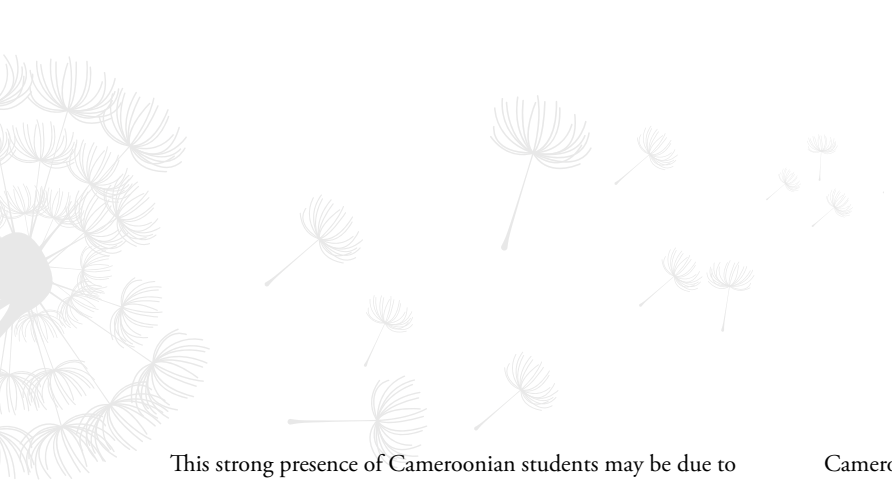


Figure 5: Cameroonian students and students with non-German school education by study disciplines, in per cent (semester one, 2012/13).

⁴ Labour market statistics define unemployed persons as those who 'are not in an employment relationship or work less than 15 hours a week, are seeking employment subject to social security contributions, are consequently available for the placement efforts of the German Federal Employment Agency and have registered with the Agency as unemployed. [...] Persons who participate in active labour market policy measures are not [deemed] unemployed.' The term job-seeker is broader and covers not just unemployed persons but those who are looking for employment even though they are currently employed, but are receiving supplementary payments due to low income or undergoing a labour market policy measure (German Federal Employment Agency 2004, p. 2ff.).

⁵ The micro-census, which captures the size of the group of persons with a migrant background, among other data, is not suitable for making differentiated statements for population groups as small as the Cameroonian one.



This strong presence of Cameroonian students may be due to two reasons mentioned by the interviewees in the interviews conducted for this study. First, the Cameroonian equivalent of Germany's university entrance qualification (Abitur) has been recognised since the mid-1990s (also as a result of lobbying work undertaken by a Cameroonian doctors' association in Germany, as mentioned by one interviewee), and second, Cameroon awarded scholarships for study abroad for some time.

A comparison of the distribution of all students with non-German school education across different groups of subject areas with the distribution of Cameroonian students reveals that

Cameroonian students focus on engineering sciences, mathematics and natural sciences. Almost half of them have chosen to study engineering and one quarter mathematics and natural sciences.

Centres of Cameroonian educational migration in Germany are the Mittelhessen University of Applied Sciences and the University of Darmstadt, each with almost 300 enrolled Cameroonian students, and the Fulda University of Applied Sciences, which has 220 Cameroonian students (cf. Figure 6; see Figures 15-19 in the Appendix for individual subject areas).

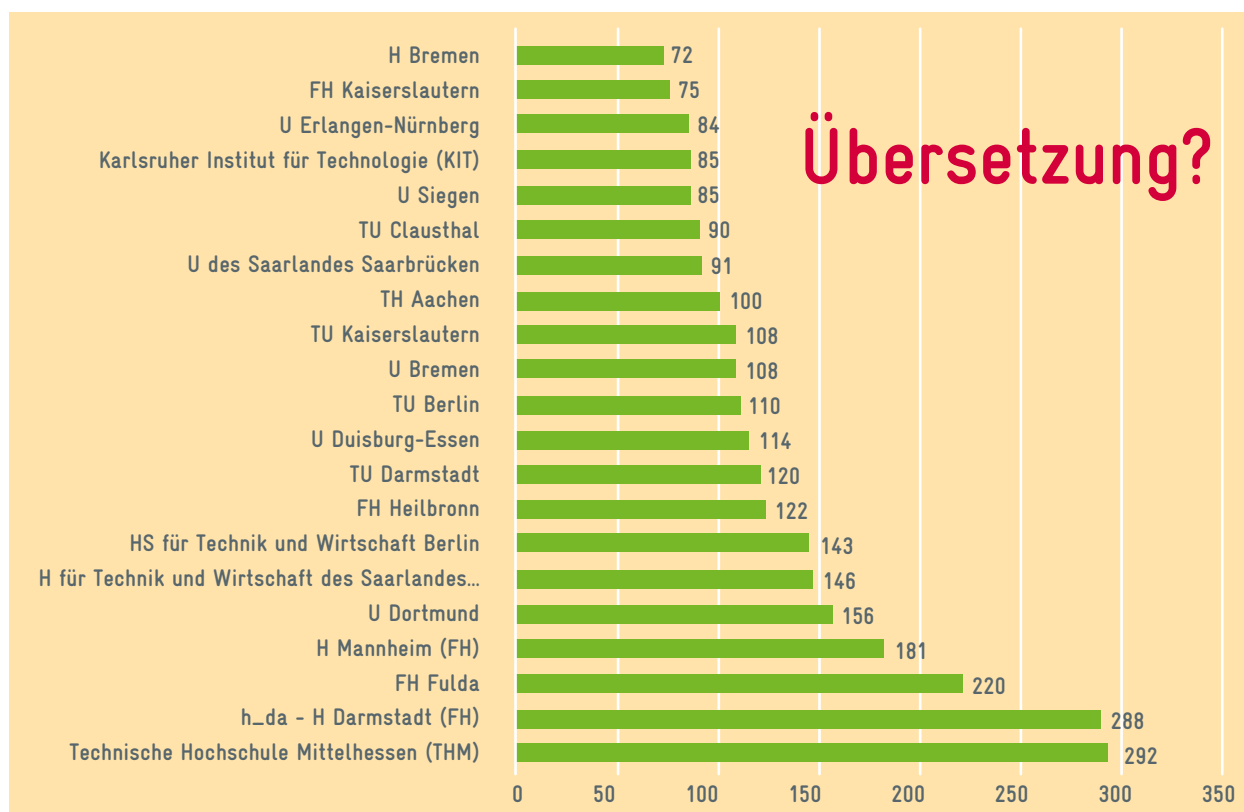


Figure 6: The 20 universities and tertiary education institutions with the most Cameroonian students, absolute figures (semester one, 2012/13):

4 Diaspora policies of Cameroonian institutions

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated in 2009 that the attempts of the Cameroonian Government to mobilise and harness the potential of the diaspora were ‘in their early stages’ (IOM 2009, p. 25). Schmelz’ assessment of this is similar to that of the persons interviewed for this study (cf. Schmelz 2007, p. 11). The following overview of identifiable approaches of a Cameroonian diaspora policy confirms this assessment for the year 2015.

A diaspora business forum for investment in Cameroon was to take place in 2007 to mark the beginning of the country’s efforts to tap into the diaspora, but it was cancelled. In the summer of 2007, an initiative for the modernisation of Cameroonian institutions of higher learning was launched to facilitate knowledge transfer (cf. Schmelz 2007, p. 11). Several attempts have since been made within the Cameroonian Government to revise the country’s migration policy in order to better integrate co-development approaches.⁶ An inter-ministerial working group on migration and development, which involves various ministries, was therefore set up in 2007.⁷ The inter-ministerial working group has cooperated with the IOM in the field of irregular migration. The Ministry of External Relations has taken a lead role in this activity. Its task is to collect proposals from the participating institutions on important topics relating to migration and development (cf. IOM 2009, p. 75). Since 2005, the Ministry of External Relations has maintained a department for Cameroonians abroad which has recently been upgraded into a division, according to one interviewee. The role of ministries in Cameroon, however, is not comparable to the role of ministries in Germany, as the position of the President and his administration is very strong.

Annual dialogue forums have been taking place since 2008, aiming to offer a ‘space for reflection and action between Cameroonians abroad, the government, enterprises and other partners’.⁸ These dialogue forums are arranged by the Swiss

organisation Cameroonian Skills Abroad Network (Casa-Net), which is supported by the Cameroonian Ministry of External Relations and the Ministry for Employment and Professional Training. A number of other ministries are also involved, including some that are not represented in the inter-ministerial working group on migration. To date, Casa-Net comprises almost 20 primarily European associations, including four Cameroonian associations from Germany. One interviewee who was involved in Casa-Net describes his disappointment over the forum, claiming that it had hardly achieved anything specific besides sharing ideas.

According to one interviewee, there is competition over the primary responsibility for diaspora affairs between the Ministry of External Relations and the Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation. At the end of October 2009, the Ministry of Scientific Research placed its week of excellence in research and innovation in Cameroon (JERSIC) under the motto ‘The role of the Cameroonian diaspora in the sustainable development of Cameroon’. The association of Cameroonian engineers and computer scientists (VKII e.V.) was awarded the EUR 7,500 prize for the Cameroonian diaspora under this initiative. According to one interviewee, this prize is awarded particularly in recognition of the preparatory work for the research week which the association performed under a symposium on renewable energies in early October 2009.⁹ Minister of Research Madeleine Tchuinte recently emphasised the positive role of the diaspora and underscored that Cameroon had a ‘competent and patriotic diaspora’.¹⁰

The main novelty in the relationship between Cameroon and its diaspora is that Cameroonians abroad have been able to vote in presidential elections at consulates and embassies abroad since 2011. According to interviewees, the ruling party won the election among the German diaspora because supporters of the opposition had increasingly ceased going to the polls, among other reasons. Dual citizenship is so far not permitted.

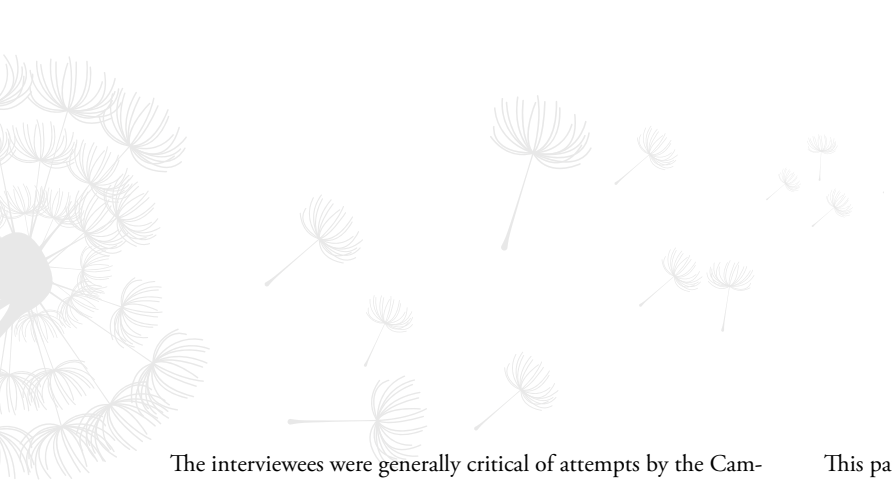
6 The term ‘co-development’, which has been in use particularly in France since the end of the 1990s, refers to strategies aimed at linking migration and development so that migration promotes development processes (cf. S. Nair, S., *Rapport de bilan et d’orientation sur la politique de codéveloppement liée aux flux migratoires*, Mission interministérielle Migrations/Co-développement, Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. 1997, cf. <http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/l-rapports-publics/984000139/index.shtml> (last accessed 2 May 2015).

7 The Ministry of External Relations, the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralisation, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, the Ministry of Employment and Professional Training, the General Delegation for National Security, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Public Health and the Ministry of Social Affairs.

8 DAVOC, *Termes De Références*, Yaoundé, 22 – 23 August 2013.

9 Der VKII erhält anlässlich der JERSIC 2009 den Preis der Diaspora von Frau Dr. Madeleine Tchuinte, www.vkii.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=273&Itemid=1, last accessed 27 May 2015).

10 Cameroun: Madeleine Tchuinte: ‘Nos avons une diaspora compétente et patriote’, <http://www.camer.be/41195/11:1/cameroun-madeleine-tchuinte-nous-avons-une-diaspora-competente-et-patriote-cameroon.html> (last accessed 13 May 2015).



The interviewees were generally critical of attempts by the Cameroonian Government to integrate the diaspora. Declarations of intent to make better use of the potential of the diaspora were said to have been kept general and to have not led to any specific activities. The responsible department in the Ministry of External Relations was said to have insufficient resources to develop contacts and take concrete measures. According to one expert, this also applies to a returnee programme which is being officially implemented by the German Federal Employment Agency. The only party to have recognised the importance of the diaspora was the young opposition party Mouvement pour la Renaissance du Cameroun (Movement for the Renaissance of Cameroon, MRC), and it was emphasising it in its political programme.

This paucity of attempts to specifically integrate the diaspora may be due not only to lack of resources but also to a social phenomenon. Several interviewees mentioned that the government was eyeing the diaspora with scepticism because the diaspora – particularly in the democratic ‘West’ – is regarded as anti-government. Besides, the expression diaspora continues to be associated with political exile. This is said to have played a role in Cameroon’s history and its struggle to gain independence from France, as the independence movement operated from exile (cf. Fearon/Laitin 2005, p. 7). The government therefore perceives the diaspora as a potential threat. It distinguishes between a beneficial and un-beneficial diaspora. The latter is perceived as an uncontrollable threat from democratic countries that intends to influence developments. At the same time, the threat posed by the terrorist organisation Boko Haram in northern Cameroon appears to unify Cameroonians at home and abroad.¹¹ Nevertheless, these events do not appear to mobilise the diaspora because the interviewees did not mention any major donation campaigns from the diaspora for the affected regions nor any other activities.

¹¹ Salomon Ewane, *Boko Haram: Le Cameroun et sa diaspora derrière Paul Biya et l’armée*, in: *News du Camer*, <http://newsducamer.com/index.php/societe/item/4523-boko-haram-le-cameroun-et-sa-diaspora-derriere-paul-biya-et-l%E2%80%99arm%C3%A9e> (last accessed 27 May 2015).

5 Cameroonian diaspora organisations in Germany

The following section provides an overview of the landscape of Cameroonian organisations in Germany. It begins by presenting typical forms of organisation based on the views and descriptions provided by the interviewees. An overview of the characteristics of the identified organisations and the interviewed organisations follows.

5.1 Types of organisation of the identified Cameroonian organisations

This section presents various types of individual Cameroonian organisations (umbrella organisations and networks are described in Section 8.1). The following types can be identified on the basis of the interviews and the online research:

> Cameroonian cultural and integration associations/ethno-regional associations

Cameroonian cultural clubs organise and connect Cameroonians in a city or region in Germany. They often focus on cultural events, self-help and sport. Some 20 of these cultural associations are organised in the *Challenge Camerounais* (cf. Section 8.1). Some of them focus on integration aspects. These clubs often connect Cameroonians from the same home region and usually aim to promote their cultural legacy and common language, and other traditions. The interviews also showed that some of these associations also serve as a solidarity fund and savings model. They often carry out small development projects or collect donations for charities in Cameroon.

> International solidarity

International solidarity associations focus on development projects in Cameroon.

> Professional associations

Professional associations connect Cameroonians from a particular profession across regions, the most prominent examples being the association of Cameroonian engineers and computer scientists (VKII) and the Camfomedics association of Cameroonian doctors. Development projects and knowledge transfer to Cameroon play an important role in this association besides networking and professional exchange.

> Student associations and initiatives

Cameroonian student associations and groups form at some universities and tertiary education institutions. In addition to socialising, the focus here is often on mutual support and on counselling students on day-to-day concerns. Some of these associations design development projects or focal areas based on their joint work.

The types mentioned above represent common forms of organisation and are quite numerous in Germany, particularly cultural associations and ethnic associations. The following forms of organisation also exist, but so far they are few in number:

> Alumni/elite associations

Cameroon has elite associations, including alumni associations from elite secondary schools, an important instrument for networking among elites. Back in 1998, Nyamnjoh and Rolands linked the origins of these organisations with the diaspora. For example, the alumni of the Gymnasium Sasse secondary school was established by university graduates who had returned to Cameroon after earning their degrees in the USA and the UK. In Frankfurt am Main, a branch of the elite organisation Laakam, which is associated with the Bamileke, was established in the early 1990s (cf. Nyamnjoh and Rowlands 1998). Some interviewees mentioned that these are playing an increasingly important role in Germany as well. The Sasse Old Boys Association (SOBA), for example, has a branch in North Rhine-Westphalia and organises major reunions.

> Cooperatives

A Cameroonian cooperative formed in Germany in 2011 as an extremely innovative form of organisation. Its objective is to garner resources through the sale of cooperative shares and invest them in projects that are relevant to development in Cameroon. The first stage of member acquisition, according to a contact person in the cooperative, was now completed so that the cooperative was now planning to start the first projects and network with Cameroonian partners.



› Branch associations of Cameroonian parties

A small number of 'branches' of Cameroonian political parties were identified through online research and some interviewees confirm their existence.¹² The following provides more detailed information about the governing party and a young opposition party which was obtained through the interviews and research.

Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerunais, RDPC – governing party

Although the RDPC cannot be identified in Germany either in the online register of associations nor through online research, interviewees claimed that a branch existed in Germany which was active at times. One interview partner who is a member of the party reported that he joined hoping to be able to contribute the diaspora's critical perspective to the party and promote the potential which the diaspora holds. He said that two meetings had taken place in Berlin and Hamburg in recent years. In 2008/2009, there was a well-attended public event with a delegate from the Cameroonian parliament. The second event took place with the Minister of Economics in 2011 and was a closed party event with a handful of participants. This is where they attempted to contribute their opinions and perspectives from the diaspora. Their impression, however, was that there was no genuine interest in the expertise and opinions held by the diaspora. They were only expected to 'come and chat'. The activities have now come to a standstill.

Le Mouvement pour la Renaissance du Cameroun, MRC – young opposition party

The MRC and its leader Maurice Kamto were explicitly mentioned in some interviews as a party that took the potential in the diaspora and their needs seriously. For Germany, the party has a well-maintained website of its branch, MRC Germany.¹³ Two interviewees mentioned that the MRC was active in Europe and Germany. The executive board of the MRC was in Germany for a week as part of a tour of Europe in June 2015. Its aim was to raise awareness within the international community of the current situation in Cameroon, particularly with a view to the election year 2018. One interviewee reported that he supported the MRC in establishing contacts with stakeholders of parties, civil society and the research community for the planned visit to Germany. A second interviewee was considering taking part in the events. Other interviewees, however, knew little about the activities of the MRC in Germany and had no knowledge of the MRC's upcoming visit to Germany.

¹² Union Démocratique du Cameroun e. V., registered in Essen, Social Democratic Front Germany e. V., registered in Aachen.

¹³ <https://mrcgermany.wordpress.com>.

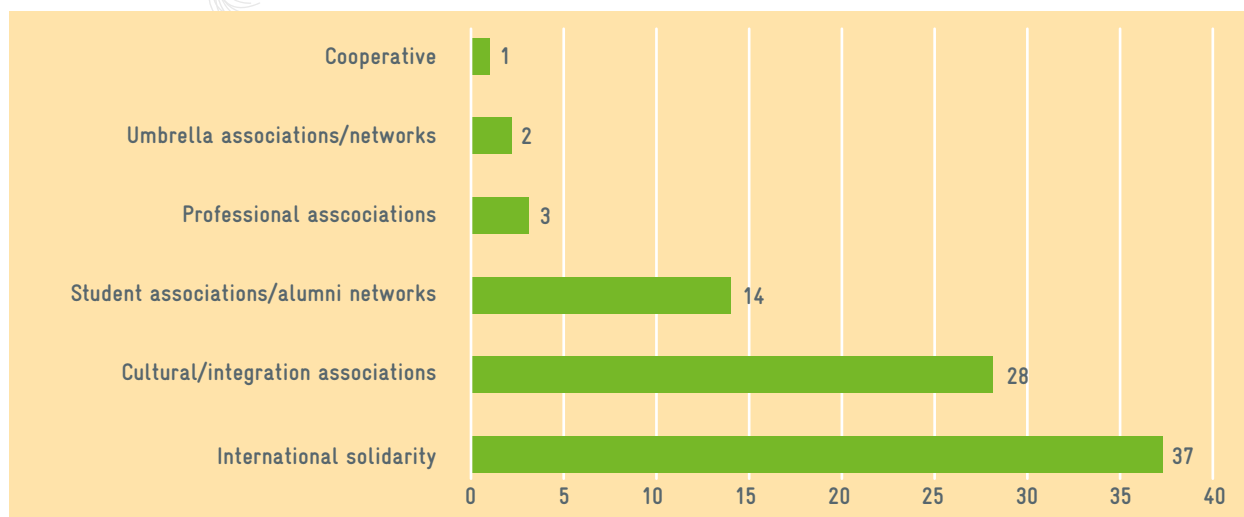


Figure 7: **Types of organisation, all identified organisations (N=85).**

5.2 Overview of the identified organisations

A total of 85 Cameroonian associations with contact details were identified. If we categorise the identified associations according to the types mentioned above, the main group is composed of international solidarity associations (37), followed by cultural and integration associations and ethnic associations. It should be noted, however, that international solidarity associations probably have a stronger online presence and that ethnic networks do not always have the status of a registered association. It therefore has to be assumed that the methods applied for the study (online research/register portal of the German federal states) may lead to a distortion and an overrepresentation of associations engaged in development.

The third group is composed of student associations (14), including two alumni networks of Cameroonian elite schools. Professional associations (3), umbrella organisations and networks (2) and cooperatives (1) are much fewer in number, but represent important points of access and stakeholders in the field because of their large membership numbers, connections, professionalism and innovative approaches.

Geographic distribution: Where possible, the organisations were categorised according to the federal state in which they were registered as an association or have their seat and most activities. This categorisation was not applied to associations that are very active across Germany and interconnected. The picture that emerged was a clear concentration of Cameroonian associations in North Rhine-Westphalia (20). It is followed by the city-state of Berlin (13), Hesse (11), Baden-Württemberg (10), Lower Saxony (5) and Hamburg (4). One organisation was identified in each of the states of Thuringia, Bavaria, Brandenburg, Bremen and Saxony.

Age: The average age of the organisations whose year of establishment is known, which in almost all cases was the year of its registration as an association, is nine years. Most organisations were founded between 2000 and 2009 (31), while 13 associations were founded after 2010. Five associations were created in the 1990s and the oldest one was founded in 1990.

5.2.1 Development projects supported by the identified associations

Cameroonian diaspora organisations are active in different ways. Djoumessi distinguishes between business start-ups, social projects and knowledge transfer (Djoumessi 2014, p. 269).

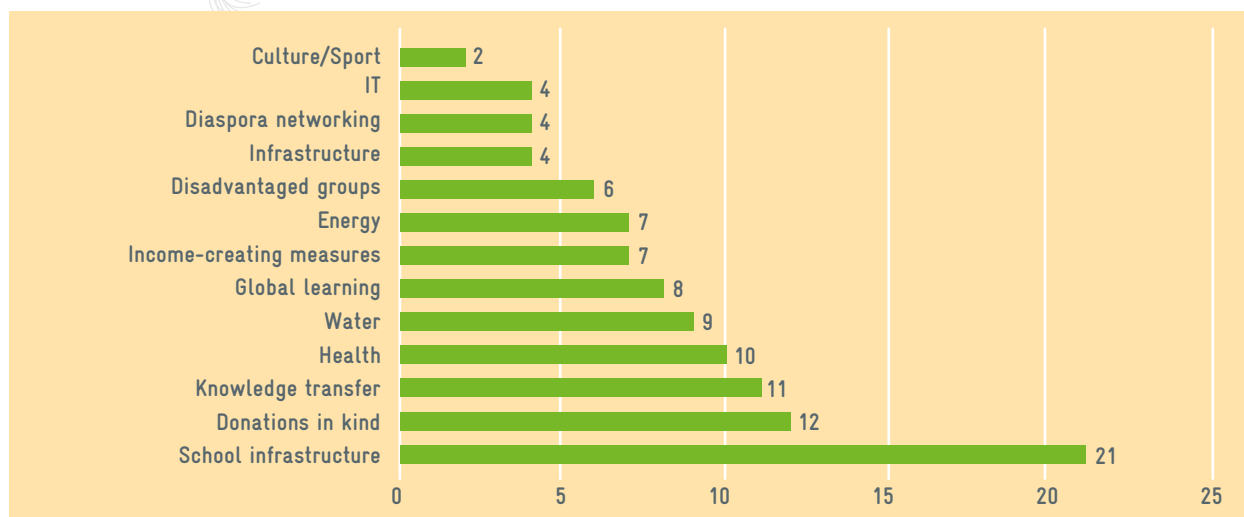


Figure 8: Development projects supported by the identified organisations by topic (multiple responses were possible).

The activities undertaken by the identified associations focus on social projects and knowledge transfer. In order to obtain a rough idea of the identified organisations' development priorities, their projects were divided into 13 general categories (see Figure 8). They include both ongoing and completed projects described by the interviewees or presented on the organisations' websites. They do not include projects still in planning or thematic focal areas merely mentioned on websites without any reference to specific projects. Most projects were assigned to **more than one category**. For example, a project that collected donations in kind for a school was assigned to the two categories 'school infrastructure' and 'donations in kind'. In this way, the categories do not exclude each other mutually and apply to various levels (methods such as donations in kind, knowledge transfer and thematic areas such as health and energy). This categorisation system could certainly be further differentiated, but it does provide an initial overview of the priorities of the Cameroonian diaspora's activities.

Most projects in Cameroon are in the area of **school infrastructure**. Projects often collect donations in kind for schools, support the construction or renovation of a school or provide sponsorships for children to finance school tuition fees. The schools are often located in rural areas. Many associations collect **donations in kind** with a focus on education or health, and in some cases specifically for individual families in need. **Knowledge transfer** plays an explicit role in many projects. One association collects ultrasound equipment and trains personnel in Cameroon on its use. Many projects aim to improve access to basic health care for the rural population or raise awareness of issues such as HIV or malaria. Many of the persons who are involved in this area have studied medicine in Germany and are using their knowledge and networks for projects in Cameroon. Other important areas are access to clean **drinking water** and **power supplies, renewable energies**, while projects in the field of IT are somewhat less prominent. **Income-creating measures** often include projects in rural areas such as setting up a sewing room or training in apiculture or agricultural production. This category also includes a project on the topic of fair trade. Some measures target **disadvantaged social groups**, including women, aged persons, persons with disabilities and orphans. A small number of projects aim to strengthen local infrastructure in rural areas, for instance by upgrading roads. Projects relating to **culture** and **sport** are hardly represented. Projects often focus on a single region or village in Cameroon. Projects within Germany include events on global learning, often in the form of offerings to schools, or interconnecting the diaspora.

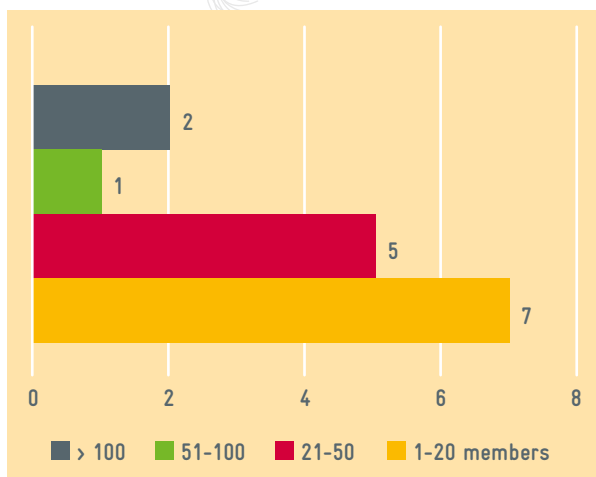


Figure 9: Membership numbers of the interviewed associations (N=15)¹⁴

5.3 Overview of the interviewed Cameroonian organisations in Germany

The 16 associations captured by the interviews were primarily associations with up to 20 members and up to 50 members (see Figure 9). The share of women was a good 40% on average. The majority of the associations (8) were international solidarity associations, followed by cultural associations (4) and professional associations (2) (see Figure 10). Eight associations had a high proportion of members with a Cameroonian migrant background (70% to 100%), in four associations the proportion was between 40% and 69%, and in two associations the proportion was between 10% and 39%. The oldest association was established in 1990 and the youngest is currently undergoing registration. The average age of the associations was nine years.

All but two associations were working exclusively with volunteers. One association recently recruited an assistant to the board financed from membership dues for ten hours a week. A second association was working with four persons on a paid basis, two of whom were being financed by the German Federal Employment Agency under an employment creation measure.

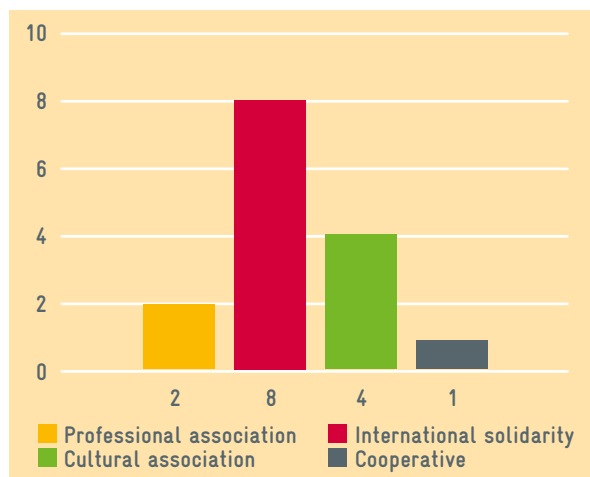


Figure 10: Types of interviewed associations (N=15)

5.3.1 Particular development activities of the associations

The following section details activities that represent particularly innovative forms of development engagement of diaspora organisations.

Cooperative

The Cameroonian cooperative, which was founded in Germany four years ago, aims to promote development projects. Currently it is planning to set up a plantation with a specific tree variety for timber exports and biomass for power generation. It also intends to enable business start-ups in Cameroon through microloans. The funds would be provided from the deposits of the cooperative members, the majority of whom are German-Cameroonians. Its long-term objective is to establish itself as a bank.

Representation of the Cameroon Medical Association

One Association of Cameroonian doctors that has been active in the health sector in Cameroon for a long time has implemented a number of structural changes. In the 1990s, the association successfully advocated for the Cameroonian secondary school leaving certificate to be recognised in Germany. In order to enable medical students to undertake an internship in Cameroon that is recognised in Germany, the association successfully advocated for the establishment of a directory of teaching hospitals in Cameroon.

¹⁴ One association is currently dormant and another is a migrant-German division within a non-migrant association, so it was not counted.



In cooperation with the Cameroon Medical Association, the local association recently succeeded in establishing a representation in Germany. It is headed by an elected member who is able to assess the professional qualifications of doctors assigned by the Association to projects in Cameroon in order to issue professional permits for Cameroon. The representation in Germany considerably simplifies, speeds up and reduces the costs of the recognition process. Efforts were said to be underway to connect the Cameroon Medical Association with the German Medical Association, which was said to be aware of the problem referred to as care drain. In addition, the representation of the Cameroon Medical Association intends to give doctors in Germany who want to return permanently a simple pathway for having their qualifications recognised. The representation of the medical association could simplify this process through its licence for skills recognition and its connections with hospitals.

5.3.2 Challenges and support requirements

The following section briefly describes challenges and support requirements described by the interviewees for their work.

Limitations of volunteerism: Active associations whose development activities are becoming increasingly complex and numerous and who request project funds are reaching the limits of what is achievable with volunteers. Many have expressed the need for institutional and structural support.

Intercultural communication: Several interviewees expressed the challenge that they had grown unaccustomed to various Cameroonian communication habits after decades of living and working in Germany. They had developed the habit of openly expressing criticism, which is not customary in Cameroon and hurts people's feelings. Also problematic was that their activities were perceived as paternalistic. Integrating local experiences was indispensable in order to achieve cooperation on an equal footing. At the same time, certain expectations developed at local level: if you were achieving a lot, then people expected more and more from you.

The usual challenges of association work: These consist of motivating and recruiting members, funding project ideas and short-term planning, since work always takes place only on the basis of project funding. In addition, the generally described structural change of volunteering in the younger generations towards more flexible forms of involvement also affects migrant associations. This 'new volunteering', as it is described in the specialist discourse, is short-term and tied to issues, not organisations. The actors regard their engagement not as a selfless

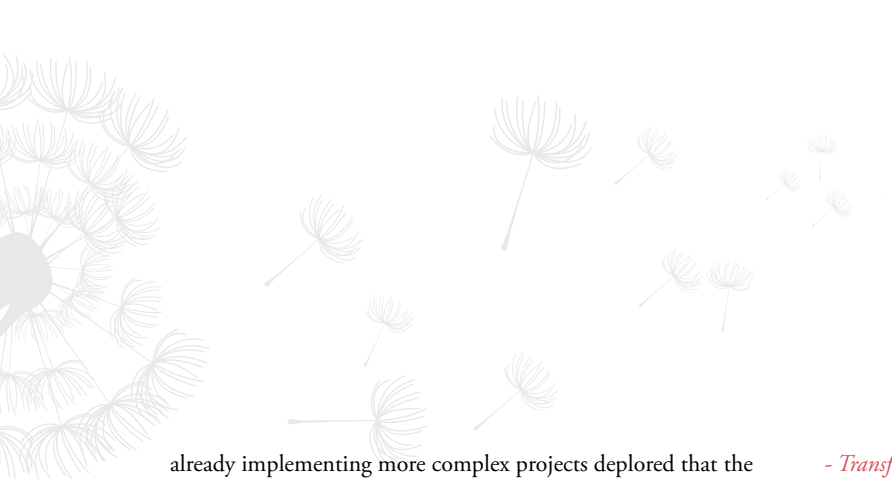
act, but as an opportunity to build up skills and networks and collect semi-professional experience (cf. i.a. Braun 2008, see Figure 20). This structural transformation of volunteer work also challenges migrant organisations as to how best to respond to this 'new volunteering', how to remain attractive for the next generations of new Cameroonian immigrants and thus be able to continue their activities.

Dealing with corruption: Many interviewees reported problems in their dealings and cooperation with authorities in Cameroon, which is why many avoid them as much as they can. One association also reported internal problems with corruption, which is why they adopted an internal code of conduct permitting the acceptance of gifts only up to a value of EUR 40 and requiring the association's approval for gifts of higher value.

Challenges for migrant associations: Interviewees described cooperation with established structures as a challenge and the competition with established NGOs in the area of development as stiff. For example, the hurdles to becoming members of VENRO¹⁵ were referred to as high. They wanted more recognition of migrant associations that had asserted themselves as newcomers – both at individual and at organisational level. The biggest challenge in this regard was the 'vicious circle' that an association needed resources – members – in order to access more resources. Also, the acceptance of migrant associations and their concerns was said to be often lacking in Germany.

Criticism of available support schemes: Criticism as to how promotional funds were being granted for diaspora activities came from various directions. On the one hand, associations would like support funding for business start-ups to be available in the form of loans and start-up capital in addition to the advisory and networking offers provided by the PMD in the context of 'business ideas for development'. They would like it to focus on economic sectors that are not controlled by the state, such as agriculture. Interviewees stated that it was difficult to set up in business as an outsider in state-dominated sectors. At the same time, there appears to be a lack of understanding of the division of tasks between different organisations of German development cooperation and the function of GIZ compared with banks or KfW. On the other hand, some of those interviewed appeared to be weary from participating in networking trips and seminars for which they believe more support was available than for projects. Some associations that were

¹⁵ VENRO is the umbrella organisation of development and humanitarian non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Germany. It was founded in 1995 and comprises around 120 organisations



already implementing more complex projects deplored that the support amounts were too small. They wanted larger and more long-term projects to be supported. They also criticised long approval processes of up to a year that led to loss of motivation for project work.

5.3.3 Challenges at political level and associations' strategies

None of the interviewed organisations explicitly described themselves as political or openly pursued political objectives. Political engagement was referred to as dangerous. The interviewees assumed that any political alignment of an association would make project work in Cameroon significantly more difficult. The highly trained interviewees, however, submitted that their work was of course never unpolitical and that they were developing a variety of strategies in order for their work to remain effective in the current situation while developing political influence indirectly:

- Pragmatic alignment of projects

International solidarity associations that implement projects in Cameroon primarily pursue a pragmatic approach. They come to arrangements with the administrative and government apparatus and so attempt to design projects in a way that requires them to cooperate with authorities as little as possible. It was a way of circumventing the problem of having to give someone a personal advantage with a project. They said they focused on persons with whom cooperation worked and who could be assumed to remain in their positions over a longer period of time, for instance within public administration or universities. In this way, the partners created individual bases of cooperation. They hoped to be able to set a positive example against corruption through their project work and thereby influence policy-making indirectly.

- Transfer knowledge about good governance

One association regularly holds seminars on good governance in Cameroon to raise awareness of the issue of corruption among young, well-educated individuals.

- Counter tribalism with a supra-regional approach

Some associations explicitly take care to ensure that different regions and ethnic groups of Cameroon are represented in the composition of their members and executive board. These associations also take care that their projects are located in different regions. In this way, they seek to position themselves as Cameroonian organisations that are not influenced by tribalist tendencies. Their concern is to create a Cameroonian awareness, that is, to promote nation building within the diaspora, as many of Cameroon's problems are rooted in tribalism and the lack of a wider perspective.

- Influence German debate and policy-making

Some associations work to raise the interest and awareness of the public in Germany with regard to the situation in Cameroon. They supplement typical global learning activities, such as public information events, with networking activities. That was how one member described his involvement in the African Network of Germany (TANG), which is working to connect political actors of African origin in Germany and give them more influence.¹⁶ One interviewee reported that he was planning to invite five Cameroonian 'Chiefs' to Germany and arrange meetings between them and development cooperation stakeholders and policy-makers because, in his experience, the perspectives of these stakeholders are seldom heard.¹⁷

16 Two representatives of the Cameroonian professional association 'Verein kamerunischer Ingenieure und Informatiker' (VKII) are members of the steering group of TANG (cf. www.theafricannetwork.de, 29 June 2015).

17 'Chieftdom' is a local power institution based on tradition which the power of the state draws on and formally involves. Since the 1990s, a process of politicisation and resulting loss of trust in this institution appears to have been taking place that is linked to decentralisation laws of the mid-1990s (cf. International Crisis Group 2010a, p. 17).

6 Networking and lines of conflict within the Cameroonian diaspora in Germany

The following section describes how the Cameroonian diaspora is interconnected and what networking obstacles exist in regard to lines of conflict. It can be stated that despite the considerable number of Cameroonian associations, it has not yet been possible to establish a functioning, broad umbrella association. Many interviewees regret this and stressed that there was a need for enhanced cooperation. The annual sport and cultural event 'Challenge Camerounais' fills part of this gap, but no continuous activities take place apart from this large-scale event. With a view to lines of conflict within the Cameroonian diaspora, interviewees referred to educational differences – Cameroonians with and without university degrees – as well as ethno-regional differences. However, currently there are no signs of any major polarisation within the Cameroonian diaspora in Germany.

6.1 *Networking and umbrella organisations*

Several interviewees pointed out that a number of Cameroonian organisations existed, which is also corroborated by the research conducted under this study. However, to date there is no overarching Cameroonian umbrella association that would unite a majority of organisations.

The young association Cameroon Diaspora Network Germany (CDN.G) has tried this for several years, but it appears that it has not yet succeeded in communicating to the associations what goals it pursues and what benefit additional cooperation efforts could have. It was founded with the aim of positioning itself as the umbrella organisation of Cameroonian associations in Germany. Various interviewees considered this attempt as unsuccessful so far because only a small number of associations had joined. One interviewee held the view that the CDN.G should make greater efforts to communicate to the associations what its role was, how the cooperation and related additional efforts would benefit the associations and what specific goals were to be achieved.

The 'Challenge Camerounais' in the meantime acts as an umbrella association of sorts. Its members include 20 cultural and student associations, mostly sport and cultural organisations. Once a year one member hosts the 'Challenge', which represents the main large-scale event of Cameroonian organisations in Germany. Several thousand persons regularly participate in the 'Challenge', and according to one interviewee the highlight was the Challenge in Stuttgart in 2012, which involved up to 8000 participants. It centres on athletic competition between Cameroonian sports clubs and celebrations. The Business and

Social Forum was added in 2006 with the aim of bringing together stakeholders in these areas and enabling professional exchange to supplement the recreational character of the Challenge. Hardly any activities take place between these annual events, however.

One attempt at Europe-wide networking is the Casa.net network (see above). Another Europe-wide network is the Nso Family Union, which links Nso tribal organisations, comprises four German NSO organisations and is headquartered in Denmark.

The interviews also showed that many interviewees are or were members of several associations, which gives rise to personal connections. According to various interviewees, cooperation and exchange relating to development projects exists between the professional associations and the more professionally operating international solidarity associations. Overall, however, the interviewees considered networking, cooperation and exchange among Cameroonian organisations to be inadequate. On the other hand, they also emphasised that networking should pursue concrete aims because the organisations had very limited resources for further tasks and coordination.

6.2 *Lines of conflict*

Fearon and Laitin identified the following socially significant dividing lines within Cameroonian society: First, Cameroon can be roughly divided into Christian-dominated, economically stronger southern Cameroon and Muslim-dominated, economically weaker northern Cameroon (Fearon and Laitin 16.2005, p. 3).

The country is also divided into an Anglophone and a Francophone part, a legacy of its colonial history. At first it was a German colony, but in the course of World War I Cameroon was divided between France and the UK. Today's English-language areas (Northwest and Southwest provinces) were part of Nigeria until a plebiscite in 1961, which led to what Konings and Nyamnjoh referred to as the blatant neglect of this region's development (1997, p. 208). The marginalisation of this region, however, continued in the united Cameroon that was founded after the plebiscite (cf. Konings and Nyamnjoh 1997).

At the same time, these divisions represent merely rough points of orientation because the groups and regions, for their part, are heavily fragmented. Fearon and Laitin see these overlapping lines of conflict as an explanation of why Cameroon has so far been politically stable: 'ethnic diversity appears in this case to

have prevented political instability. Both Ahidjo and Biya¹⁸ have been able to neutralise major ethnic cleavages by exploiting existing cleavages outside their core area of support' (Fearon and Laitin 16.2005, p. 5). Instrumentalised by the centres of power, this ethnic and political fragmentation is believed to have prevented the formation of a united opposition.

With regard to the Cameroonians in Germany, the situation is as follows. Asked whether diverse political movements existed among the Cameroonian organisations, many interviewees initially had no answer. After the question was reformulated with specific reference to ethno-regionally or politically defined camps, the following trends were discernible.

The interviewees did not see any political polarisation within the diaspora in the form of camps opposed to or in favour of the government (see above). They did mention, however, that immigrants with and without university degrees were sometimes reluctant to interact with each other.



Figure 11: The regions of Cameroon (source: licence: CC BY-SA 3.0; draughtsman: Domenico-de-ga, 15 December 2005, under: <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kamerun#/media/File:Kamerun-karte-politisch.png>).

Only at ethno-regional level was a relevant line of conflict visible which the interviewees approached and assessed in very different ways, however. There appears to be agreement that migration from Cameroon to Germany originated mainly from the Western province, which explains why the region's dominant group – the Bamileke – is over-represented in the diaspora in Germany.¹⁹

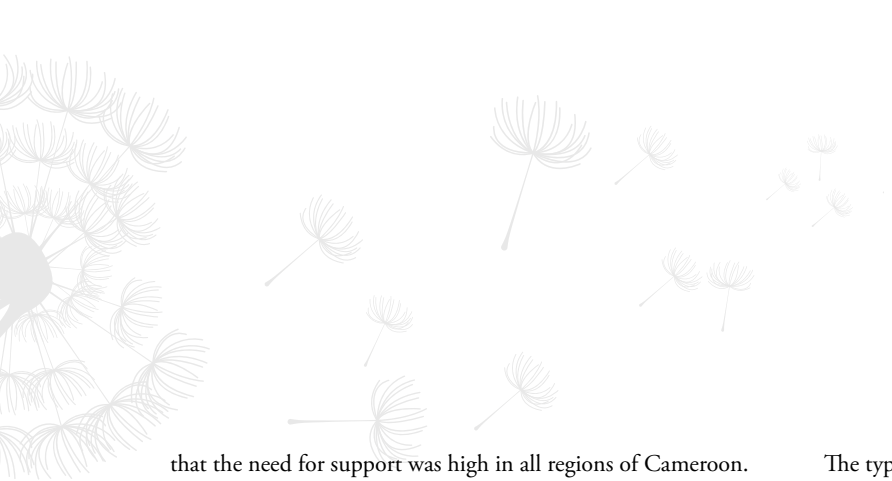
Nymanjoh and Rowlands describe the Bamileke as Franco-phone, but as widely considered to belong to the Anglophone Grasslands, and supporting the Anglophone-dominated social democratic opposition (Social Democratic Front, SDF). In the course of a general ethnicisation of the political landscape since the 1990s, they have been confronted with increasing prejudice which led to violent lootings of shops in the early 1990s (cf. Nymanjoh and Rowlands 1998, p. 325). The International Crisis Group reported in this context: 'The Bamileke elites, who are seen as holding economic power, are regularly suspected of working clandestinely for the interests of their community' (International Crisis Group 2010b, p. 5).

The interviewees explained the increasing emigration of the Bamileke with the fact that the region had a strong economy and resources for university studies abroad were thus available. At the same time, career and advancement opportunities were limited because of regional quota regulations existing in Cameroon, among other reasons (for quota regulations cf. International Crisis Group 2010b, p. 5). That was why many families chose university study abroad for their children as an opportunity for social mobility.

As a result, some interviewees perceived the Bamileke group as dominant in the Cameroonian organisations in Germany. One doctor who was involved in development had observed the tendency in Cameroonian associations to situate development projects in the Western province. He explained it by the fact

¹⁹ No statistics are available on the regional origin of Cameroonians in Germany. There are data, on the other hand, on internal migration and the regions of origin of internal migrants. The Western, Extreme North and North-Western regions are regarded as net exporters of migrants to other regions while the Central and Littoral provinces are considered net importers (cf. Mberu and Pongou 2012, p. 5). The assertion that a large portion of migrants in Germany come from the Western region is therefore consistent with the internal migration trends.

¹⁸ Presidents of Cameroon, in power since 1960 and 1982, respectively



that the need for support was high in all regions of Cameroon. Migrant families expected support to go to their own region of origin.²⁰ He therefore expected his projects in the east of Cameroon to be offered little support by Cameroonian associations, where representatives of the West were often in the majority.

When these regional differences were directly addressed in the interviews, the responses varied widely. Various interviewees indicated from the start that their association was pursuing a pan-Cameroonian approach and was not only supporting projects in various regions but also had a board with a mixed composition (see above). One interviewee explicitly refused to speak about this issue because he was unwilling to participate in this 'ethnic statistic'. It became clear that the Cameroonian diaspora was aware of the fact that political actors exacerbated and instrumentalised ethnic differences, particularly in the 1990s (International Crisis Group 2010b, p. 6).²¹ Other interviewees pointed out that the Bamileke were themselves very diverse and could not be regarded as a single group.

The typically well-educated interviewees are generally very sensitive to ethnic attributions and instrumentalisation, which they reject. At the same time, some interviewees expressed frustration as they felt they were a minority in some Cameroonian associations and were unable to assert themselves. In their view, some associations that referred to themselves as Cameroonian were in fact Bamileke associations.

No relevant polarisation appears to exist in Germany with regard to the difference between Anglophones and Francophones. One Anglophone association representative reported that his association had added the term 'cultural' to the word 'Anglophone' in its name. That was in response to critical queries as to whether they supported separatist tendencies. They changed the name to prevent this impression, which proved to be a sound strategy. By their own accounts, the interviewees of Anglophone associations were not pursuing any separatist tendencies.

²⁰ Nyamnjoh and Rowlands also explained this expectation in their study of Cameroonian elite organisations: 'Encouraging the young to gain an education and go abroad, yet not to forget their debt to those who supported them at home in the village, is one of the benchmarks for measuring regional progress and development in Cameroon' (Nyamnjoh and Rowlands 1998, p. 320).

²¹ The ICG observed that 'from the local to the national level, there is an increasing ethnicisation' (International Crisis Group 2010a, p. 17f).



The present study examined the activities of Cameroonian organisations in Germany. The key findings of the study can be summarised as follows.

Around 25,000 persons with Cameroonian citizenship and naturalised Cameroonians live in Germany. The most important kinds of immigration are educational migration, family reunification, and refugee or asylum migration.

The diaspora policies of the Cameroonian state are little developed and equipped with few resources. Cameroonians abroad are now permitted to take part in presidential elections, but are still barred from obtaining dual citizenship.

Germany has a number of Cameroonian organisations that can be categorised as follows: international solidarity associations, cultural and integration associations, some with an ethnic focus, professional associations, student associations and alumni associations, as well as one cooperative and branches of Cameroonian political parties.

The study identified 85 associations with contact details, the majority of which were international solidarity associations (37), followed by integration and cultural associations (28) and student associations (14).

Most of the development projects of the identified associations lie in the areas of school infrastructure/sponsorships for school tuition fees, donations in kind, knowledge transfer, healthcare and water. Some projects also target income-creating measures and (renewable) energies. In Germany, the development activities of the associations focus on global learning and diaspora integration.

The 16 associations covered by the interviews were primarily associations with up to 20 members and up to 50 members. The share of women is a good 40% on average. The majority of the associations (8) were international solidarity associations, followed by cultural associations (4) and professional associations (2). Eight associations had a high proportion of members with a Cameroonian migrant background (70% to 100%), in four associations the proportion is between 40% and 69%, and in two associations the proportion is between 10% and 39%.

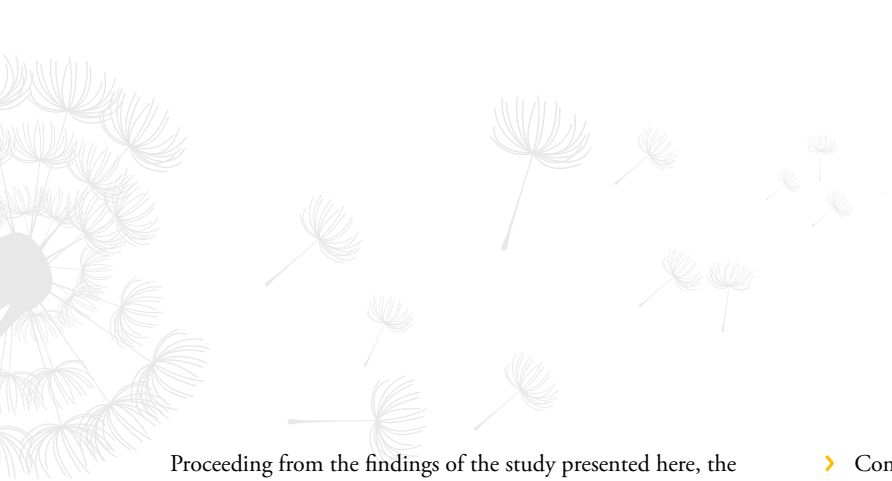
The oldest association was established in 1990 and the youngest is currently undergoing registration. The average age of the associations is nine years. All but two associations work exclusively with volunteers.

Prominent among the development initiatives of the interviewed organisations are the activities of the Cameroonian cooperative, which aims to finance development projects from the deposits of the cooperative members and establish itself as a bank in the long term. Another active organisation is the representation of the Cameroonian Medical Association, which is organised and staffed by an association of Cameroonian doctors. It has authority to recognise the qualifications of doctors in Germany for deployment in Cameroon and intends to use its network to support German-Cameroonian doctors planning to return to Cameroon.

A key challenge for the interviewed associations is that they rely solely on volunteering, which reaches its limitations in complex projects. Difficulties also arise from intercultural communication patterns adopted by German-Cameroonians who have long lived abroad. Dealing with corruption in Cameroon is another challenge.

The research and interviews conducted in the context of the study yielded no evidence that the Cameroonian diaspora in Germany was politically polarised or mobilised. The associations that want to implement projects in Cameroon cooperate with government authorities in a pragmatic way and seek to avoid them wherever possible.

The interviews did not reveal any deep lines of conflict within the Cameroonian diaspora. Some interviewees pointed out that German-Cameroonians with and without university degrees were sometimes reluctant to interact with each other. Moreover, most migrants from Cameroon to Germany appear to come from western Cameroon. Thus, according to the interviewees' estimates, that group was heavily overrepresented among the Cameroonians in Germany. It therefore was said to dominate many associations, which some interviewees perceived as problematic. They said this made it difficult at times to obtain support for development projects in other regions of Cameroon.



Proceeding from the findings of the study presented here, the following recommendations are made for further action by GIZ in the area of migration and development:

- › When supporting projects, networking and dealing with Cameroonian organisations, it is important to maintain **awareness of regional distinctions**. It will be helpful to review at regular intervals the ethno-regional diversity of associations, returnees or networks supported and whether information is spread broadly and across a wide range of access channels.
- › Characterised by migration aimed at tertiary study at German universities, the Cameroonian diaspora possesses **innovative approaches that merit further observation, monitoring and, possibly, support**. This applies in particular to the Cameroonian cooperative described above, which has the potential to evolve into a model project. The connection between the representation of the Cameroonian Medical Association and doctors interested in returning, medical institutions in Cameroon and the German Medical Association may offer possibilities for cooperation that should be appraised. Other diasporas that are characterised by the migration of healthcare professionals might be able to learn from the Cameroonian example.
- › In addition to the certainly necessary studies that analyse the diaspora of individual countries, it is recommendable to examine the possibility of undertaking **regional or thematic studies**, for instance on the engagement of the diaspora in development projects in the areas of environment and health care. The national focus, which in this case is placed on Cameroon, obscures the view on regionally active, in this case Pan-African organisations that do not regard themselves as Cameroonian actors. Organisations thus structured along thematic lines, professions or regions offer innovation potential by operating across borders and should also be welcomed in the interest of a multicultural immigration society.
- › Migrants are increasingly connecting through **social media** and using these to inform themselves. The use of social media suggests itself for GIZ to publicise its offerings and disseminate information, particularly in order to reach younger target groups. It must be taken into account here that the use of social media also harbours risks, requires a communication strategy and has the potential to be resource-intensive. It may also enable GIZ to focus more strongly on new forms of activity outside of traditional association structures.
- › Communication with partners and target groups in Cameroon also has the potential to pose an **intercultural challenge** for Cameroonians residing abroad. The interviews revealed the voicing of criticism and dealing with corruption as particular issues. The PMD can provide its training and networking offerings as a common space for active individuals to reflect on and raise awareness of these topics, as well as enabling them to share experiences.
- › Analysing the local economic situation is part of GIZ's work. It points possible investors from the diaspora to **economic sectors that have development potential**. It also determines, among other things, in which sectors there is little opportunity for outsiders who have no links to existing networks to enter the market successfully. These advisory services should be continued.
- › Lengthy **approval procedures for project applications** are problematic for diaspora organisations that rely exclusively on volunteer work. Volunteers who wrote the application may have left the association after a prolonged period. To remedy this situation, options should be examined for speeding up procedures as much as possible.
- › The Cameroonian diaspora is interconnected by the 'Challenge Camerunais', and some professional associations also cooperate in projects. It would be desirable to have a functioning umbrella organisation that would act as the voice of the diaspora towards Cameroonian institutions, international development cooperation agencies and institutions of the host society. Given the diversity of the Cameroonian association landscape, however, this does not appear to be easy to achieve. Should GIZ in future contemplate promoting networking initiatives, it should be considered **whether such networking initiatives pursue specific cooperation goals** which the networking organisations expect to be of benefit to them. That will increase the likelihood that, despite the associations' scarce resources, networking will actually take place in the long term and an umbrella organisation can operate on a sustained basis.

Appendix

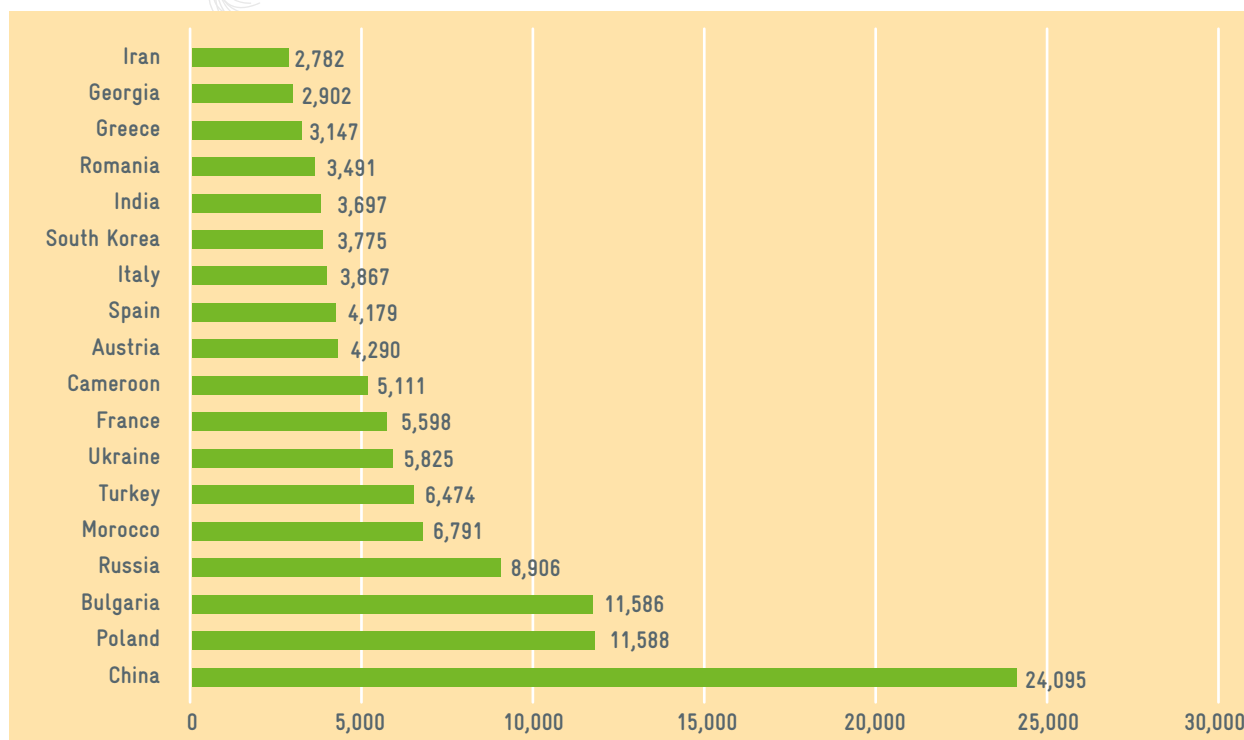


Figure 12: Main countries of origin of educational migrants in Germany in 2013 (German Federal Statistical Office)

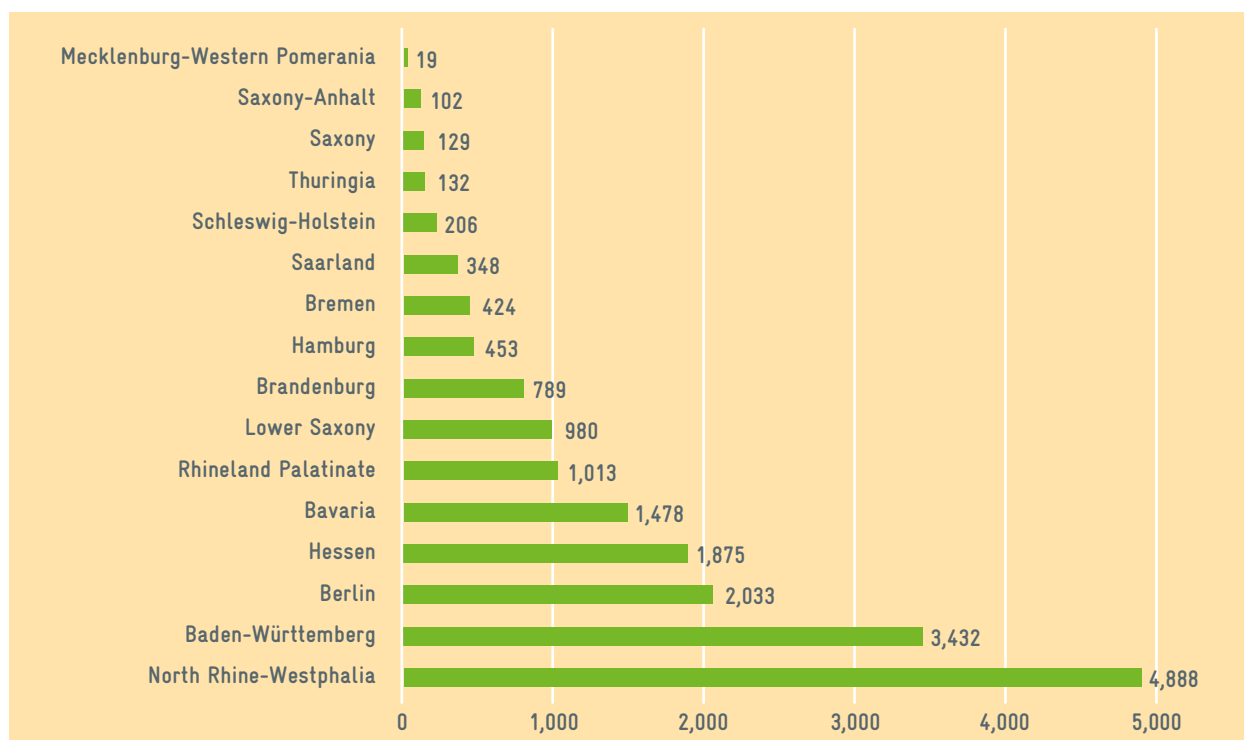


Figure 13: Geographic distribution of Cameroonian citizens by federal state, as at 31 December 2014 (German Federal Statistical Office)

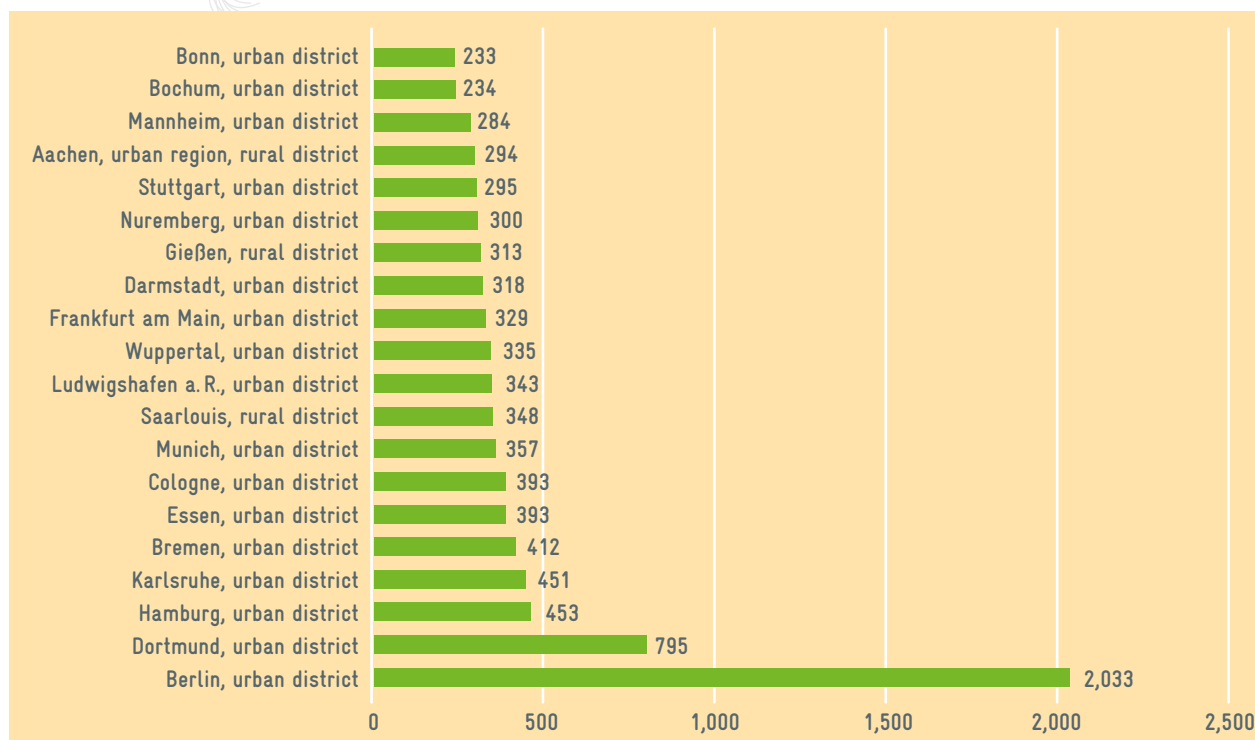


Figure 14: Geographic distribution of Cameroonian citizens by district, as at 31 December 2014 (German Federal Statistical Office)

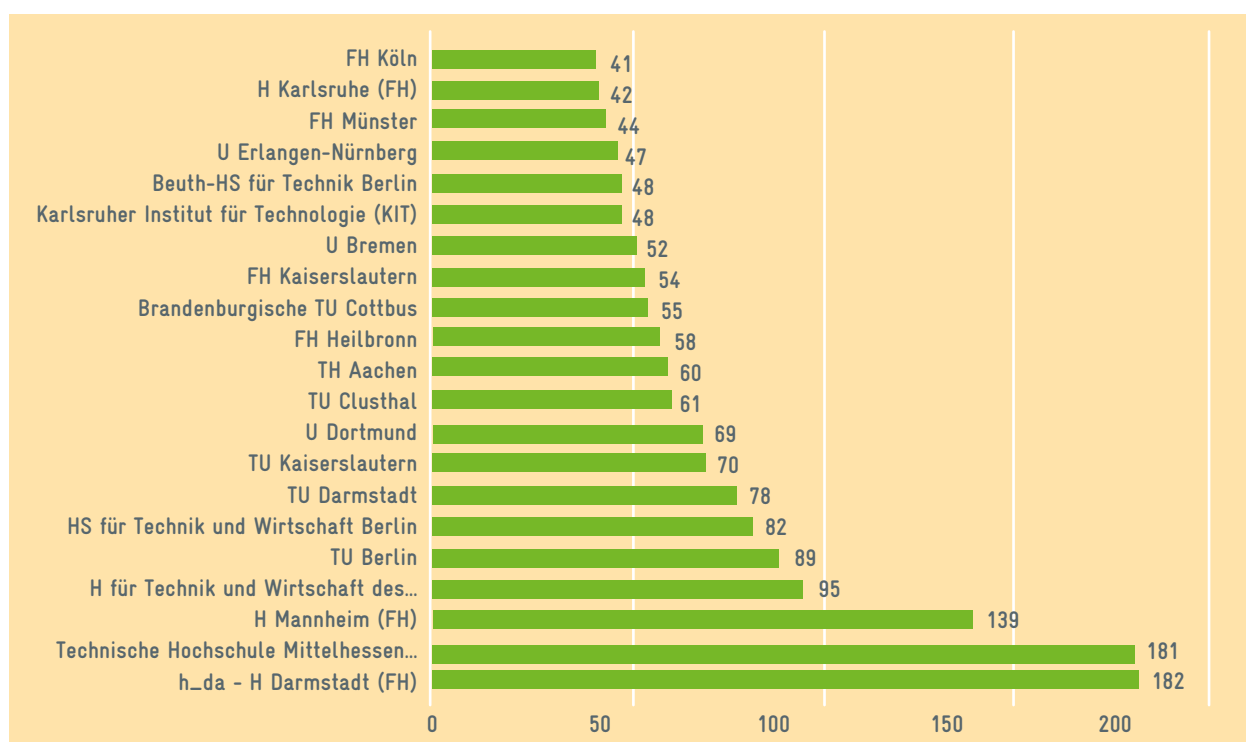


Figure 15: Engineering sciences: the 20 universities and tertiary education institutions with the most Cameroonian students (semester one, 2012/13) (German Federal Statistical Office)

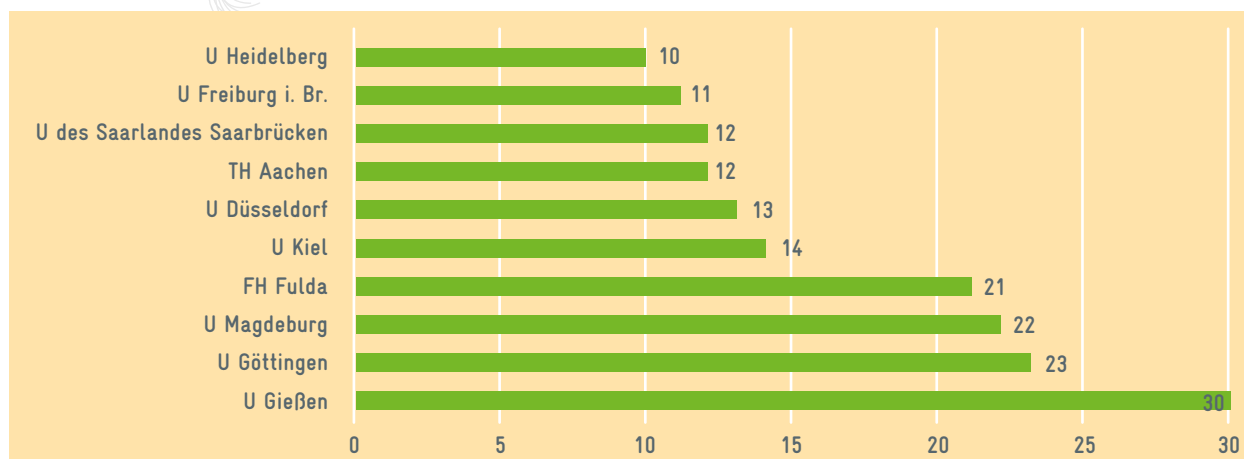


Figure 16: Human medicine/health sciences: the 10 universities and tertiary education institutions with the most Cameroonian students (semester one, 2012/13) (German Federal Statistical Office)

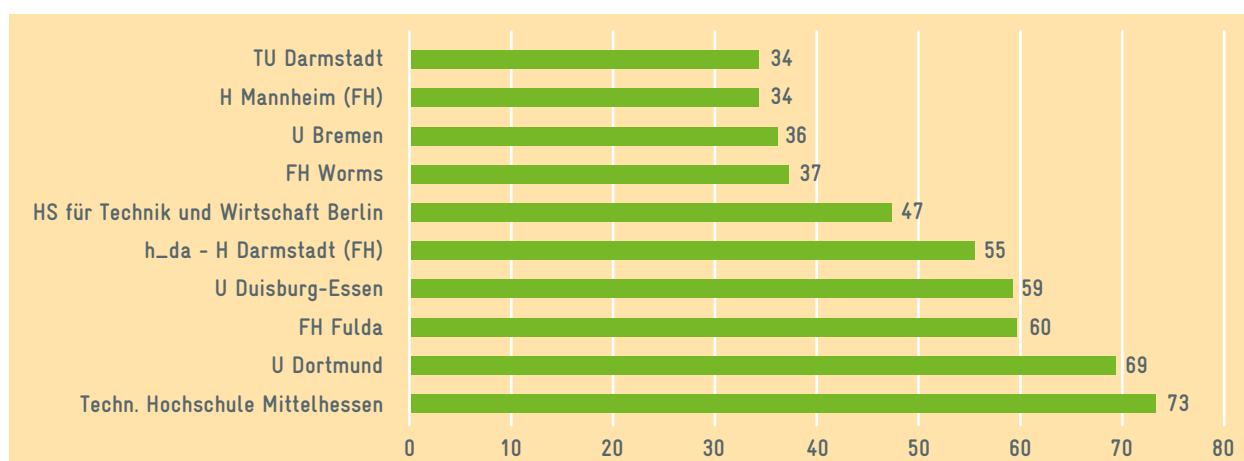


Figure 17: Mathematics, natural sciences: the 10 universities and tertiary education institutions with the most Cameroonian students (semester one, 2012/13) (German Federal Statistical Office)

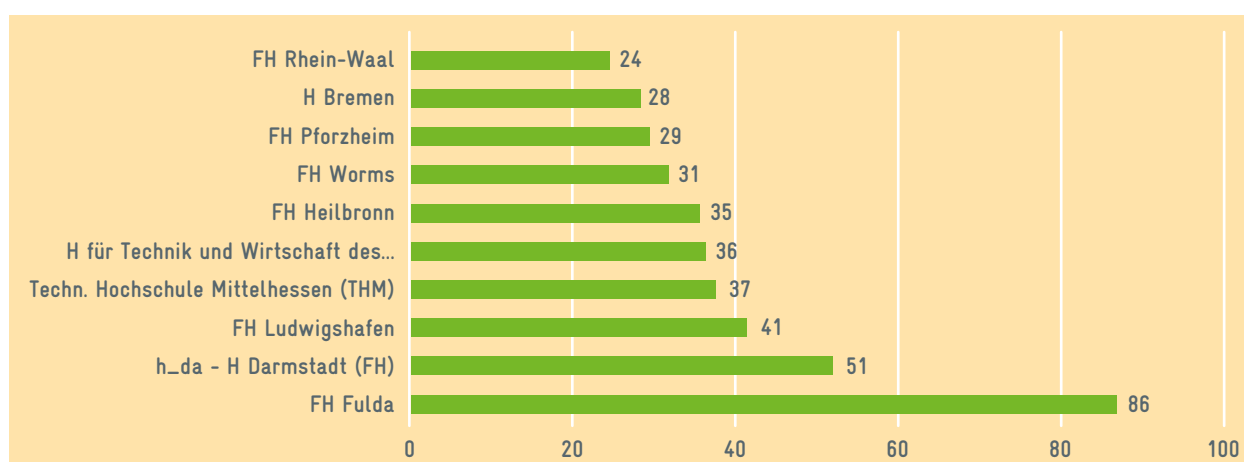


Figure 18: Law, economics and social sciences: the 10 universities and tertiary education institutions with the most Cameroonian students (semester one, 2012/13)

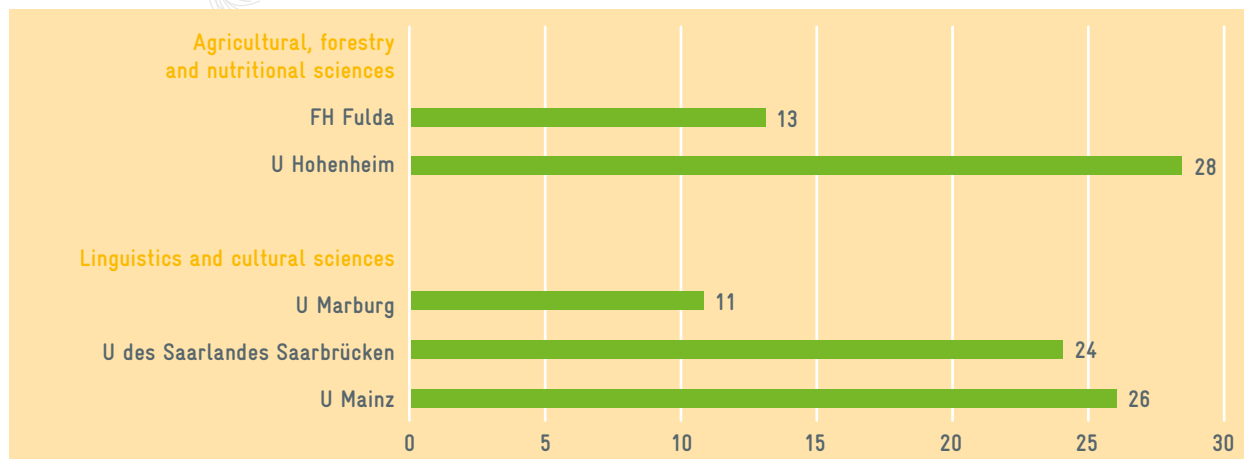


Figure 19: : Agriculture, forestry and nutritional sciences, linguistics and cultural sciences: universities and tertiary education institutions with the most Cameroonians students (semester one, 2012/13)

'Old' activities	'New' activities
Worldviews and long-term connections with a characteristic funding organisation	Diverse, temporary, pragmatic and activity-oriented work in various forms of organisation
Milieu-related loyalty to particular organisations	Adaptation of activities to individual's own biography
Involvement as selfless action	Involvement not just as 'giving', but as a means of self-discovery
Non-remunerated	Compensation for expenses, paid activity
Activity by laypersons	Focus on developing skills and acquiring experience and semi-professionalism

Figure 20: Structural change in activities according to Braun 2008

Bibliography

Anderson, Benedict (1992): The New World Disorder. In: *New Left Review*, 1992 (1(193)), pp. 3–14.

Baraulina, Tanja; Bommers, Michael; El-Cherkeh, Tanja; Daume, Heike; Vadean, Florin (2006): Egyptian, Afghan and Serbian diaspora communities in Germany: How do they contribute to their country of origin? Discussion Paper. GTZ. Eschborn. Available online at <https://www.giz.de/fachexpertise/downloads/giz2008-en-cameroon-diaspora.pdf>, last verified on 15 October 2014.

Blome, Christine; Priller, Eckhard (2013): Entwicklungspolitisches bürgerschaftliches Engagement. Ein Beitrag zur Schärfung der Definition. WZB. Berlin (Discussion Paper).

Braun, Sebastian (2008): Vom „alten“ zum „neuen“ Ehrenamt. Anmerkungen zum freiwilligen Engagement im vereins- und verbandsorganisierten Sport. In: *BBE-Newsletter* 13/2008.

Collier, Paul; Hoeffler, Anke (2002): Greed and Grievances in Civil War (CEPR Working Paper). Available online at <http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/workingpapers/pdfs/2002-01text.pdf>, last verified on 22 May 2015.

Diallo, Rahime (2011): Auswertung der ersten bundesweiten Umfrage unter entwicklungspolitisch aktiven MDO*. * Entwicklungspolitisches Engagement von MigrantInnen- und Diasporaorganisationen (MDO).

Djoumessi, Didier (2014): Les projets de la diaspora et leur impact sur le développement des pays d'origine. In: David Simo (ed.): *Problématiques migratoires en contexte de globalisation*. Actes du séminaire des 24 et 25 septembre 2012 à Yaoundé.

Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration (2011): *Migration Country 2011. Annual Report 2011 with Migration Barometer*. Berlin. Available online at <http://www.svr-migration.de/en/publications/annual-report-2011-with-migration-barometer/>, last verified on 22 October 2011.

Fahrenhorst, Brigitte; Arndt, Christian; Jaffer, Murtaza; Pfautsch, Raphael; Zelazny, Frank (2009): Beitrag der Diasporas zu Konfliktminderung und Konfliktlösung in den Herkunftsländern. GIZ (ed.). Eschborn (Discussion Paper). Available online at <http://www.giz.de/fachexpertise/downloads/gtz2009-de-diaspora-konfliktminderung.pdf>, last verified on 9 October 2014.

Fearon, James; Laitin, David (16.2005): Cameroon. Stanford University. Available online at <http://web.stanford.edu/group/ethnic/Random%20Narratives/CameroonRN1.5.pdf>, last verified on 24 March 2015.

German Federal Employment Agency (2004): Begriff der Arbeitslosigkeit in der Statistik unter SGB II und SGB III. Available online at <https://statistik.arbeitsagentur.de/Statistischer-Content/Grundlagen/Statistik-SGBII-SGBIII/Generische-Publikationen/Arbeitslosenbegriff-unter-SGBII-und-SGBIII.pdf>, last verified on 27 May 2015.

German Federal Statistical Office (2011): Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2010, Wiesbaden (Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2).

Haas, Hein de (2012): The Migration and Development Pendulum. A Critical View on Research and Policy. In: *International Migration* (50), pp. 8–25.

Hunger, Uwe (2004): Wie können Migrantenorganisationen den Integrationsprozess betreuen? Wissenschaftliches Gutachten im Auftrag des Sachverständigenrates für Zuwanderung und Integration des Bundesinnenministeriums des Innern der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Münster, Osnabrück.

Hunger, Uwe (2007): Vier Thesen zur deutschen Entwicklungshilfepolitik für Indien. In: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* (27), pp. 12–18.

International Crisis Group (2010a): Cameroon – Fragile State? (Africa Report, 160). Available online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/-/media/Files/africa/west-africa/cameroon/160Cameroon%20Fragile%20State.pdf>, last verified on 26 May 2015.



- International Crisis Group (2010b): Cameroon: The Dangers of a Fracturing Regime (Africa Report, 161). Available online at [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/cameroon/161%20CAMEROON%20dangers%20of%20a%20fracturing%20regime%20ENGLISH.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/west-africa/cameroon/161%20CAMEROON%20dangers%20of%20a%20fracturing%20regime%20ENGLISH.pdf), last verified on 2 March 2015.
- International Crisis Group (2014): Cameroon: Prevention is Better than Cure (Africa Briefing, 101). Available online at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/central-africa/cameroon/b101-cameroon-prevention-is-better-than-cure.aspx>, last verified on 26 May 2015.
- International Organisation for Migration (2009): Migration au Cameroun. PROFIL NATIONAL 2009. Available online at https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/cameroun_profile_2009.pdf, last verified on 24 March 2015.
- Konings, Piet; Nyamnjoh, Francis B. (1997): The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon. In: *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 35 (2), pp. 207–229. DOI: 10.2307/161679.
- Krimmer, Holger; Primer, Jana (2013): *Ziviz-Survey 2012: Zivilgesellschaft verstehen*, Berlin. Available online at http://www.ziviz.info/fileadmin/download/ziviz_survey2012.pdf, last verified on 22 October 2011.
- Mberu, Blessing Uchenna; Pongou, Roland (2012): Crossing Boundaries: Internal, Regional and International Migration in Cameroon. In: *International Migration*.
- Nyamnjoh, Francis; Rowlands, Michael (1998): Elite Associations and the Politics of Belonging in Cameroon. In: *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 69 (3), pp. 320–337, last verified on 27 May 2015.
- Page, Ben; Evans, Martin; Mercer, Claire (2010): Revisiting the Politics of Belonging in Cameroon. In: *Africa* 80 (03), pp. 345–370.
- Pelican, Michaela; Tatah, Petar; Ndjio, Basile (2008): Local perspectives on transnational relations of Cameroonian migrants. In: *African Sociological Review* (12, 2), pp. 117–127.
- Pigeaud, Fanny (2014): Cameroon. In: Andreas Mehler, Henning Melber and Klaas van Walraven (eds.): *Africa yearbook*. Leiden: BRILL (Africa Yearbook).
- Ragab, Nora; McGregor, Elaine; Siegel, Melissa (2013): *Diaspora Engagement in Development. An Analysis of the Engagement of the Tunisian Diaspora in Germany and the Potentials for Cooperation*. Maastricht Graduate School of Governance; GIZ.
- Ratha, Dilip (2003): Workers' Remittances. An Important and Stable Source of External Development Finance. In: *Global Development Finance*, pp. 157–175. Available online at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRGDF/Resources/GDF2003-Chapter7.pdf>, last verified on 22 October 2011.
- Reinecke, Meike; Stegner, Kristina; Zitzelsberger, Olga; Latorre, Patricia; Kocaman, Iva (2010): *Migrantinnenorganisationen in Deutschland. Forschungsstudie. Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, Bundesministerium für Familie* (ed.). Rambøll Management Consulting, TU Darmstadt. Available online at <http://www.bmfsfj.de/RedaktionBMFSFJ/Broschuerenstelle/Pdf-Anlagen/Migrantinnenorganisationen-in-Deutschland-Abschlussbericht,property=pdf,bereich=bmfsfj,sprache=de,rwb=true.pdf>, last verified on 24 April 2014.
- Riester, Andrea (2011): Diasporas im Vergleich: Bedingungen des entwicklungspolitischen Engagements afrikanischer Migranten in Deutschland. In: Tanja Baurulina, Axel Kreienbrink and Andrea Riester (eds.): *Potenziale der Migration zwischen Afrika und Deutschland*, pp. 275–291.
- Schmelz, Andrea (2007): *The Cameroonian Diaspora in Germany. Its Contribution to Development in Cameroon*. GTZ. Eschborn. Available online at <https://www.giz.de/fachexpertise/downloads/giz2008-en-cameroonian-diaspora.pdf>, last verified on 18 October 2010.
- Schüttler, Kirsten (2007): *The Moroccan Diaspora in Germany. Its Contribution to Development in Morocco*. GTZ. Eschborn. Available online at <https://www.giz.de/fachexpertise/downloads/giz2007-en-moroccan-diaspora.pdf>, last verified on 18 October 2010.




Stahl, Silvester (2009): Selbstorganisation von Migranten im deutschen Vereinssport. Ein Forschungsbericht zu Formen, Ursachen und Wirkungen. Köln: Sportverlag Strauß (Schriftenreihe des Bundesinstituts für Sportwissenschaft, 1).

Thränhardt, Dietrich (2000): Einwandererkulturen und soziales Kapitel. Eine komparative Analyse. In: Dietrich Thränhardt and Uwe Hunger (eds.): Einwanderer-Netzwerke und ihre Integrationsqualität in Deutschland und Israel. Münster: LIT, pp. 15–52.

Weiss, Karin (2013): Migrantenorganisationen und Staat. Anerkennung, Zusammenarbeit, Förderung. In: Dietrich Thränhardt und Günther Schultze (eds.): Migrantenorganisationen. Engagement Transnationalität und Integration. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung / Abteilung Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik / Literaturangaben. Bonn (WISO-Diskurs), pp. 21–31.

Winterhagen, Jenni (to be published shortly): Entwicklungspolitisches Engagement migrantischer Organisationen in Deutschland. Organisationstypen und Engagementformen. In: Imis-Beiträge (45).

Wolf, Bernd (2007): The Vietnamese Diaspora in Germany. Structure and Potentials for Cooperation with a Focus on Berlin and Hesse. GTZ. Eschborn. Available online at <https://www.giz.de/fachexpertise/downloads/giz2007-en-vietnamese-diaspora.pdf>, last verified on 18 October 2010.



As a federally owned enterprise, GIZ supports the German Government in achieving its objectives in the field of international cooperation for sustainable development.

Published by:
Deutsche Gesellschaft für
Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH

Registered offices
Bonn and Eschborn

Dag-Hammarskjöld-Weg 1-5
65760 Eschborn, Germany
T +49 61 96 79 - 0
F +49 61 96 79-80 0

E migration@giz.de
I www.giz.de/migrationdevelopment

Programme:
Migration for Development and Sector Project Migration and Development

Editor:
Stephanie Deubler, Amédée Schmitz, Eschborn

Design/layout:
Feckler Media, 53332 Bornheim, Germany

Photo credits:
Title © SERA, flickr.de

URL links:
This publication contains links to external websites. Responsibility for the content of the listed external sites always lies with their respective publishers. When the links to these sites were first posted, GIZ checked the third-party content to establish whether it could give rise to civil or criminal liability. However, the constant review of the links to external sites cannot reasonably be expected without concrete indication of a violation of rights. If GIZ itself becomes aware or is notified by a third party that an external site it has provided a link to gives rise to civil or criminal liability, it will remove the link to this site immediately. GIZ expressly dissociates itself from such content.

Maps:
The maps printed here are intended only for information purposes and in no way constitute recognition under international law of boundaries and territories. GIZ accepts no responsibility for these maps being entirely up to date, correct or complete. All liability for any damage, direct or indirect, resulting from their use is excluded.

On behalf of
German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)
Policy Issues of Displacement and Migration
Isgard Peter
Berlin

GIZ is responsible for the content of this publication.

Eschborn, March 2016



Deutsche Gesellschaft für
Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH

Registered offices
Bonn and Eschborn

Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 36 + 40	Dag-Hammarskjöld-Weg 1-5
53113 Bonn, Germany	65760 Eschborn, Germany
T +49 228 4460-0	T +49 61 96 79 - 0
F +49 228 4460-17 66	F +49 61 96 79-80 0

E migration@giz.de
I www.giz.de/migrationdevelopment

On behalf of



Federal Ministry
for Economic Cooperation
and Development